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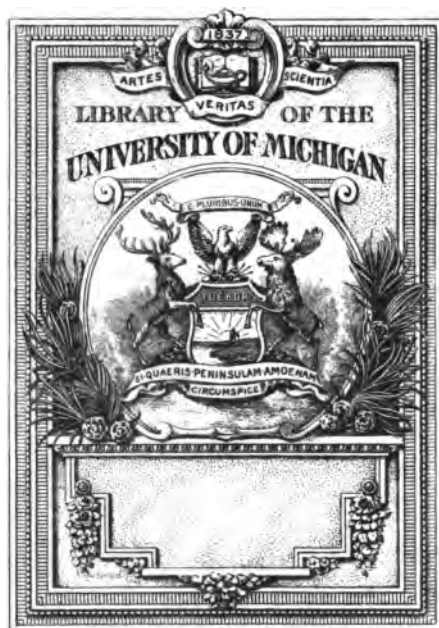
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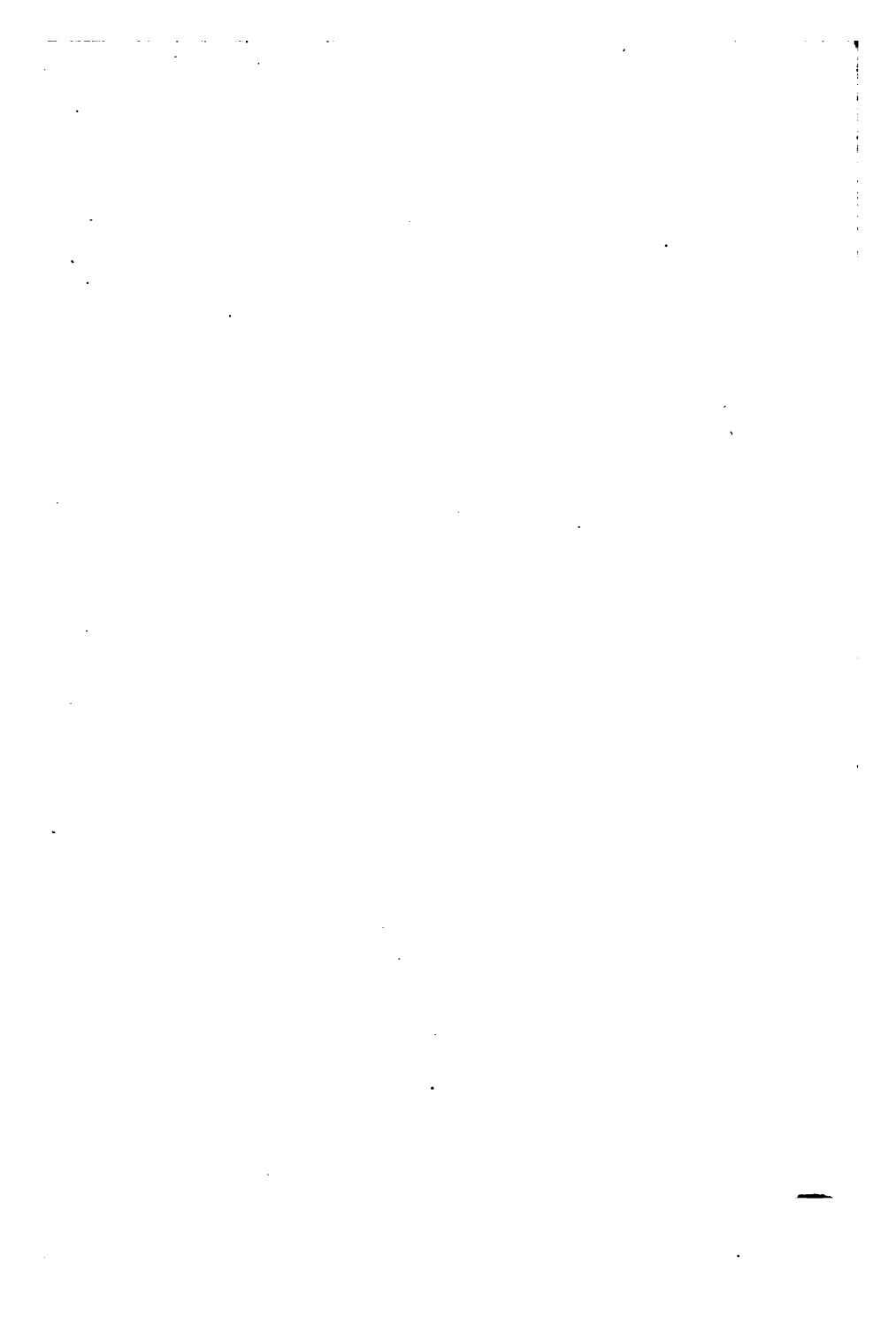
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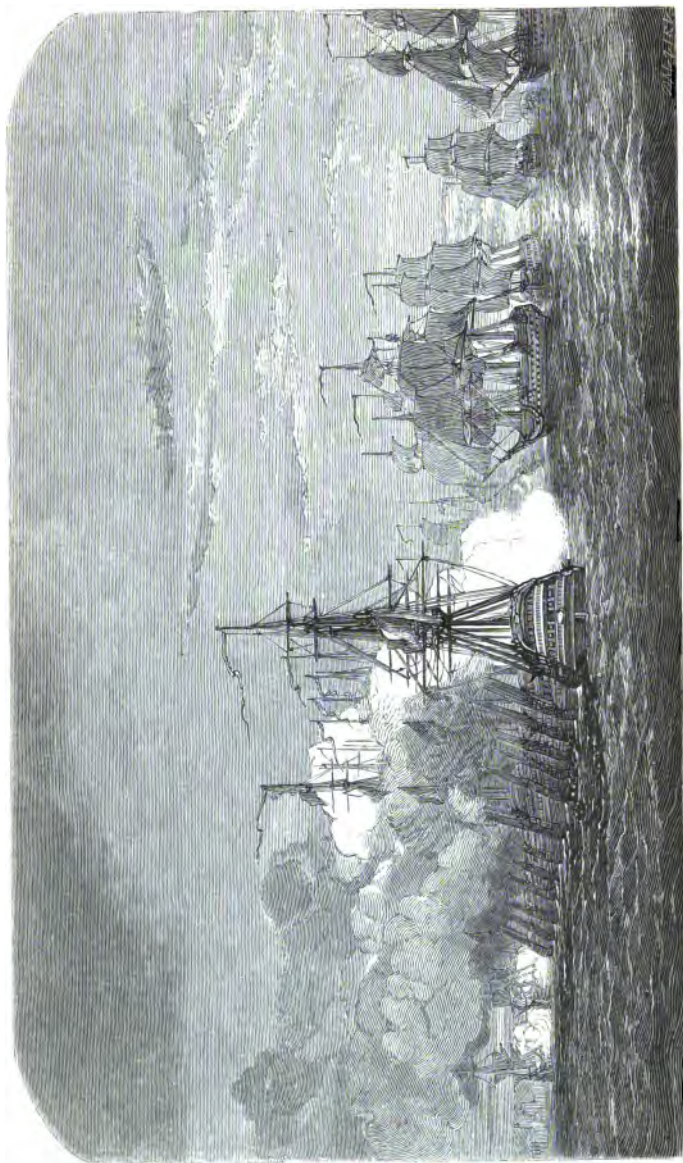




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# HISTORY OF EUROPE

FROM THE

COMMENCEMENT OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

IN MDCCLXXXIX

TO THE

RESTORATION OF THE BOURBONS

IN MDCCCXV

BY

SIR ARCHIBALD ALISON, BART.

F.R.S.E.

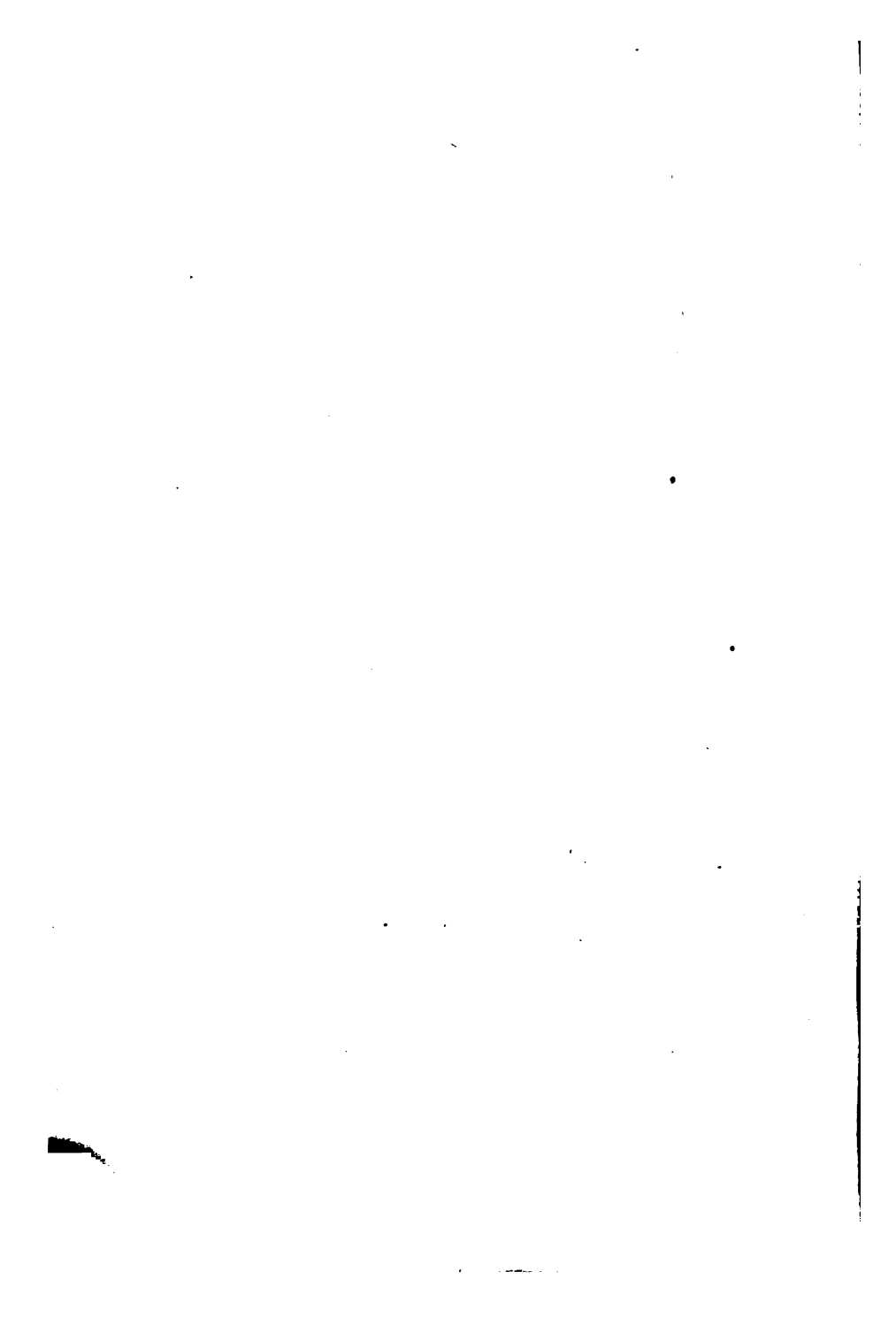
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# HISTORY OF EUROPE.

## CHAPTER XXII.

### INTERNAL TRANSACTIONS AND NAVAL CAMPAIGN OF GREAT BRITAIN IN 1797.

1. ALTHOUGH the war had now continued four years, and it was obvious to all the world that Britain and France were the principals in the contest, yet these two states had not as yet come into immediate and violent collision. Inferior powers required to be struck down, weaker states to be removed from the field, before the leaders of the fight dealt their blows at each other; like the champions of chivalry, who were separated in the commencement of the affray by subordinate knights, and did not engage in mortal conflict till the field was covered with the dead and the dying. The period, however, was now approaching when this could no longer continue, for the successes of France had been such as to compel Britain to fight, not merely for victory, but for existence. All the allies with whom, and for whose protection, she had engaged in the contest, were either struggling in the extremity of disaster, or openly arrayed under the banners of her enemies. Austria, after a desperate and heroic resistance in Italy, was preparing for the defence of her last barriers in the passes of the Alps. Holland was virtually incorporated with the conquering Republic. Spain had recently joined its forces to its already overwhelming power. The whole Continent, from the Texel to Gibraltar, was arrayed against Great Britain; and all men were sensible that, in spite of her maritime

superiority, she had in the preceding winter narrowly escaped invasion in the most vulnerable quarter, and owed to the winds and the waves her exemption from the horrors of civil war.

2. The aspect of public affairs in Britain had never been so clouded since the commencement of the war, nor indeed during the whole of the eighteenth century, as they were at the opening of the year 1797. The return of Lord Malmesbury from Paris had closed every hope of terminating a contest, in which the national burdens were daily increasing, while the prospect of success was continually diminishing. Party spirit raged with uncommon violence in every part of the empire. Insurrections prevailed in many districts of Ireland, discontent and suffering in all. Commercial embarrassments were rapidly increasing, especially in the commercial towns and manufacturing districts of Great Britain; and the continued pressure on the Bank of England in consequence of the vast exportation of the precious metals for the use of the Continental armies, and the general tendency to hoard which the dread of invasion had occasioned at home, threatened a total overthrow of public credit. The consequence of this accumulation of disasters was a rapid fall of the public securities; the three per cents were sold as low as 51, having fallen to that from 98, at which they stood shortly before the commencement

of the contest in 1792; petitions for a change of ministers and an alteration of government were presented from almost every city of note in the empire, and that general distrust and depression prevailed which is at once the cause and the effect of public misfortune.

3. The first of these disasters was one which, in a despotic state, unacquainted with the unlimited confidence in government that, in a free state, results from long continued fidelity in the discharge of its engagements, would have proved fatal to the credit of government. For a long period the Bank had experienced a pressure for money, owing partly to the demand for gold and silver which resulted from the distresses of commerce, and partly to the great drains upon the specie of the country which the extensive loans to the Imperial government had occasioned, and the vast expenditure of the Republican and Austrian armies in Italy and Germany had required. Their requisitions and contributions, all of which required to be paid in cash, occasioned a prodigious demand for the precious metals on the Continent, and gave rise, of course, to a corresponding drain on this country. So early as January 1795, the influence of these causes was so severely felt, that the Bank Directors informed the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that it was their wish that he would so arrange his finances as not to depend on any further assistance from them; but the necessity of remitting the subsidies to Austria in cash rendered this impossible. It proved, however, such a drain upon the Bank, that, during the whole of that and the following year, the peril of the continued advances for the Imperial loans was strongly and earnestly represented to government. The pressure arising from these causes, severely experienced through the whole of 1796, was brought to a crisis in the close of that year, by the run upon the country banks, which arose from the dread of invasion, and the anxiety of every man to convert his paper into cash in the troubled times which seemed to be approaching. These banks, as the only means of averting bankruptcy, applied from all quarters to

the Bank of England; the panic speedily reached the metropolis, and such was the run upon that establishment, that it was in the last week of February reduced to paying in sixpences, and was on the verge of insolvency. An Order in Council was then, at the eleventh hour, interposed for its relief, suspending all payments in cash, until the sense of Parliament could be taken upon the best means of restoring the circulation, and supporting the public and commercial credit of the country.

4. This great and momentous measure, fraught with such lasting and important consequences to the prosperity and fabric of society in Great Britain, was immediately made the subject of anxious and vehement debate in both Houses of Parliament. On the one hand, it was urged that this suspension of credit was not owing to any temporary disasters, but to deep, progressive, and accumulating causes, which all thinking men had long deplored, and which had grown to a head under the unhappy confidence which the House had reposed in the king's ministers; that the real cause of this calamity was to be found in the excessive and extravagant expenditure in all departments of government, and the enormous loans to foreign states; that the consequences of this measure were certain, and might be seen as in a mirror in the adjoining Republic of France. They necessarily produced a constant fall in the value of bank-notes, a rise in the price of all the articles of human consumption, augmented expenditure, and a continuance of the insane and costly expeditions, from which both the national honour and security had already so severely suffered. On the other hand, it was contended by the friends of the administration, that it never was the intention of government to make bank-notes a legal tender; that the measure adopted was not a permanent regulation, but a temporary expedient, to enable the bank to gain time to meet the heavy demands which unexpected circumstances had brought upon it; that the Bank of England was perfectly able ultimately to make good all its engagements, and so the public had already

become convinced, in the short interval which had elapsed since the Order in Council was issued; that it was indispensable, however, that Parliament should be satisfied of this solvency, and the necessity which existed for the measure which was adopted, and therefore that the matter should be referred to a select committee, to report on the funds and engagements of the Bank of England, and the measures to be taken for its ultimate regulation.

5. This measure having been carried by Mr Pitt, a committee was appointed, which reported shortly after that the funds of the Bank were £17,597,000, while its debts were only £13,770,000, leaving a balance of £3,800,000 in favour of the establishment; but that it was necessary, for a limited time, to suspend cash payments. Upon this, a bill for the restriction of payments in specie was introduced, which provided that bank-notes should be received as a legal tender by the collectors of taxes, and have the effect of stopping the issuing of arrest on mesne process for payment of debt between man and man. The bill was limited in its operation to the 24th June; but it was afterwards renewed from time to time, and in November 1797 it was ordered to continue till the conclusion of a general peace; and the obligation on the Bank to pay in specie was never again imposed till Sir Robert Peel's Act in 1819. The effects of this great measure were soon apparent. It administered enough, and not more than enough, of the restorative draught to the nation. Industry was thereafter secured in remunerating prices for its fruits; the life-blood circulated in sufficient quantity through the state. A currency was provided adequate to the increased warlike and pacific expenditure of the people, and which supplied the place of gold, when it was almost entirely draughted away during the commercial and military crises which followed. No difficulty was thenceforward experienced by the nation in the payment even of the enormous taxes imposed before the close of the war. The increased circulation provided for everything, while it was not issued with the senseless prodigality

of revolutionary France, which ruined all private fortunes.\*

6. Such was the commencement of the paper system in Great Britain, which ultimately produced such astonishing effects; which enabled the empire to carry on for so long a period so costly a war, and to maintain for years armaments greater than had been raised by the Roman people in the senith of their power; which brought the struggle at length to a triumphant issue, and arrayed all the forces of Eastern Europe, in British pay, against France, on the banks of the Rhine. To the same system must be ascribed ultimate effects as disastrous as the immediate were beneficial and glorious; the continued and progressive rise of rents, the unceasing, and to many calamitous, fall in the value of money during the whole course of the war; increased expenditure, the growth of sanguine ideas and extravagant habits in all classes of society; unbounded speculation, prodigious profits, and frequent disasters among the commercial rich; increased wages, general prosperity, and occasional depression among the labouring poor. But these effects, which ensued during the war, were as nothing compared to those which have since the peace resulted from the return to cash payments, and consequent contraction of the currency by the bill of 1819. Perhaps no single measure ever produced so calamitous an effect as that has done. It has added at least a third to the national debt, and augmented in a similar proportion all private burdens in the country; while, at the same time, it has taken as much from the remuneration of labour and means of paying it enjoyed by the community. It has thus occasioned such a fall of prices as has destroyed the sinking fund, rendered great part of the indirect taxes unproductive, and compelled in the end a return to direct taxation in a time of general peace. Thence has arisen a vacillation of prices unparalleled in any

\* BANK OF ENGLAND NOTES IN CIRCULATION.

1796	£10,729,526	1799	£12,959,620
1797	11,114,120	1800	16,854,809
1798	13,065,880	1801	16,203,281

—See Chap. xcv., Appendix.

age of the world, a creation of property in some, and destruction of it in others, which, in its ultimate consequences, all but equalled the disasters of a revolution.

7. The way in which these extraordinary, and in the end disastrous effects have resulted from this change, and the subsequent return to cash payments, is as follows:—When government paper is made, either directly or by implication, a legal tender in all the transactions of life, two different causes may conspire to affect prices, tending to the same effect, but in very different degrees. The first is the general fall in the value of money, and consequent rise in the price of every article of life, which results from any considerable issue of paper; and this effect takes place without any distrust in government, from the mere *increase in the circulating medium*, when compared with the commodities in the general market of the nation which it represents, or is destined in its transmission from hand to hand to purchase. This change of prices proceeds on the same principles, and arises from the same causes, as the fall in the money price of grain or cattle, from an excess in the supply of these articles in the market. The second is the far greater, and sometimes unbounded, depreciation which may arise from *distrust in the ultimate solvency of government*, or the means which the nation possesses of making good its engagements. To this fall no limits can be assigned, because government may not be deemed capable of discharging a hundredth part of its debts; whereas the variation of prices arising from the former seldom exceeds a duplication of their wonted amount: an effect, however, which is perfectly sufficient, if continued for any considerable time, and followed by a return to the old metallic system, to make one half of the property of the kingdom change hands.

8. The true test of the former effect is to be found in a general rise in the prices of every commodity, but without any difference between the money value when paid in specie and when paid in paper; the mark of the latter is, not only a rise in prices, even when

paid in gold or silver, but an extraordinary difference between prices when discharged in a paper and a metallic currency. Notwithstanding all that the spirit of party may have alleged, there does not appear ever to have been any traces of the latter effect in this country; or that at any period a higher price was exacted for *articles* when paid in bank-notes than in gold. There was doubtless a very great enhancement of the price of gold *compared with silver*; insomuch that a guinea, in 1810 and 1811, sold in England for twenty-seven shillings. But that was not because paper was depreciated as compared with the precious metals, but one of these metals—gold—on account of its portability, had become *enhanced* in value as compared with the other, from the great demand for it during the wars in Germany and the Peninsula. This species of depreciation, however, appeared in the highest degree in France, where, when the credit of government was almost extinct, a dinner which, when paid in gold, cost a louis, could only be discharged in assignats for twenty-eight thousand francs. But the former consequences prevailed long, and with the most widespread effects, in this country. Every article of life was speedily doubled in price, and continued above twenty years at that high standard; and upon the recurrence to a metallic currency in 1819, and consequent reduction of prices to a corresponding extent, the distress and suffering among the industrious classes long exceeded anything ever before witnessed in our history, and produced effects which probably never can be recovered from, and which have implanted the seeds of death in the British empire. But the full elucidation of this all-important subject must be reserved for the concluding chapter of this work.

9. The Opposition deemed this a favourable opportunity to bring forward their favourite project of Parliamentary Reform; as the disasters of the war, the suspension of cash payments by the bank, the mutiny of the fleet, which will be immediately noticed, and the failure of the attempt to negotiate with



France, had filled all men's minds with consternation, and disposed many true patriots to doubt the possibility of continuing the present system. On the 26th May, Mr (afterwards earl) Grey brought forward his promised motion for a change in the system of representation, which is chiefly remarkable as containing the outlines of that vast scheme which convulsed the nation when he was at the head of affairs in 1831, and subsequently made so great a change on the British constitution. He proposed that the qualification for county electors should remain as it was, but that the numbers they returned should be increased from 92 to 113; that the franchise should be extended to copyholders, and leaseholders holding leases for a certain term; and that the whole remainder of the members, 400 in number, should be returned by one description of persons alone, namely, householders. His plan was, that the elections should be taken over the whole kingdom at once, and a large portion of the smaller boroughs be disfranchised. By this scheme, he contended, the landowners, the merchants, and all the respectable classes of the community, would be adequately represented; and those only excluded whom no man would wish to see retain their place in the legislature—namely, the nominees of great families, who obtained seats, not for the public good, but for their private advantage. Mr Erskine, who seconded the motion, further argued, in an eloquent speech, that, from the gradual and growing influence of the Crown, the House of Commons had become perverted from its original office, which was that of watching with jealous care over the other branches of the legislature, into the ready instrument of their abuses and encroachments; that there was now a deep and widespread spirit of disaffection prevalent among the people, which rendered it absolutely indispensable that their just demands should be conceded in time; that further resistance would drive them into republicanism and revolution; that the head of the government itself had once declared, that no upright or useful administration

could exist while the House was constituted as it then was; that the voice of complaint could not be silenced by a sullen refusal to remedy the grievance, and though this road might be pursued for a season, yet the end of these things was death. "Give, on the other hand," said he, "to the people the blessings of the constitution, and they will join with ardour in its defence; and the power of the disaffected will be permanently crippled, by severing from them all the rational and virtuous of the community."

10. On the other hand, it was contended by Mr Pitt, that the real question was not whether some alteration in the system of representation might not be attended with advantage, but whether the degree of benefit was worth the chance of the mischief it might possibly, or would probably induce. That it was clearly not prudent to give an opening to principles which would never be satisfied with any concession, but would make every acquisition the means of demanding with greater effect still more extensive acquisitions; that the fortress of the constitution was now beleaguered on all sides, and to surrender the outworks would only render it soon impossible to maintain the defence of the body of the place; that he had himself at one period been a reformer, and he would have been so still, had men's minds been in a calm and settled state, and had he been secure that they would rest content with the redress of real grievances; but, since the commencement of the French Revolution, it was too plain that this would assuredly not be the case. That it was impossible to believe that the men who remained unmoved by the dismal spectacle which their principles had produced in a neighbouring state—who, on the contrary, rose and fell with the success or decline of Jacobinism in every country of Europe—were actuated by similar views with those who prosecuted the cause of reform as a practical advantage, and maintained it on constitutional views; and he could never give credit to the assertion, that the temper of moderate reformers would induce them to make common cause with the irreconcilable

enemies of the constitution. That reform was only a disguise assumed to conceal the approaches of revolution; and that rapine, conflagration, and murder were the necessary attendants on any innovation since the era of the French Revolution, which had entirely altered the grounds on which the question of reform was rested, and the class of men by whom it was espoused. That these objections applied to any alteration of the government in the present heated state of men's minds; but, in addition to that, the specific plan now brought forward was both highly exceptionable in theory and unsupported by experience. On a division, Mr Grey's motion was lost by a majority of 258 against 98.

11. In deciding on the difficult question of Parliamentary Reform, which has so long divided, and still divides, so many able men in the country, one important consideration, to be always kept in mind, is the double effect which any change in the constitution of government must always produce, and the opposite consequences with which, according to the temper of the times, it is likely to be followed. In so far as it remedies any experienced grievance, or supplies a practical defect, or concedes powers to the people essential to the preservation of freedom, it necessarily does good; in so far as it excites democratic ambition, confers inordinate power, and awakens or fosters passions inconsistent with public tranquillity, it necessarily does mischief, and may lead to the dissolution of society. The expedience of making any considerable change, therefore, depends on the proportions in which these opposite ingredients are mingled in the proposed measure, and on the temper of the people among whom it is to take place. If the real grievance is great, and the public disposition unruffled, save by its continuance, unalloyed good may be expected from its removal, and serious peril from a denial of change. If the evil is inconsiderable or imaginary, and the people in a state of excitement from other causes, or the contagion of successful revolutions in the adjoining states, concession to their demands will

probably lead to nothing but increased confusion, and more extravagant expectations. Examples exist illustrating both these results: the gradual relaxation of the fetters of feudal tyranny, and the emancipation of the boroughs, led to the glories of European civilisation; while the concessions of Charles I., extorted by the vehemence of the Long Parliament, brought that unhappy monarch to the block; the submission of Louis to all the demands of the States-General, did not avert, but rather hastened his tragic fate; and the granting of emancipation to the fierce outcry of the Irish Catholics, instead of peace and tranquillity, brought only increased agitation and more vehement passions to the peopled shores of the Emerald Isle.

12. Applying these principles to the question of Parliamentary Reform, as it was then agitated, there seems no doubt that the changes which were so loudly demanded could not have redressed any considerable real grievance, or removed any prolific source of discontent; because they could not have diminished in any great degree the public burdens without stopping the war; and experience has proved in every age, that the most democratic states, so far from being pacific, are the most ambitious of military renown. From a greater infusion of popular power into the legislature, nothing but fiercer contests and additional expenses could have been anticipated. The concession, if granted, therefore, would neither have been to impatience of suffering, nor to the necessities of freedom, but to the desire of power in circumstances where it was not called for; and such a concession is only throwing fuel on the flame. And the event has proved the truth of these principles. Reform was refused by the Commons in 1797, and, so far from being either enslaved or thrown into confusion, the nation became daily freer and more united, and soon entered on a splendid and unrivalled career of glory. It was conceded by the Commons, in a period of comparative tranquillity, in 1831, and a century will not develop the ultimate effects of the change, which hitherto

at least, has done anything rather than augmented the securities of durable liberty, or removed the lasting causes of popular discontent. Still less was it called for in the former period as a safeguard to real freedom, because, though it was constantly refused for four-and-thirty years afterwards, the power of the people steadily increased during that period, and at length effected a great democratic alteration in the constitution.

13. The question of continuing the war again occupied a prominent place in the debates of Parliament. On the side of the Opposition, it was contended that, after four years of its maintenance, the addition of £200,000,000 to the national debt, and £9,000,000 annually to the taxes, the nation was farther than ever from achieving the objects for which the war had been undertaken; that Holland and Flanders had successively yielded to the arms of the Republic, which, like Anteus, had risen stronger from every fall; that all the predictions of failure in its resources had only been answered by increased conquests and more splendid victories; that the minister was not sincere in his desire for a negotiation, or he would have proposed very different terms from those actually offered, to which it was impossible to expect that a victorious enemy would accede; that the real object, it was evident, was only to gain time, to put France apparently in the wrong, and throw upon its government the blame of continuing hostilities, which had been unfortunately gained through the diplomatic skill evinced by the British ministers in the course of a negotiation begun with most hollow intentions.

14. Mr Pitt lamented the sudden and unforeseen stop put to the negotiations, by which he had fondly hoped that a termination would be put to a contest into which we had been unwillingly dragged. This failure was a subject of regret and disappointment; but it was regret without despondency, and disappointment without despair. "We wish for peace," said he, "but on such terms as will secure its real blessings, and not serve as a cover merely to secret

preparations for renewed hostilities; we may expect to see, as the result of the conduct we have pursued, England united and France divided; we have offered peace on the condition of giving up all our conquests to obtain better terms for our allies; but our offers have been rejected, our ambassador insulted, and not even the semblance of terms offered in return. In these circumstances, then, are we to persevere in the war with a spirit and energy worthy of the English name, or to prostrate ourselves at the feet of a haughty and supercilious republic, to do what they require, and submit to all they shall impose? I hope there is not a hand in his Majesty's councils which would sign the proposals, that there is not a heart in the House that would sanction the measure, nor an individual in the British dominions who would serve as courier on the occasion."

15. Parliament having determined, by a great majority in both Houses, to continue the contest with vigour, supplies were voted proportioned to the magnitude of the armaments which were required. The sums for the expenses of the war, in two successive budgets, amounted, exclusive of the interest of the debt, to £42,800,000. In this immense aggregate were included two loans, one of £18,000,000 and another of £16,000,000, besides an Imperial subsidy of £2,500,000, guaranteed by the British government. To defray the interest of these loans, new taxes to the amount of £2,400,000 were imposed. The land forces voted for the year were 195,000 men, of whom 61,000 were in the British islands, and the remainder in the colonial dependencies of the empire. The ships in commission were 124 of the line, 18 of fifty guns, 180 frigates, and 184 sloops. This great force, however, being scattered over the whole globe, could hardly be assembled in considerable strength at any particular point; and hence, notwithstanding the magnitude of the British navy upon the whole, they were generally inferior to their enemies in every engagement.

16. On the other hand, the naval forces of France and her allies had now

become very considerable. Then appeared in clear colours the great peril to British independence from the junction of the fleets of France and Spain, and the wisdom which had guided the cabinet of Anne, and sustained the efforts of Marlborough and Eugene, to avert so menacing a coalition of these formidable powers. Powerful as the British navy was, it was now decidedly overbalanced, in numbers at least, by the combined fleets of France, Spain, and Holland. The Treaty of Utrecht now brought forth its true fruits: the policy of Bolingbroke and Harley, a century before, now exposed England to imminent peril. Nowise discouraged by the unfortunate issue of the previous attempt against Ireland, the indefatigable Truguet was combining the means of bringing an overwhelming force into the Channel. Twenty-seven ships of the line were to proceed from the Spanish shores, raise the blockade of all the French harbours, and unite with the Dutch fleet from the Texel, in the Channel, where they expected to assemble sixty-five or seventy ships of the line—a force much greater than any which England could oppose to them in that quarter. To frustrate these designs, the British government had only eighteen ships of the line, under Lord Bridport, in the Channel, fifteen under Admiral Jarvis, off Corunna, and sixteen under Admiral Duncan, off the Texel—in all forty-nine; forces much inferior to those of the enemy, if they had been all joined together. This is sufficient to demonstrate by what a slender thread the naval supremacy of England was held, at the very time when the victories of France enabled her to combine against these islands all the maritime forces of Europe; and how vast is the debt of gratitude she owes to those heroic minds who compensated this inferiority in physical resources, by an energy and patriotism never surpassed in the annals of mankind.

17. But great as this peril was, it was rendered incomparably more alarming, by a calamity of a kind and in a quarter where it was least expected. This was the famous *Mutiny in the Fleet*, which, at the very time that the

enemies of Britain were most formidable, and her finances most embarrassed, threatened to deprive her of her most trusty defenders, and brought the state to the very verge of destruction. Unknown to government, or at least without their having taken it into serious consideration, a feeling of discontent had for a very long period prevailed in the English navy. This was, no doubt, partly brought to maturity by the democratic and turbulent spirit which had spread from France through the adjoining states; but it had its origin in a variety of real grievances which existed, and must, if unredressed, have sooner or later brought on an explosion. The sailors complained, with reason, that while all the articles of life had nearly doubled in price in the last century and a half, and risen with extraordinary rapidity since the present war commenced, their pay had not been augmented since the reign of Charles II.; that prize-money was unequally distributed, and an undue proportion given to the officers; that discipline was maintained with excessive and undue severity; and that the conduct of the officers towards the men was often harsh and revolting, and suited rather to the severity of feudal discipline, than the more liberal ideas of modern times. These evils, long felt and murmured against, were rendered more exasperating by the inflammatory acts of a number of persons of superior station, whom the general distress arising from commercial embarrassment had driven into the navy, and who persuaded the sailors, that, by acting unanimously and decidedly, they would speedily obtain redress of their grievances. The influence of these new entrants appeared in the secrecy and ability with which the measures of the malcontents were taken, and the general extension of the conspiracy, before its existence was known to the officers of the fleet.

18. The prevalence of these discontents was made known to Lord Howe and the Lords of the Admiralty, by a variety of anonymous communications, during the whole spring of 1793. But they met with no attention; and, upon inquiry at the captains of vessels, they

were so ill informed that they all declared that no mutinous dispositions existed on board of their respective ships. Meanwhile, however, a vast conspiracy, unknown to them, was already organised, which was brought to maturity on the return of the Channel fleet to port in the beginning of April; and on the signal being made from the Queen Charlotte, by Lord Bridport, to weigh anchor on the 15th of that month at Spithead, instead of obeying, its crew gave three cheers, which were returned by every vessel in the fleet, and the red flag of mutiny was hoisted at every mast-head. In this perilous crisis, the officers of the squadron exerted themselves to the utmost to bring back their crews to a state of obedience; but all their efforts were in vain. Meanwhile, the fleet being completely in possession of the insurgents, they used their power firmly, but, to the honour of England be it said, with humanity and moderation. Order and discipline were universally observed; the most scrupulous attention was paid to the officers; those most obnoxious were sent ashore without molestation; delegates were appointed from all the ships to meet in Lord Howe's cabin, an oath to support the common cause was administered to every man in the fleet, and ropes were reeved to the yard-arm of every vessel as a signal of the punishment that would be inflicted on those that betrayed it. Three days afterwards, two petitions were forwarded, one to the Admiralty, and one to the House of Commons, drawn up in the most respectful and even touching terms, declaring their unshaken loyalty to their king and country, but detailing the grievances of which they complained; that their pay had not been augmented since the reign of Charles II., though every article of life had advanced above one-third in value; that the pensions of Chelsea were £13, while those of Greenwich still remained at £7; that their allowance of provisions was insufficient, and that the pay of wounded seamen was not continued till they were cured or discharged.

19. This unexpected mutiny produced the utmost alarm both in the country and the government; and the

Board of Admiralty was immediately transferred to Portsmouth to endeavour to appease it. Earl Spencer hastened to the spot, and, after some negotiation, the demands of the fleet were acceded to by the Admiralty, it being agreed that the pay of able-bodied seamen should be raised to a shilling a-day; that of petty officers and ordinary seamen in the same proportion, and the Greenwich pension augmented to ten pounds. This, however, the seamen refused to accept, unless it was ratified by royal proclamation and act of Parliament; the red flag, which had been struck, was rehoisted, and the fleet, after subordination had been in some degree restored, again broke out into open mutiny. Government, upon this, sent down Lord Howe to reassure the mutineers, and convince them of the good faith with which they were animated. The personal influence of this illustrious man, the many years he had commanded the Channel fleet, the recollection of his glorious victory at its head, all conspired to induce the sailors to listen to his representations; and, in consequence of his assurance that government would faithfully keep its promises, and grant an unlimited amnesty for the past, the whole fleet returned to its duty, and a few days afterwards put to sea, amounting to twenty-one ships of the line, to resume the blockade of Brest harbour.

20. The bloodless termination of this revolt, and the concession to the seamen of what all felt to be their just demands, diffused a general joy throughout the nation; but this satisfaction was of short duration. On the 22d May the fleet at the Nore, forming part of Lord Duncan's squadron, broke out into open mutiny, and on the 6th June they were joined by all the vessels of that fleet, from the blockading station off the Texel, excepting his own line-of-battle ship and two frigates. These ships drew themselves up in order of battle across the Thames, stopped all vessels going up or down the river, appointed delegates and a provisional government for the fleet, and compelled the ships, whose crews were thought to be wavering, to take their station in the

middle of the formidable array. At the head of the insurrection was a man of the name of Parker, a seaman on board the *Sandwich*, who assumed the title of "President of the Floating Republic," and was distinguished by undaunted resolution and no small share of ability. Their demands related chiefly to the unequal distribution of prize-money, which had been overlooked by the Channel mutineers; but they went so far in other respects, and were couched in such a menacing strain, as to be justly deemed totally inadmissible by government. At intelligence of this alarming insurrection, the utmost consternation seized all classes in the nation. Everything seemed to be falling at once. Their armies had been defeated, the bank had suspended payment, and now the fleet, the pride and glory of England, appeared on the point of deserting the national colours. The citizens of London dreaded a stoppage of the colliers, and all the usual supplies of the metropolis; the public creditors apprehended the speedy dissolution of government, and the cessation of their wonted payments from the treasury. Despair seized upon the boldest hearts; and such was the general panic, that the three per cents were sold as low as 45, after having been nearly 100 before the commencement of the war. Never, during the whole contest, had the consternation been so great, and never was Britain placed so near the verge of ruin.

21. Fortunately for Great Britain, and the cause of freedom throughout the world, a Monarch was on the throne whose firmness no danger could shake, and a Minister at the helm whose capacity was equal to any emergency. Perceiving that the success of the mutineers in the Channel fleet had augmented the audacity of the sailors, and given rise to the present formidable insurrection, and conscious that the chief real grievances had been redressed, government resolved to make a stand, and adopted the most energetic measures to face the danger. All the buoys at the mouth of the Thames were removed; Sheerness, which was menaced with a bombardment from the insurgent ships, was garrisoned with four thousand men;

red-hot balls were kept in constant readiness; the fort of Tilbury was armed with a hundred pieces of heavy cannon, and a chain of gun-boats sunk to debar access to the harbour of London. These energetic measures restored the public confidence; the nation rallied round a monarch and an administration who were not wanting to themselves in this extremity; and all the armed men, sailors, and merchants in London, voluntarily took an oath to stand by their country in this eventful crisis.

22. The conduct of Parliament on this trying occasion was worthy of its glorious history. The revolt of the fleet was formally communicated to both Houses by the king on the 1st June, and immediately taken into consideration. The greater part of the Opposition, and especially Mr Fox, at first held back, and seemed rather disposed to turn the public danger into the means of overturning the administration; but Mr Sheridan came nobly forward, and threw the weight of his great name and thrilling eloquence into the balance in favour of his country "Shall we yield," said he, "to mutinous sailors? Never; for in one moment we should extinguish three centuries of glory." Awakened by this splendid example to more worthy feelings, the Opposition at length joined the Administration, and a bill for the suppression of the mutiny passed by a great majority through both Houses of Parliament. By this act it was declared death for any person to hold communication with the sailors in mutiny after the revolt had been declared by proclamation; and all who should endeavour to seduce either soldiers or sailors from their duty were liable to the same punishment. This bill was opposed by Sir Francis Burdett, and a few of the most violent of the Opposition, upon the ground that conciliation and concession were the only course which could insure speedy submission. But Mr Pitt's reply—that the tender feelings of these brave but misguided men were the sole avenue which remained open to recall them to their duty, and that a separation from their wives, their children, and their country, would pro-

bably induce the return to duty which could alone obtain a revival of that intercourse of affection—was justly deemed conclusive, and the bill accordingly passed.

23. Meanwhile a negotiation was conducted by the Admiralty, who repaired on the first alarm to Sheerness, and received a deputation from the mutineers; but their demands were so unreasonable, and urged in so threatening a manner, that they had the appearance of having been brought forward to exclude all accommodation, and justify, by their refusal, the immediate recurrence to extreme measures. These parleys, however, gave government time to sow dissension among the insurgents, by representing the hopeless nature of the contest with the whole nation in which they were engaged, and the unreasonable nature of the demands on which they insisted. By degrees they became sensible that they had engaged in a desperate enterprise, and that the majority, even in their own profession, would not stand by them. The whole sailors on board the Channel fleet gave a splendid proof of genuine patriotism, by reprobating their proceedings, and earnestly imploring them to return to their duty. This remonstrance, coupled with the energetic conduct of both parliament and government, and the general disapprobation of the nation, gradually checked the spirit of insubordination. On the 9th June, two ships of the line slipped their cables and abandoned the insurgents amidst a heavy fire from the whole line; on the 18th, three other line-of-battle ships and two frigates openly left them, and took refuge under the cannon of Sheerness; on the following day, several others followed their example; and at length, on the 15th, the whole remaining ships struck the red flag of mutiny, and the communication between the ocean and the metropolis was restored. Parker, the leader of the insurrection, was seized on board his own ship, and, after a solemn trial, condemned to death; a punishment which he underwent with great firmness, acknowledging the justice of his sentence, and hoping only that mercy would be extended to his

associates. Several of the other leaders of the revolt were found guilty, and executed; but some escaped from on board the prison-ship, and got safe to Calais, and a large number, still under sentence of death, were pardoned, by royal proclamation, after the glorious victory of Camperdown.

24. The suppression of this dangerous revolt with so little bloodshed, and the extrication of the nation from the greatest peril in which it had been placed since the time of the Spanish Armada, is one of the most glorious events in the reign of George III., and in the administration of Pitt.\* Disdaining to submit to the audacious demands of the mutineers, refusing to treat with them even when they held the capital blockaded, they remained resolute in presence of the "floating republic" at the mouth of the Thames, without withdrawing a single ship from the blockade of Brest, Cadiz, or the Texel. The conduct adopted towards the insurgents may be regarded as a masterpiece of political wisdom; and the happiest example of that union of firmness and humanity, of justice and concession, which can alone bring a government safely through such a crisis. By at once conceding all the just demands of the Channel fleet, and proclaiming a general pardon for a revolt which had too much ground for its justification, they deprived the disaffected of all real grounds of complaint, and detached from their cause all the patriotic portion of the navy; while, by resolutely withstanding the audacious demands of the Nore mutineers, they checked the spirit of democracy which had arisen out of those very concessions

\* The magnanimous conduct of the British government on this occasion was fully appreciated on the Continent. "Let us figure to ourselves," says Prince Hardenberg, "Richard Parker, a common sailor, the leader of the revolt, taking at Sheerness the title of Admiral of the Fleet, and the fleet itself, consisting of eleven sail of the line and four frigates, assuming the title of the Floating Republic; and, nevertheless, recollect that the English, but recently recovered from a financial crisis, remained undaunted in presence of such a revolt, and did not withdraw one vessel from the blockade of Brest, Cadiz, or the Texel! It was the firmness of ancient Rome."—HARD. IV. 482.

themselves. For such is the singular combination of good and bad principles in human nature, and such the disposition of man to run riot, on the least opening being afforded, that not only do our virtues border upon vices, but even from acts of justice the most deplorable consequences frequently flow. Humanity borders on weakness; charity itself may lead to ruin. Unless a due display of firmness accompanies concessions, dictated by a spirit of humanity, they too often are imputed to fear, and increase the very turbulent spirit they were intended to remove.

25. Admiral Duncan's conduct at this critical juncture was above all praise. He was with his fleet blockading the Texel, when intelligence of the insurrection was received, and immediately four ships of the line deserted to the mutineers, leaving him with an inferior force in presence of the enemy. They were speedily followed by several others; and at length the admiral, in his own ship, with two frigates, was left alone on the station. In this extremity his firmness did not forsake him: he called his crew on deck, and addressed them in one of those speeches of touching and manly eloquence, which at once melt the human heart.\* His crew were dissolved in tears, and declared, in the most energetic manner, their unshaken

\* "My Lads,—I once more call you together, with a sorrowful heart, from what I have lately seen of the disaffection of the fleets: I call it disaffection, for they have no grievances. To be deserted by my fleet, in the face of the enemy, is a disgrace which, I believe, never before happened to a British admiral, nor could I have supposed it possible. My greatest comfort, under God, is, that I have been supported by the officers, seamen, and marines of this ship, for which, with a heart overflowing with gratitude, I request you to accept my sincere thanks. I flatter myself much good may result from your example, by bringing those deluded people to a sense of the duty which they owe not only to their king and country, but to themselves.

"The British navy has ever been the support of that liberty which has been handed down to us from our ancestors, and which, I trust, we shall maintain to the latest posterity; and that can only be done by unanimity and obedience. This ship's company, and others who have distinguished themselves by their loyalty and good order, deserve to be, and doubtless will be, the favourites of a grateful nation. They will also have from their inward feelings a comfort which will be

loyalty, and resolution to abide by him in life or death. Encouraged by this heroic conduct, he declared his determination to maintain the blockade, and, undismayed by the defection of so large a part of his squadron, remained off the Texel with his little but faithful remnant. By stationing one of the ships in the offing, and frequently making signals, as if to the remainder of the fleet, he succeeded in deceiving the Dutch admiral, who imagined that the vessels in sight were only the inshore squadron, and kept his station until the remainder of his ships joined him after the suppression of the insurrection.

26. It was naturally imagined at the time that this formidable mutiny had been, in part at least, instigated by the arts of the French government. But though they were naturally highly elated at such an unexpected piece of good fortune, and anxious to turn it to the best advantage, and though the revolutionary spirit which was abroad was unquestionably one cause of the commotion, there is no reason to believe that it arose from the instigation of the Directory, or was at all connected with any treasonable or seditious projects. On the contrary, after the minutest investigation, it appeared that the grievances complained of were entirely of a domestic character, that the hearts of the lasting, and not like the fleeting and false confidence of those who have swerved from their duty.

"It has been often my pride to look with you into the Texel, and see a foe which dreaded coming out to meet us. My pride is now humbled indeed!—my feelings cannot easily be expressed. Our cup has overflowed, and made us wanton. The all-wise Providence has given us this check as a warning, and I hope we shall improve by it. In Him, then, let us trust, where our only security is to be found. I find there are many good men among us; for my own part I have had full confidence in all in this ship, and once more beg to express my approbation of your conduct.

"May God, who has thus far conducted you, continue to do so; and may the British navy, the glory and support of our country, be restored to its wonted splendour, and be not only the bulwark of Britain, but the terror of the world. But this can only be effected by a strict adherence to our duty and obedience; and let us pray that the Almighty God may keep us all in the right way of thinking.—God bless you all!"—*Ann. Reg.* 1797, 214.



sailors were throughout true to their country, and that, at the very time when they were blockading the Thames in so menacing a manner, they would have fought the French fleet with the same spirit as was afterwards evinced in the glorious victory of Camperdown. And, how alarming soever in its commencement, the ultimate consequences of this insurrection, as of most other popular commotions which originate in real grievances, and are candidly but firmly met by government, were highly beneficial. The attention of the cabinet was forcibly turned to the sources of discontent in the navy, and from that to the corresponding grievances in the army; and the result was a series of changes which, in a very great degree, improved the condition of officers and men in both services. The pay of the common soldiers was raised to its present standard of a shilling a-day; and those admirable regulations were soon after adopted in regard to pensions, prize-money, and retired allowances, which have justly endeared the memories of the Duke of York and Lord Melville to the privates of both services.

27. It was not in the Channel and North Sea fleets alone, however, that this dangerous mutiny had its ramifications. Disturbances of a less conspicuous, but not less serious kind, soon after appeared at Plymouth, where they were only suppressed by an extraordinary exertion of courage and energy on the part of Lord Keith.\* The danger was still more imminent in the fleet off Cadiz, which, had an admiral less firm and energetic than Earl St Vincent been at its head, would in all probability have been attended with the most disastrous consequences. So widespread was the

\* Lord Keith went on board the *Saturn*, and gave the crew his opinion of their conduct, telling them that, if they surrendered fourteen of their ringleaders, he should be satisfied; but if they did not, he had a list of fifty. After an appearance of crowding on him, and a threat from him to run the first man through who stirred, fourteen men were delivered up to him and immediately put in irons. This firmness and resolution instantly restored subordination to the fleet.—*FELLOW'S Life of Lord Sidmouth*, i. 190; a very valuable and interesting life of a patriotic and intrepid statesman.

spirit of disaffection in that fleet, that even the glorious victory of St Vincent, to be immediately noticed, could not extinguish it. A dangerous member of the London Corresponding Society, —which had been checked, but not extinguished, by the trial of Hardy and Horne Tooke,—named Bott, had got on board, and spread far and wide the seditious spirit by which that Society was animated. It extended through nearly all the ships in the fleet. In the *Romulus* it first appeared; and the captain only succeeded in appeasing it for the time by a promise that the vessel should on a certain day proceed to England. St Vincent ratified it, but, the day before the ship sailed, he drafted every man out of her, and sent her home with another crew. But it was on the arrival of Sir Roger Curtis's squadron, which joined the fleet from the Channel in September 1797, that the mutiny became most alarming. It broke out with great violence on board the *Marlborough*, *Lion*, and *Centaur*, part of Sir Roger's squadron, which had with great difficulty been kept in a state of subordination during the voyage from Spithead. A court-martial was forthwith assembled on board the flag-ship, and one of the principal ringleaders having been sentenced to be hanged, St Vincent, according to his invariable practice, ordered him "to be executed by the crew of the *Marlborough* alone, no part of the boats' crews from other ships assisting on the occasion." The commander of the *Marlborough*, Captain Ellison, represented that the crew of his vessel would not obey the order, and requested the aid of other boats' crews as usual on such occasions; but St Vincent sternly replied, "Captain Ellison, you are an old officer, have suffered severely in the service, and lost an arm in action; that man *shall be hanged* at eight o'clock to-morrow morning, and by his own ship's company, for not another hand from any other ship in the fleet shall touch the rope." He took, however, the most effectual measures to support Captain Ellison in the discharge of this trying duty. All the launches in the fleet, armed with heavy carronades, and provided with

twelve rounds of ball cartridge, were ordered to be in attendance, manned by trusty crews and gunners, under the command of an iron veteran, Captain Campbell of the *Hienheim*. The orders of St Vincent to him were, "if any symptoms of mutiny appeared in the *Marlborough*, any attempt to open her ports, or any resistance to hanging the prisoner, he was to proceed close to the ship, fire into her, and continue to fire till all mutiny or resistance should cease; and, if it should become absolutely necessary, to sink the ship in the face of the fleet."

28. At seven next morning, all the launches, thus armed, proceeded to the *Marlborough*, and took a position within pistol-shot of that vessel, athwart her bows: their guns were then loaded. At half-past seven, on a signal from the admiral's ship, all the hands on board the fleet were turned up to witness the punishment, and at a quarter before eight a powerfully armed boat quitted the flag-ship, bearing the prisoner to be executed by his own crew. It speedily neared the *Marlborough*; the man was taken up, placed on the cat-head, and the halter put about his neck. An awful silence of a few minutes ensued; every eye in the fleet was bent in intense anxiety on the prisoner: the crisis was come; discipline or mutiny in a few seconds would prevail. The watch-bells of the fleet at length struck eight; a gun at the same moment was discharged from the flag-ship, and instantly the man was hoisted in the air; he soon dropped again, however, for the men at the rope had unintentionally let it slip. The anxiety throughout the fleet now became unbearable, for it was thought the crew had resisted the order. Presently, however, he was hauled up to one of the yard-arms with a run. Lord St Vincent, for the first time turning aside his eye, then said, "The law is satisfied: discipline has been preserved."

29. This was the crisis of the mutiny; its spirit was indeed far from being extinguished, and dangerous disturbances afterwards broke out on board particular vessels; but there was no disposition evinced again to contest the power

of the law. What principally tended to keep alive this alarming spirit, was the frequent arrival of ships from England, several of which were in a state of open mutiny, and nearly all brought a spirit of disaffection with them. Frequent mutinies broke out during the winter, and the dreadful sentence of the law was again and again inflicted; but they were all suppressed, and subordination at length, though not till a considerable period had elapsed, was restored throughout the fleet, by the unflinching energy and iron determination of Earl St Vincent. The mutinous spirit was not now entirely confined to the redressing of domestic grievances, or evils complained of in the service. Excited by the agents of the Corresponding Society in England, it aimed at revolution, and tended to an alliance with the enemies of their country. The mutineers on board the *Princess Royal* pointed to Cadiz as their future country. It required all St Vincent's firmness and energy to extinguish the widespread spirit, but he was equal to the crisis. When the *St George* arrived from England with some rebels in irons, whom Captain Peard had with dauntless courage seized, a court-martial was immediately summoned, who pronounced sentence on Saturday on the principal mutineers, and it was carried into execution next morning, *though it was Sunday*—a deviation from established usage which made a great impression on the fleet, as evincing the unflinching determination of the commander-in-chief. At length the disaffection wore out, the rebels finding that their reasonable demands had been conceded by government, and that their traitorous designs were met with ceaseless vigilance, and chastised with unbending rigour.

30. But whatever may have been the internal dissensions of the British fleet, never did it appear more terrible and irresistible to its foreign enemies than during this eventful year. Early in February the Spanish fleet, consisting of twenty-seven ships of the line and twelve frigates, put to sea, with the design of steering for Brest, raising the blockade of that harbour, forming a

junction with the Dutch fleet, and clearing the Channel of the British squadron. This design—the same as that which Napoleon afterwards adopted in 1805—was defeated by one of the most memorable victories ever recorded even in the splendid annals of the English navy. Admiral Jarvis (Earl St Vincent), who was stationed off the coast of Portugal, had, by the greatest efforts, and a degree of vigour almost unparalleled even in the glorious annals of the British navy, at length succeeded in repairing the various most serious losses which his fleet had sustained during the storms of winter, and at this period lay in the Tagus with fifteen sail of the line, and six frigates. The moment he heard of the enemy's having sailed, he instantly put to sea, and was cruising off CAPE ST VINCENT, when he received intelligence of their approach, and immediately prepared for battle. He bore down on the starboard tack, the ships being in the most compact order, standing to the south before the wind; and, nothing daunted by the great superiority of force, nearly two to one, which they presented to his own squadron, succeeded in breaking the enemy's line between the eighteenth and nineteenth ships of the Spanish fleet, where there was a considerable opening.\* Captain Troubridge, in the Culloden, led the van of the leading column, and, passing slowly through the line, poured two tremendous broadsides, double-shotted, into the enemy's three-deckers; the

other ships followed, opening a dreadful fire on the right and left as they passed through. No sooner had he crossed the enemy's line, than Troubridge tacked again, and, followed by the Blenheim, Prince George, Orion, and Irresistible, engaged in close combat the weather division of the enemy, which had been separated from the rest of the fleet.† He thus succeeded in engaging the enemy, who were loosely scattered, and still straggling in disorderly array, in close combat, before they had time to form in regular order of battle. By a vigorous cannonade, these ships drove the nine Spanish vessels which had been cut off to leeward, so as to prevent their taking any part in the engagement which followed. The Spanish admiral upon this endeavoured to regain the lost part of his fleet, and was wearing round the rear of the British line, when Commodore NELSON, who was in the sternmost ship, perceiving his design, disregarded his orders, stood directly towards him, and precipitated himself into the very middle of the hostile squadron.‡

31. Bravely seconded by Captain COLLINGWOOD in the Excellent, Nelson wore and made all sail to aid the Culloden, now closely engaged. He ran his ship, the Captain, of 74 guns, between two Spanish three-deckers, the Santissima Trinidad, of 136 guns, commanded by Admiral Cordova, and the San Josef, of 112; and succeeded, by a

† So delighted was St Vincent with this movement, that on seeing it he said: "Look at Troubridge! He tacks his ship to battle as if the eyes of all England were upon him;—and would they were, for then they would see him as I know him to be, and, by heaven, sir! as the Dons will soon feel him."—TUCKER, l. 258.

‡ This gallant movement of Nelson's was in opposition to his orders, though imperatively called for by change of circumstances, and on this account it was, in all probability, that Nelson's name was not mentioned in St Vincent's official despatch. But he fully appreciated the importance of the movement. Captain Calder having in the evening hinted that the spontaneous movement of Nelson and Collingwood was unauthorised, St Vincent answered, "It certainly was so; and if ever you commit such a breach of your orders, I will forgive you also." After the engagement, St Vincent received Nelson on board his flag-ship in the most flattering manner.—TUCKER'S *Life of St Vincent*, l. 262.

\* Lord St Vincent's expressions on this occasion as they neared the combined fleet, and the numbers of the enemy were announced, were highly characteristic. He was walking the quarterdeck when the successive ships were called out—"There are eighteen sail of the line, Sir John."—"Very well, sir."—"There are twenty sail of the line, Sir John."—"Very well, sir."—"There are twenty-five sail of the line, Sir John."—"Very well, sir."—"There are twenty-seven sail of the line, Sir John; near double our own."—"Enough, sir—no more of that, sir: the die is cast: if there were fifty sail of the line, I will go through them."—"That's right, Sir John!" cried Hallowell, his worthy flag-captain; "that's right! and a d—d good licking we shall give them." Such were the men, such the spirit, by which the British empire in those heroic days was saved.—TUCKER'S *Life of St Vincent* v. 255-6.

tremendous fire to the right and left, in compelling the former to strike, although it escaped, in consequence of Nelson not being able, in the confusion of so close a fight, to take possession of his noble prize. The action, on the part of these gallant men, continued for nearly an hour with the utmost fury against fearful odds, which were more than compensated by the skill of the British sailors and the rapidity of their fire. Meanwhile the *Principe de Asturias*, bearing the Spanish vice-admiral's flag, made a gallant effort to break the British line, but was frustrated by Jarvis in the *Victory* throwing in stays; and, in her attempt, the Spanish vessel received a dreadful broadside from that ship. At the same time, Collingwood engaged the *Salvador del Mundo*, of 112 guns. The action began when the two ships were not more than fifty yards apart, but such was the tremendous effect of the Englishman's broadsides that in a quarter of an hour the Spanish three-decker struck her colours, and her firing ceased; upon which that noble officer, disdaining to take possession of beaten enemies, and seeing his old mesmate, Nelson, ahead, hard pressed by greatly superior forces, passed on; and the *Salvador*, relieved from her antagonist, again hoisted her colours, and recommenced the action. But she was again compelled to strike, and finally taken possession of by one of the ships which followed. Collingwood immediately came alongside the *San Isidoro*, 74, so close, that a man might leap from the one to the other, the two vessels engaging thus at the muzzles of their guns. The combat was not of long duration; in ten minutes the Spaniard struck, and was taken possession of by the *Lively* frigate, to whom signal was made to secure the prize.

32. Though Collingwood had thus, with 74 guns only, already forced two Spanish line-of-battle ships, one of which was a three-decker, to strike to him, yet he was not contented with his achievement, but pushed on yet farther to relieve Nelson, who was now engaged with the *San Nicholas* and *San Josef* on one side, and the huge four-

decker, the *Santissima Trinidad*, on the other. So close did he approach the former of these vessels, that, to use his own words, you "could not put a bodkin between them," and the shot from the British passed through both the Spanish vessels, and actually struck Nelson's balls from the other side. After a short engagement, the Spaniard's fire ceased on that quarter; and Collingwood, seeing Nelson's ship effectually succoured, moved on, and engaged the *Santissima Trinidad*, which already had been assailed by several British ships in succession. No sooner was Nelson relieved by Collingwood's fire, than, resuming his wonted energy, he boarded the *San Nicholas*, of 74 guns, which had fallen on board the *San Josef*, of 112 guns, now entirely disabled by the Captain's fire. Berry, Nelson's first-lieutenant, was the first who got on board, by jumping into the enemy's mizen-chains; he was quickly followed by the soldiers of the 69th, who were on board, and Nelson himself was as quick as lightning on the enemy's deck. Resistance was soon overcome, they speedily hoisted the British colours on the poop; and, finding that the prize was severely galled by a fire from the decks of the *San Josef*, with which she was entangled, Nelson pushed on across it to its gigantic neighbour, himself leading the way, and exclaiming, "Westminster Abbey, or victory!" Nothing could resist such enthusiastic courage; the Spanish admiral speedily hauled down his colours, presenting his sword to Nelson on his own quarter-deck, while the British ship lay a perfect wreck beside its two noble prizes.

33. While Nelson and Collingwood werethus precipitating themselves, with unexampled hardihood, into the centre of the enemy's squadron on the larboard, the other column of the fleet, headed by Sir John Jarvis in the *Victory*, of 100 guns, was also engaged in the most gallant and successful manner; though, from being the van on the starboard tack, by which the enemy's line was pierced, they were the rear on the larboard, where Nelson had begun his furious attack. The *Victory*, pass-

ing under the stern of the *Salvador del Mundo*, followed by the *Barfleur*, Admiral Waldegrave, poured the most destructive broadsides into that huge three-decker, which surrendered and was secured, having previously been silenced by the *Orion*, Captain Saumarez. These ships, moving on, engaged in succession the *Santissima Trinidad*, whose tremendous fire from her four decks seemed to threaten destruction to every lesser opponent which approached her. At length, after having been most gallantly fought by Jarvis and Collingwood, she struck to Captain, now Lord de Saumarez, in the *Orion*; but, that intrepid officer, being intent on still greater achievements, did not heave-to, in order to take possession; but thinking it sufficient that she had hoisted the white flag on her quarter, and the British union-jack over it, passed on, leaving to the ship astern the easy task of taking possession. Unfortunately, in the smoke, this vessel did not perceive the token of surrender, but moved on ahead of the *Santissima Trinidad* after the admiral, so that the captured Spaniard was encouraged, though dismantled, to try to get off, and ultimately effected her escape. The remainder of the Spanish fleet now rapidly closed in, and deprived Captain Saumarez of his magnificent prize; but the British squadron kept possession of the *San Josef* and *Salvador*, each of 112 guns, and the *San Nicholas* and *San Isidoro* of 74 each. Towards evening, the detached part of the Spanish fleet rejoined the main body, and thereby formed a force still greatly superior to the British squadron; yet such was the consternation produced by the losses they had experienced, and the imposing aspect of the British fleet, that they made no attempt to regain their lost vessels, but, after a distant cannonade, retreated in the night towards Cadiz, whither they were immediately followed and blockaded by the victors.

34. This important victory, which delivered England from all fears of invasion, by preventing the threatened junction of the hostile fleets, was achieved with the loss of only three hundred men, of whom nearly one-half were on

board Nelson's ship, while above five hundred were lost on board the Spanish ships which struck alone—a signal proof how much less bloody sea-fights are than those between land forces, and a striking example of the great effects which sometimes follow an inconsiderable expenditure of human life on that element, compared to the trifling results which attend fields of carnage in military warfare. Admiral Jarvis followed the beaten fleet to Cadiz, whither they had retired in the deepest dejection, and with tarnished honour. The defeat of so great an armament by little more than half their number, and the evident superiority of skill and seamanship which it evinced in the British navy, filled all Europe with astonishment, and demonstrated on what doubtful grounds the Republicans rested their hopes of subduing these islands. The decisive nature of the victory was speedily evinced by the bombardment of Cadiz on three different occasions, under the direction of Commodore Nelson; and although these attacks were more insulting than hurtful to the Spanish ships, yet they evinced the magnitude of the disaster which they had sustained, and inflicted a grievous wound on the pride of the Castilians.\*

35. Horatio Nelson, who bore so glorious a part in these engagements, and who was destined to leave a name immortal in the rolls of fame, was born at Birnam-Thorp, in the county of Norfolk, on the 29th September 1758. His father was rector of that parish, of respectable, but not noble descent. The young Horatio early evinced so decided a partiality for a sea-life, that, though of a feeble constitution, he was sent on shipboard at the age of thirteen. Even before that first rude separation from the paternal roof, however, the character of the future hero had shown itself. When a mere child he strayed far from home, with a peasant boy of his ac-

\* St Vincent was well aware of the vast importance of a victory to Britain at that critical moment. He said, when bearing down on the enemy when going into action, "Our captains have their ships in admirable order: I wish they were well up with the enemy: a victory is very essential to England at this moment."—*TUCKER'S Life of St Vincent*, i. 255.

quaintance; and after being absent the whole day, he was discovered alone, sitting composedly by the side of a brook, which he could not get over. "I wonder," said the lady who found him, "that hunger and fear did not drive you home." "Fear!" replied the future champion of England, "what is it? I never saw Fear." On another occasion, when his elder brother and he were returning to school, on horseback, they were obliged to return by a severe snow-storm. Mr Nelson, however, on their coming back, suspected there was some sham to avoid going to school, and sent them again on their journey. "If the road is dangerous, you may return," said he; "but recollect, I leave it to your honour." The snow was deep enough to have allowed them a reasonable excuse for returning home, but Horatio insisted on going on. "We must go on," said he; "remember, brother, it was left to our honour." There were some fine pears growing in the schoolmaster's garden, which all the boys desired, but none of them ventured to take. Horatio volunteered upon the service, was lowered at night by sheets from the bed-room window, brought away the pears, and divided them among the boys, keeping no part to himself. "I only took them," said he, "because every other boy was afraid."

36. He first entered the navy as a midshipman, on board the *Raisonné*, of which his maternal uncle was captain; but that vessel was soon after paid off. Nelson's love of adventure made him volunteer on board the *Racehorse*, which was sent by the Admiralty on a voyage of discovery to the North Pole. The marvels of the North Seas, the perilous adventures of the seaman's life, amidst their boundless fields of ice, strongly attracted the young seaman's imagination. One night, during the mid-watch, he dropped from the ship's side, and followed a huge bear for a great distance on the ice; his musket missed fire, but he was attacking him with the butt-end, when Captain Ludlow, seeing his danger, fired a gun from the ship, which frightened the beast, and probably saved Nelson's life. Being severely reprimanded on his re-

turn for such rashness, "Sir," said he, "I wished to kill the bear, that I might carry the skin to my father." Subsequently he distinguished himself as a subaltern in various actions during the American war. Early in the revolutionary contest, he was employed in the siege of Bastia, in the island of Corsica, which he reduced—a singular coincidence, that the greatest leaders both at land and sea in that struggle should have first signalled themselves in operations on the same island. After the battle of St Vincent and the bombardment of Cadiz, he was sent on an expedition against the island of Teneriffe; but though the attack, conducted with his wonted courage and skill, was at first successful, and the town for a short time was in the hands of the assailants, they were ultimately repulsed, with the loss of seven hundred men and Nelson's right arm. His ardent spirit chafed in inaction, and he eagerly sought out every occasion in which danger was to be fronted, or glory won.

37. Gifted by nature with undaunted courage, indomitable resolution, and undecaying energy, Nelson was also possessed of the eagle glance, the quick determination, and coolness in danger, which constitute the rarest qualities of a consummate commander. Generous, open-hearted, and enthusiastic, the whole energies of his soul were concentrated in the love of his country; he loved danger itself, not the rewards of courage; he was incessantly consumed by that passion for great achievements, that sacred fire, which is the invariable characteristic of heroic minds. His soul was constantly striving after historic exploits; generosity and magnanimity in danger were so natural to him, that they arose unbidden on every occasion calculated to call them forth. On one occasion, during a violent storm off Minorca, Nelson's ship was disabled, and Captain Ball took his vessel in tow. Nelson thought, however, that Ball's ship would be lost if she kept her hold, and deeming his own case desperate, he seized the speaking-trumpet, and with passionate threats ordered Ball to let him loose. But Ball took his own trumpet, and in a solemn voice replied, "I

feel confident I can bring you in safe : I therefore must not, and, by the help of Almighty God, I will not leave you." What he promised he performed, and on arriving in harbour, Nelson embraced him as his deliverer, and commenced a friendship which continued for life.

38. His whole life was spent in the service of his country ; his prejudices, and he had many, were all owing to the excess of patriotic feeling. He annihilated the French navy, by fearlessly following up the new system of tactics, plunging headlong into the enemy's fleet, and doubling upon a part of their line—the same system which Napoleon practised in battles on land. The history of the world has seldom characters so illustrious to exhibit, and few achievements so momentous to commemorate. But it is to his public conduct, and genius afloat, only, that this transcendent praise is due ; in private life he appears in a less favourable light. Vain, undiscerning, impetuous, he was often regardless of his domestic duties ; an ardent lover, he was a faithless and indifferent husband. Possessed of no knowledge of mankind in civil life, he was little qualified to resist the impulse of his vehement temperament amidst its seductions. There he was frequently subject to the delusion of art, and sometimes seduced by the passions of wickedness. Yet there was something elevated even in his failings,—they were owing to the energetic temperament of his mind ; they arose from passions nearly allied to virtue, and to which heroic characters in all ages have, in a peculiar manner, been subject. His patriotic spirit mastered the indignation which he frequently felt at his exploits not being rewarded in a more worthy spirit by his country : a forgetfulness for which no excuse can be found in our rulers, but which is too often the case when greatness is placed under the command of talent inferior to itself. In one unhappy instance, however, he was betrayed into more serious delinquencies. If a veil could be drawn over the transactions at Naples, history would dwell upon him in his public character as a spotless hero ; but justice requires that cruelty should never be palliated,

and the rival of Napoleon must be shielded from none of the obloquy consequent on the fascination of female wickedness.

39. Sir John Jarvis, afterwards created EARL ST VINCENT, one of the greatest and most renowned admirals that ever appeared in the British navy, possessed qualities which, if not so brilliant as those of his illustrious rival, were not less calculated for great and glorious achievements. He was born at Meaford, in Staffordshire, on the 21st January 1734. His father, who was Counsel and Solicitor to the Admiralty, was desirous to train him up to his own profession, to which young Jarvis was by no means disinclined ; but he was dissuaded from it, by being told by his father's coachman, as he sat beside him on the box, that all lawyers were rogues. Having afterwards heard from a companion some stories of the adventures of a sailor's life, he resolved to go to sea ; ran away from school, and concealed himself on board a ship at Woolwich for that purpose. His father was by no means affluent, and gave him £20 when he heard where he was, which was all the patrimony he ever received. The young sailor afterwards drew a bill for another £20, which came back unpaid ; he immediately changed his mode of living, quitted his mess, lived on the ship's allowance, washed and mended his own clothes, made three pair of trousers out of the ticking of his bed, and thus saved money enough to take up his bill. So early does decision of character and integrity of principle in the really great display itself in life.

40. He first entered the service on board the Prince ; in the year 1759 he was lieutenant of the Namur, and was with that vessel at the siege and capture of Quebec in that year, in which service he greatly distinguished himself. An action which he soon after fought with the Foudroyant of eighty-four guns, was one of the most extraordinary displays of valour and skill even in that war, so fertile in great exploits. The mutiny which broke out with such violence in the Channel fleet and at the Nore in 1797, had also its ramifications in the fleet under his command, off the

Spanish coast; and by the mingled firmness and clemency of his conduct, he succeeded in reducing the most disorderly vessels to obedience, with a singularly small effusion of human blood. He was resolution itself. Danger never deterred, difficulty never embarrassed him, where duty was to be performed. What he did himself, he enforced without scruple from others. A severe disciplinarian, strict in his own duties, rigorous in the exaction of them from others, he yet secured the affections both of his officers and men by the impartiality of his decisions, the energy of his conduct, and the perfect nautical skill which he was known to possess. It is doubtful if even Nelson would have been equal to the extraordinary exertion of vigour and capacity with which, in a period of time so short as to be deemed impossible by all but himself, he succeeded in fitting out his squadron from the Tagus in February 1797, in sufficient time to intercept and defeat the Spanish fleet. In the high official duties as First Lord of the Admiralty, with which he was intrusted in 1802, he exhibited a most praiseworthy zeal and anxiety for the detection of abuses, and he succeeded in rooting out many lucrative corruptions which had fastened themselves upon that important branch of the public service; although he perhaps yielded with too much facility to that unhappy mania for reducing our establishments, which invariably seizes the English on the return of peace, and has so often exposed to the utmost danger the naval supremacy of Great Britain.

41. But in nothing, perhaps, was his energy and disinterested character more clearly evinced than in his conduct in 1798, when he despatched Nelson to the Mediterranean at the head of the best ships in his own fleet, and furnished him with the means of striking a blow destined to eclipse even his own well-earned fame. But these two great men had no jealousy of each other; their whole emulation consisted in mutual efforts to serve their country, and they were ever willing to concede the highest mead of praise to each other. The mind of the historian, as it has been eloquently observed, "weary with

recounting the deeds of human baseness, and mortified with contemplating the frailty of illustrious men, gathers a soothing refreshment from such scenes as these; where kindred genius, exciting only mutual admiration and honest rivalry, gives birth to no feeling of jealousy or envy, and the character which stamps real greatness is found in the genuine value of the mass, as well as in the outward splendour of the die; the highest talents sustained by the purest virtue; the capacity of the statesman, and the valour of the hero, outshone by the magnanimous heart which beats only to the measures of generosity and justice.

42. Differing in many essential particulars from both of these illustrious men, EARL HOWE was one of the most distinguished characters which the English navy ever produced. He was born in 1725, the second son of Emanuel Howe, member of parliament for Nottingham, the eldest son of an old and distinguished family. Young Howe entered the navy at fourteen on board the *Severn*, which rounded Cape Horn with Commodore Anson, and shared in the distresses and sufferings of that memorable expedition. His character early displayed itself. Of him, perhaps, more truly than of any other of England's illustrious chiefs, may it be said, as of the Chevalier Bayard, that he was without fear and without reproach. He had the enterprise and gallant bearing so general in all officers in the naval service of Great Britain; but these qualities in him were combined with coolness, firmness, and systematic arrangement, with a habitual self-control and humanity to others, almost unrivalled in those intrusted with supreme command. In early life he contracted an intimate friendship with General Wolfe, and was employed with him in the expedition against the Isle d'Aix in Basque Roads in 1757. "Their friendship," says Walpole, "was like the union of cannon and gunpowder. Howe, strong in mind, solid in judgment, firm of purpose; Wolfe, quick in conception, prompt in execution, impetuous in action." His coolness in danger may be judged of from one anecdote. When



in command of the Channel fleet, after a dark and boisterous night, when the ships were in considerable danger of running foul, Lord Gardiner, then third in command, a most intrepid officer, next day went on board the *Queen Charlotte*, and inquired of Howe how he had slept, for that he himself had not been able to get any rest from anxiety of mind. Lord Howe replied that he had slept perfectly well; for as he had taken every possible precaution before it was dark, for the safety of the ship and crew, this consciousness set his mind perfectly at ease.

43. In person he was tall and well proportioned, his countenance of a serious cast, and dark, but relaxing at times into a sweet smile, which bespoke the mildness and humanity of his disposition. No one ever conducted the stern duties of war with more consideration for the sufferings both of his own men and his adversaries, or mingled its heroic courage with a larger share of benevolent feeling. Disinterested in the extreme, his private charities were unbounded; and in 1798, when government received voluntary gifts for the expenses of the war, he sent his whole annual income, amounting to eighteen hundred pounds, to the bank, as his contribution. Such was his humanity and consideration for the seamen under his command, that it was more by the attachment which they bore to him, than by any exertion of authority, that he succeeded in suppressing, without effusion of blood, the formidable mutiny in the Channel fleet. He was the founder of the great school of English admirals, and, by his profound nautical skill and long attention to the subject, first succeeded in reducing to practice that admirable system of tactics to which the unexampled triumphs of the war were afterwards owing. A disinterested lover of his country, entirely exempt from ambition of every kind, he received the rewards with which his sovereign loaded him with gratitude, but without desire; the only complaints he ever made of government were for the neglect of the inferior naval officers who had served in his naval exploits.

44. CUTHBERT COLLINGWOOD, afterwards Lord Collingwood, one of the brightest ornaments of the British navy, was born at Newcastle-on-Tyne on 26th September 1748. His father, though possessed only of a moderate fortune, was of an ancient and respectable family, which had suffered for its fidelity to the house of Stuart. In early youth he attended a school in Newcastle kept by the Reverend Hugh Moises, where, among his playfellows, were two boys of the name of Scott, one of whom afterwards became the greatest lawyer of England, Lord Chancellor Eldon, the other, Lord Stowell, the judge in Europe most deeply learned in general jurisprudence. From his earliest years young Collingwood was remarkable for the sweetness and gentleness of his disposition, a peculiarity which never afterwards forsook him; and when first sent to sea, on board the *Shannon*, at the age of eleven, his heart was so melted by the separation from his family, that he sat crying in a corner of the vessel till a good-natured officer took him by the hand, and spoke kindly to him, to whom, with infantine simplicity, he offered a piece of cake his mother had given him. In 1774, he was engaged with a party of seamen in the battle of Bunkershill, and in 1776 he was sent to the West Indies, where Nelson was at the same time, and there commenced the friendship between these great men, which only terminated with the death of the latter.

45. In 1780 he was appointed to the command of the *Pelican* frigate, and in 1783 to the *Sampson* of 64 guns; and from that time till his death in 1810, he was almost continually at sea, and actively engaged in the service of his country. He bore a distinguished part in the glorious victory of the 1st June, when he commanded the *Barfleur*. Perhaps no officer ever went through so long and uninterrupted a course of public duty; for, of fifty years that he was in the navy, forty-four were spent in active service abroad; and from 1793 to his death in 1810, he was only one year ashore. This incessant toil, and the difficult and responsible diplomatic duties with which it was connected in

his later years, when in command of the Mediterranean fleet, at length broke down a constitution naturally strong, and wore out a spirit blessed with unusual serenity, so that he died in 1810, on shipboard, at the age of sixty-one, literally a martyr in the service of his country. On one occasion he was two-and-twenty months at sea without ever once entering a port or dropping an anchor. This lengthened and harassing service constituted a peculiar hardship as regards Collingwood; for never was a man more warmly attached to his family, or who sighed more ardently, amidst all his glory, for the blessed reward of domestic love. But not a murmur ever escaped him at this lengthened and painful separation; and when once made aware that his country required, and could not dispense with his services, he prepared to waste away and expire on shipboard, with the same alacrity as he would have met death amidst the thunders of Trafalgar.\*

46. Collingwood was the most spotless hero of that age of glory. He had not the passion for fame which consumed Nelson, nor the ardent genius which gave his arm the force of the thunderbolt. His turn of mind was different; it was of a milder and holier character; it was more akin to the spirit of Heaven. A sense of duty, a devoted patriotism, a forgetfulness of self, directed all his actions. Naturally mild and benevolent, he seldom ordered a corporal punishment without shedding tears—never without enduring intense suffering; nevertheless, no officer in the fleet maintained stricter discipline, or had his crew in more thorough subjection. So well was this understood in the navy, that when Lord St Vincent was engaged with so much vigour in repressing the spirit of insubordination in the Mediterranean fleet, at the time of the mutiny at the Nile,

he frequently drafted the most ungovernable spirits into the *Excellent*. "Send them to Collingwood," he used to say, "and he will bring them to order." On one occasion a seaman was sent from the *Romulus*, who had pointed one of the fore-castle guns, shotted to the muzzle, at the quarter-deck, and swore he would fire it, if the officers did not promise that he should receive no punishment. Collingwood, on his arrival, called him up before the ship's company, and said, "I know your character well: behave properly, and all shall be forgotten. But beware; if you attempt to excite insubordination in my ship, I will instantly put you up in a barrel and throw you into the sea." Under the treatment he received in the *Excellent*, the man soon became a good and obedient sailor.

47. No man more thoroughly understood the great art of tactics—that of precipitating himself at once into the enemy's line, and striking home wherever the blow fell: lion-hearted and undaunted, none led the way on such a service with more heroic resolution. Side by side with Nelson, he threw himself into the cluster of first-rate men-of-war, which at St Vincent were wearing round to support the cut-off part of their line; alone he plunged into the centre of the combined fleet at Trafalgar, and all but made the Spanish admiral in his huge three-decker strike before another British ship had come up to his assistance. Nor were his abilities in civil administration inferior to his capacity in war. At once a cautious and skilful diplomatist, he conducted the complicated affairs of Great Britain in the Mediterranean for the few years preceding his death, and when in command of the fleet on that station, with such ability, that nearly its whole management came at length to be intrusted to him, and the incessant toil thence arising at length brought him to an untimely grave. Exemplary in all the duties of domestic life, a firm friend, a kind and faithful husband, an affectionate parent, he found time, when in command of the fleet off Toulon, and charged with all the diplomacy of the Mediterranean, to devote

\* "I have laboured past my strength: I have told Lord Mulgrave so, that I may come and enjoy the comforts of my own blessed family again, and get out of the bustle of the world, and of affairs which are too weighty for me. God bless you! how rejoiced will my poor heart be when I see you all again!"  
—*Lord Collingwood to Lady Collingwood*, Aug. 13, 1808—*Memoirs*, ii. 236.

much of his thoughts to his domestic circle, the education of his daughters, even the relief of the poor in his neighbourhood. A sense of duty, a forgetfulness of self, a deep feeling of religious obligation, were the springs of all his actions. If required to specify the hero whose life most completely embodied the great principles for which England contended in the war, and the maintenance of which at length brought her victorious out of its dangers, the historian would without hesitation fix on Collingwood.\*

48. ADAM DUNCAN, afterwards Viscount Duncan of Camperdown, was born at Dundee on the 1st July 1731, of which town his father was afterwards Provost. He received the rudiments of his education in that town, and was already remarked in his early youth for the suavity of manner and evenness of temper, which he continued to display through the whole of life. He entered the navy in 1740, on board of the Shoreham frigate, and was present at the taking of the Havannah by Commodore Keppel in 1761, when he commanded the *Valiant*, 74, on board of which the Commodore had hoisted his broad pendant. On that occasion Duncan commanded the boats of the squadron, and distinguished himself particularly by the ability with which they were conducted. When the American war broke out, he was appointed to the command of the *Monarch*, 74, and evinced great skill in contending with the superior fleets of France and Spain, when they cleared the Channel in 1779.

49. An opportunity, however, soon occurred of combating the enemy on terms of equality, and again asserting the superiority of the British flag. In 1780 he was sent under Rodney to co-operate in the revictualling of Gibraltar, then blockaded by the French and Spanish fleets. Off Cape St Vincent they fell in with the Spanish fleet in a heavy gale, and immediately gave chase,

\* For ample authority for these observations, the reader is referred to the Correspondence of Lord Collingwood, published by G. L. Collingwood, Esq., in two volumes, one of the most interesting and delightful books in the English language

in the course of which the British copper-bottomed vessels rapidly gained on the enemy. The *Monarch* had not that advantage, but, by Duncan's admirable management, he was one of the first in the fleet to get into action. He steered direct into the middle of the three sternmost of the enemy's vessels, and, when warned of the danger of doing so before the other British ships could get up to his support, he calmly replied, "I wish to be among them," and held straight on. He was soon among the Spanish fleet, and engaged the *St Augustin* on one side, yard-arm to yard-arm, and two other vessels, one of which bore eighty guns, on the other, and succeeded in compelling the former to strike, and forcing the two latter to sheer off.† Subsequently he bore a distinguished part in the brilliant series of manœuvres by which Lord Howe, in 1782, revictualled Gibraltar, at the head of thirty-four ships of the line, in the face of the combined fleet of forty-six. On the 1st February 1793 he was made vice-admiral; but his merits were so little regarded by the Admiralty, seldom prone to bring forward persons who have not the advantage of aristocratic birth, that for long he could not obtain employment, and he even had serious thoughts of quitting the service altogether. At length, in April 1795, in consequence of a connection by marriage with Mr Dundas, afterwards Lord Melville, he received the chief command in the North Seas, and with it the opportunity, in its most critical period, of proving the saviour of his country.

50. Duncan's character, both in professional daring and domestic suavity, closely resembled that of Collingwood. He had the same rapid eye and intrepid decision in action, the same boldness in danger, the same vigour in command, the same gentleness in disposition. Tall, majestic in figure, with an athletic form and noble countenance, he recalled the image of those heroes in whom the imagination of the poets has loved to embody the combination of vigour and courage with strength and beauty. The rapidity of his decision,

† The *St Augustin* afterwards escaped during the gale.

the justice of his glance, was equal to that of Nelson himself: the breaking of the Dutch line at Camperdown, and interposition of the British fleet between the enemy and their own shore, was dictated by the same genius which led Nelson to pierce and assail in rear the French squadron at Aboukir. But the most glorious, because the most unexampled part of his career, was the manner in which, when deserted by all his fleet except one ship, he kept his station off the Helder, during the mutiny at the Nore, and by his personal influence and courage maintained, at that terrible crisis, his own crew in subjection, and with them the appearance of a blockade, with two ships of the line, against fifteen. It is not going too far to say, that on his single conduct, on that occasion, the salvation of England depended; for, if the Texel fleet had put to sea, and joined the Brest squadron during the mutiny at the Nore, where might now have been the British empire!

51. It was not without a violent struggle, and no small exertion, both of moral and physical courage, that the mutiny was suppressed, even in Duncan's own ship. Symptoms of insubordination had broken out on board her in Yarmouth roads, when the other ships were dropping off to the Nore; and at length the crew mounted the rigging, and gave three cheers, the well-known sign of mutiny. Duncan immediately ordered up the marines, who were perfectly steady, seized six of the mutineers, and called the whole ship's company on deck. "My lads," said he, "I am not apprehensive of any violence you may exercise towards myself; I would far rather rule you by love than by fear; but I will, with my own hands, put to death the first person who shall venture to dispute my authority. Do you, sir," turning to one of the mutineers, "want to take the management of the ship out of my hands?" "Yes, sir," replied the fellow. Duncan upon this, who had his sword drawn, raised it to plunge it in his breast; but the chaplain and secretary held his arm. The admiral upon this did not attempt to use the weapon, but, addressing the

ship's company with emotion, said, "Let those who will stand by me and my officers go to the starboard side of the ship, that we may see who are our friends and who are our enemies." Overcome by the grandeur of his conduct, with one accord the whole crew ran over, except the six mutineers, who were left alone. They were immediately secured, and put in irons; and with this crew, recently so rebellious, did the this noble admiral proceed, accompanied only by one ship of the line, the *Adamant*, to renew his station off the Texel. The mutineers soon evinced real repentance, and were let out by Duncan one by one; and never did a ship's company behave more nobly than the whole crew of the *Venerable* did, both in the blockade and at the battle of Camperdown. Such was Duncan's firmness; by such men it was, at this vital crisis, that the British empire was saved. Never, in modern times, was more courage combined with more gentleness; greater vigour with greater wisdom; purer patriotism with loftier religion; stronger professional genius with more elevated and devoted principle. If Great Britain, in her pacific and warlike administration, could reckon on a succession of such men as Collingwood and Duncan, she would indeed be immortal, for she would deserve immortality.

52. Less remarkable in general history than the illustrious heroes of whom a sketch has now been given, Sir JAMES DE SAUMAREZ was scarcely inferior to any of them in naval skill, amiable character, and heroic intrepidity. He was born in St Peter-Port, in Guernsey, on the 11th March 1757, so that he was already in middle life when the revolutionary war commenced. His father, who was a respectable physician, was descended of an ancient and eminent family, which had contributed more than one gallant ornament to the British navy. Young de Saumarez received the rudiments of his education at Elizabeth College, in Guernsey, where he early earned such a taste for poetry as showed he was qualified to have shone in the literary world, if his inclinations had led him in that direction. But

from a very early period his predilection for the navy was decided: the fame of his gallant uncles, one of whom had taken a French 64 with a British frigate, and both circumnavigated the globe with Anson, had strongly impressed his imagination; and accordingly, though his elder brother was already in the navy, his wishes were complied with, and, on the 20th September 1767, he entered on board the *Soleby*, Captain O'Bryen. His father on parting put a purse, containing fifteen guineas, into his hand, observing, that as he had a large family, he hoped he would use it with economy; but that, when he wanted more, he might draw on his banker. So conscientious, however, was Saumarez, in attending to the recommendation, that his father said, the sight of his drafts never after gave anything but pleasure.

53. Saumarez was engaged, on board the *Bristol*, in several actions in the American war, particularly in the unsuccessful attack on Sullivan's Island, in which his coolness and intrepidity were so conspicuous that he was made a lieutenant; and having afterwards obtained the command of the *Tisiphone* fireship, he distinguished himself under Kempenfeldt in an attack on the French squadron, conveying the West India fleet, on which occasion he captured, with his fireship, a frigate of 36 guns. This brilliant action procured for him the command of the *Russel*, 74—an extraordinary instance of rapid promotion for a young man who was not yet twenty-five years of age. In command of that ship, he fought under Rodney in the glorious battle of the 12th April—engaged for some time the huge *Ville de Paris*, and was only prevented, by a signal from the admiral to heave-to, from capturing, at the close of the day, a disabled French 74, of which he was in chase. On the breaking out of the revolutionary war he was appointed to the command of the *Crescent*, of 42 guns and 257 men, and soon made prize of *La Reunion*, of 86, and 320 men—a success the more remarkable, that it was one of the first naval triumphs of the war, and was gained with-

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out the loss of a man, while the French had 120 killed and wounded. His nautical skill and coolness were soon after not less signally evinced by the manner in which, in company with two other small frigates, he eluded the pursuit, between Guernsey and the French coast, of an enemy's squadron, consisting of two line-of-battle ships and two frigates. Appointed afterwards to the *Orion*, 74, he took part, with his accustomed skill and gallantry, in the action between Lord Bridport's fleet and the Brest squadron, off L'Orient on 23d June 1795; and with such unwearied vigilance did he conduct the blockade of Brest, that during the whole time he was in command of the inshore squadron, which lasted several years, not a single square-rigged French vessel of any description got in or out of that harbour. He was fortunate enough to join Admiral Jarvis (Lord St Vincent) in the *Orion*, 74, a few days before the glorious battle of St Vincent; we have seen that the gigantic *Santissima Trinidad* struck to his ship, bearing little more than half its number of guns, and that to his skill and daring the triumph of that day is in a considerable degree to be ascribed; and he will again appear with equal lustre amidst the thunder of Aboukir, and in the terrors of Algeiras Bay.

54. He was one of the officers peculiar to that age, and in a great measure to the British nation, whose character embodied, like that of Collingwood and Duncan, the true spirit of the anti-revolutionary war. An exalted piety, an elevated patriotism, were the main-springs of his life, and both appeared with the most signal lustre in its most trying emergencies. None of the captains at the Nile led their ship with more intrepidity to the hottest of the fire, and none did so under a more devout sense of the great cause of religion and virtue for which they were contending, or of the supreme superintendence of human affairs. He was the first after the battle was over to hoist, in conformity with Nelson's recommendation, the pendant at the main-mast, the well-known signal for the ship's

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company to assemble at prayers; and, however much disposed to ridiculous observances in their own country, or under other circumstances, the French prisoners were impressed with a passing feeling, at least, of respect and admiration, when they beheld a whole ship's company, so recently after such a conflict, when the decks were still encumbered with dead, and stained with blood, prostrate on their knees, to return thanks, with fervent devotion, to the Supreme Disposer of events, for the greatest naval victory recorded in history. So just and humane had been his management of his ship's company, although the most exact discipline was observed, that alone almost of all the vessels in the fleet, no symptoms of insubordination appeared among them during the trying season which preceded and followed the mutiny at the *Nora*. Enthusiastic in his profession, zealous to the last degree in the public service, he never spared his own exertions, and often passed sleepless nights from watching and anxiety; but all his officers and men had their wonted periods of repose, which the admiral denied to himself alone. Yet even then, when his countenance bore the deep lines of anxiety, it was observed that all traces of care disappeared when letters arrived from his family, the scene of his fixed attachment and ceaseless interest. Exemplary in all the duties of domestic life, a firm friend, a generous master, devoted to his wife and children, the secret spring of all his actions was a deep and manly feeling of piety, which pervaded all his actions, and appeared with peculiar grace and fitness amidst the duties and dangers of a naval life.

55. One combined naval and military operation of the same year requires a special notice, not so much from its intrinsic importance, as from the celebrity of the hero by whom it was conducted. On the 15th July a squadron, consisting of three seventy-fours, the *Leander* of 50 guns, two frigates, and a brig, was placed by Earl St Vincent under the orders of Admiral (now Sir Horatio) Nelson, to attack *Teneriffe*. They arrived off the island on the night of the

28th, and an attempt was immediately made to land a body of seamen and marines from the frigates, to take possession of the heights which commanded the fort of *Vera Cruz*, the principal defence of the island. The boats, however, could not land from the violence of the surf on the shore, till daylight, and then the heights were found to be so strongly occupied by the enemy that it was hopeless to attempt to carry them with the men from the frigates only. All hopes of a surprise were now at an end, and the Spaniards in the island were making the most vigorous preparations for resistance; but Nelson was not the man to abandon an enterprise with which he was intrusted as long as a hope of success remained, and it was therefore resolved to attempt to carry the island by main force.

56. At eleven at night on the 24th, the boats of the fleet, containing about a thousand men, proceeded in six divisions towards the mole. The service was well understood to be a desperate one; and though Nelson's orders were precise, not to land himself unless his presence was absolutely necessary, yet his ardent spirit could not keep aloof when danger was to be encountered, and he led the attack in person. The sailors pulled so silently that they were not discovered till half-past one in the morning, when just half a gun-shot from the mole-head, where they were to land. A loud cheer was then given, and the boats rowed as hard as they could towards the shore. But the Spaniards were well prepared. The alarm-bell answered the cheer, and forty pieces of cannon, and a tremendous fire of musketry immediately opened, from the concentric batteries, on the flotilla. The bright light suddenly illuminating the gloom, showed the position of every boat, and enabled the enemy to direct the next discharges with unerring precision. Nevertheless Nelson and *Freemantle*, with five boats, reached the mole, landed instantly, stormed it, though defended by four hundred men, and spiked all the guns on the batteries. But this work had no protection from the citadel in rear, and the fire from it was so heavy that nearly all the gallant

assailants were struck down. Nelson himself, when in the act of stepping ashore, received a musket-shot through the right elbow and fell; but as he fell he caught his sword, which he had just drawn, in his left hand, and held it firmly as he lay in the bottom of the boat almost fainting from loss of blood. At this instant the Fox cutter received a six-and-thirty pounder between wind and water, and went down with ninety-seven men on board. Eighty-three others were saved, mainly by the heroic efforts of Nelson himself, who, disabled as he was, exerted himself amidst the frightful scene to save the sufferers. He could not, however, from loss of blood, remain longer in action, and was taken back to his own vessel, where his arm was amputated.\*

57. Meanwhile Troubridge and Walker, with their division of the boats, had been more fortunate. Having missed the mole during the darkness of a tempestuous night, they yet reached the shore, and landed under a battery near the citadel. The tremendous surf, however, filled all the boats before landing, and soaked the whole powder, so that the muskets would not go off. Nevertheless this little band, only three hundred and forty, pushed on with their cutlasses, and reached the great square of the town, the appointed rendezvous for all the storming parties. There, however, they waited in vain for the co-operating columns from the side of the mole, and, after remaining two hours in suspense, tried to storm the citadel without ladders; but the increasing numbers of the enemy, who had now collected from all quarters, three thousand strong, precluded the possibility of even reaching its walls, still less of storming them, without powder to fire their muskets. Freemantle, therefore, was under the necessity of proposing a capitulation, in virtue of which the British were to be at liberty to re-embark with their arms and boats, if saved, and became bound

\* Nelson merrily climbed up the ship's side, holding by his left arm, and said, "I know I must lose my arm, and the sooner it is off the better. Let me alone; I need no assistance; I have my leg yet."—*SOUTHERN'S Nelson*, i. 198.

not to attack any other of the Canary Islands. To these terms the Spanish governor acceded, and he had even the generosity to present all the British with a ration of biscuit and wine before they embarked, and intimated that all their wounded should be received into the town hospital.† The British lost two hundred and fifty men killed and wounded in this disastrous affair—a loss nearly as great as they sustained in the victory of St Vincent.

58. The glorious victory of St Vincent, in which they had borne so memorable a part, and the mingled firmness and judgment of Lord St Vincent, already noticed, in combating it, were far from extinguishing the seeds of mutiny which at this period were so widely spread through the British navy. At length, when three of the ships' companies, on their voyage from Spithead to Cadiz, had become extremely turbulent, by active measures three of the ringleaders were secured, and ordered to be executed on board the St George, where the mutiny had first shown itself. On their arrival, a plan was formed by the crew for seizing the vessel, deposing the officers, and liberating the criminals. Captain Peard of the St George, having received intelligence of this design, approached the mutineers, who were already assembled in the waist of the ship, and said, "I know your designs, and shall oppose them at the risk of my life. You have determined to oppose the authority of your officers; I am resolved to do my duty: I know most of you are deluded; but I know your ringleaders, and will bring them to justice. I command you to disperse." The whole crew stood firm. Upon this Peard, followed by his first lieutenant, John Hatley, rushed amidst the crowd, seized two of the leaders, dragged them out by main force, and put them in irons. Next morning the three original mutineers were hanged from the yard-arm of the St George, and two days

† A Spanish youth, named Don Bernardo Collagon, stripped himself of his shirt to make bandages for one of the British, against whom, not an hour before, he had been engaged in battle. There are the elements of a truly noble character in the Spaniards.—*SOUTHERN'S Life of Nelson*, i. 197.

after the two others thus seized. It was by such intrepidity that this terrible crisis in the fortunes of Britain was surmounted.

59. The great victory of St Vincent entirely disconcerted the well-conceived designs of Truguet for the naval campaign; but, later in the season, another effort, with an inferior fleet, but more experienced seamen, was made by the Dutch republic. For a very long period the naval preparations in Holland had been most extraordinary, and far surpassed anything attempted by the United Provinces for above a century past. The stoppage of the commerce of the republic had enabled the government, as it afterwards did that of the United States in America, to man their vessels with a choice selection both of officers and men; and, from the well-known courage of the sailors, it was anticipated that the contest with the British fleet would be more obstinate and bloody than any which had yet occurred from the commencement of the war. De Winter, who commanded the armament, was a staunch republican, and a man of tried courage and experience. Nevertheless, being encumbered with land forces destined for the invasion of Ireland, he did not attempt to leave the Texel till the beginning of October, when, the British fleet having been driven to Yarmouth roads by stress of weather, the Dutch government gave orders for the troops to be disembarked, and the fleet to set sail, and make the best of its way to the harbour of Brest. Their object was to co-operate in the long-projected expedition against Ireland, now fermenting with discontent, and containing at least two hundred thousand men, organised, and ready for immediate rebellion.

60. Admiral Duncan was no sooner apprised, by the signals of his cruisers, that the Dutch fleet was at sea, than he weighed anchor with all imaginable haste, and stretched across the German Ocean with so much expedition, that he got near the hostile squadron before it was out of sight of the shore of Holland. The Dutch fleet consisted of sixteen ships of the line and eleven frigates, the British of sixteen ships of the line

and three frigates. Duncan's first care was to attain such a position as should prevent the enemy from returning to the Texel; and having done this, he bore down upon his opponents, and hove in sight of them, on the following morning, drawn up in order of battle at the distance of nine miles from the coast between CAMPERDOWN and Egmont. With the same instinctive genius which afterwards inspired Nelson with a similar resolution at Aboukir, he gave the signal to break the line, and get between the enemy and the shore—a movement which was immediately and skilfully executed in two lines of attack, and proved the principal cause of the glorious success which followed, by preventing their withdrawing into the shallows, out of the reach of the British vessels, which, for the most part, drew more water than their antagonists. Admiral Onslow first broke the line, and commenced a close combat. As he approached the Dutch line, his captain observed, the enemy were lying so close that they could not penetrate. "The Monarch will make a passage," replied Onslow, and held on undaunted. The Dutch ship opposite gave way to let him pass, and he entered the close-set line. In passing through, he poured one broadside with tremendous effect into the bows of the *Haerlem*, and the other with not less into the stern of the *Jupiter*, bearing the Dutch vice-admiral, whom he immediately lay alongside, and engaged at three yards' distance. He was soon followed by Duncan himself, at the head of the second line, who pierced the centre, and laid himself beside de Winter's flag-ship. Shortly the action became general, each British ship engaging its adversary, but still between them and the lee-shore.

61. De Winter, perceiving the design of the enemy, gave the signal for his fleet to unite in close order; but, from the thickness of the smoke, his order was not generally perceived, and but partially obeyed. Notwithstanding the utmost efforts of valour on the part of the Dutch, the superiority of British skill and discipline soon appeared in the engagement, yard-arm to yard-arm, which followed. For three hours Ad-



Admiral Duncan and de Winter fought within pistol-shot; but by degrees the Dutchman's fire slackened; his masts fell one by one overboard amidst the loud cheers of the British sailors; and at length he struck his flag, after half his crew were killed or wounded, and his ship was incapable of making any further resistance. De Winter was the only man on his quarter-deck who was not either killed or wounded; he lamented that, in the midst of the carnage which literally flooded the deck of his noble ship, he alone should have been spared.\* Duncan's ship, however, was very seriously injured in this desperate conflict, and de Winter did not strike till, besides the *Venerable*, he was assailed by the *Ardent* and *Bedford*. Meanwhile Onslow, in the *Monarch*, leaving the *Hacriem*, Dutch 74, to the *Powerful*, continued close alongside the *Jupiter*; a vehement engagement, yard-arm to yard-arm, between these two equal antagonists, took place; and every ship in the British fleet was engaged in a furious combat with an antagonist in the enemy's line, but all between them and the Dutch shore. At this time the *Hercules*, Dutch 74, caught fire, and drifted close past the *Venerable*, Duncan's ship; and though the Dutch crew, in a surprisingly quick manner, extinguished the flames, yet as they had thrown their powder overboard to avoid explosion, they had no further means of resistance, and were obliged to strike their colours to the *Triumph*.

62. The Dutch vice-admiral in the *Jupiter* soon after struck to Admiral Onslow; and by four o'clock, seven ships of the line, two of fifty-six guns, and two frigates, were in the hands of the victors. No less skilful than brave, Admiral Duncan now gave the signal for the combat to cease, and the prizes to be secured, which was done with no little difficulty, as, during the battle,

\* De Winter and Admiral Duncan dined together in the latter's ship on the day of the battle, in the most friendly manner. In the evening, they played a rubber at whist, and de Winter was the loser; upon which he good-humouredly observed, it was rather hard to be beaten twice in one day by the same opponent.—BRETTON *ut supra*, and *personal knowledge*.

both fleets had drifted before a tempestuous wind to within five miles of the shore, and were now lying in shallow waters. It was owing to this circumstance alone that any of the Dutch squadron escaped; but when the British withdrew into deeper water. Admiral Storr collected the scattered remains of the fleet, and sought refuge in the Texel, while Duncan returned with his prizes to Yarmouth Roads. The battle was seen distinctly from the shore, where a vast multitude was assembled, who beheld in silent despair the ruin of the armament on which the national hopes had so long been rested. During the two days of tempestuous weather which ensued, one of the frigates was wrecked, the crew, however, being saved; another, driven on the Dutch coast, was recaptured; and the *Delft*, a fifty-six, went down, astern of the ship which had her in tow. But seven line-of-battle ships, and one of fifty-six guns, were brought into Yarmouth Roads, amidst the cheers of innumerable spectators, and the transports of a whole nation. It was only as trophies, however, that their appearance was gratifying; such was their shattered condition, that they were not the slightest acquisition to the British navy.† The interest of the spectacle was much enhanced by the recollection that the men who had achieved this glorious triumph were the same who had so recently hoisted the red flag of mutiny, and by their humble demeanour, when surrounded by a nation's gratitude. When the Speaker of the House of Commons visited the wounded in their hammocks, they only said,

† The relative force of the two fleets stood thus:—

	British.	Dutch.
Ships, . . . . .	10	10
Broadside guns, . . . . .	575	517
Crews, . . . . .	8,221	7,157
Tons of ships, . . . . .	28,601	30,987

Thus, the superiority upon the whole was considerably in favour of the British, but not so much so as would at first sight appear, as three Dutch frigates, not named in the above list, took an active part in the fight, making some of the British line-of-battle ships, to which the British had no similar force to oppose. Nevertheless, the Dutch fought most nobly; and it was the best fight that occurred during the war.—JAMES, *l. 78, 79.*

"We hope, sir, we have now made atonement for our late offence."

63. This action was one of the most important fought at sea during the revolutionary war, not only from the valour displayed on both sides during the engagement, but the important consequences with which it was attended. The Dutch fought with a courage worthy of the descendants of van Tromp and de Ruyter, as was evinced by the loss on either part, which in the British was one thousand and forty men, and in the Batavian, eleven hundred and sixty, besides the crews of the prizes, who amounted to above six thousand. The appearance of the British ships, at the close of the action, was very different from what it usually is after naval engagements. No masts were down, little damage was done to the sails or rigging; like their worthy adversaries, the Dutch had fired at the hulls of their enemies, which accounts for the great loss in killed and wounded in this well-fought engagement. All the British ships had numerous holes in their hulls, and not a few balls sticking in them; but the rigging of many, of which the Monarch was one, was untouched. The Dutch were all either dismasted, or so riddled with shot as to be altogether unserviceable. On either side marks of a desperate conflict were visible. But the contest was no longer equal; Britain had quadrupled her strength since the days of Charles II., while the United Provinces had declined both in vigour and resources. Britain was now as equal to a contest with the united navies of Europe, as she was then to a war with the fleets of an inconsiderable republic.

64. But the effects of this victory, both upon the security and the public spirit of Britain, were in the highest degree important. Achieved as it had been by the fleet which had recently struck such terror into every class by the mutiny at the Nore, and coming so soon after that formidable event, it both elevated the national spirit by the demonstration it afforded how true the patriotism of the seamen still was, and by the deliverance from the immediate peril of invasion which it effected. A

subscription was immediately entered into for the widows and orphans of those who had fallen in this battle, and it soon amounted to £52,000. The northern courts, whose conduct had been dubious previous to this great event, were struck with terror; and all thoughts of reviving the principles of the Armed Neutrality were laid aside. But, great as were the external results, it was in its internal effects that the vast importance of this victory was chiefly made manifest. Despondency was no longer felt; the threatened invasion of Ireland was laid aside; Britain was secure. Britain now learned to regard without dismay the victories of the French at land, and, secure in her sea-girt isle, to trust in those defenders—

"Whose march is o'er the mountain-wave,  
Whose home is on the deep."

The joy, accordingly, upon the intelligence of this victory, was heartfelt and unexampled, from the sovereign on the throne to the beggar in the hovel. Bonfires and illuminations were universal; the enthusiasm spread to every breast; the fire gained every heart; and amidst the roar of artillery, and the festive light of cities, faction disappeared, and discontent sank into neglect. Numbers date from the rejoicings consequent on this achievement their first acquaintance with the events of life, among whom may be reckoned the author, then residing under his paternal roof, in a remote parsonage of Shropshire, whose earliest recollection is of the sheep-roasting and rural festivities which took place on the joyful intelligence being received in that secluded district.

65. The national gratitude was liberally bestowed on the leaders in these glorious achievements. Sir John Jarvis received the title of Earl St Vincent; Admiral Duncan, that of Viscount Duncan of Camperdown, and Commodore Nelson, that of Sir Horatio Nelson. From these victories may be dated the commencement of that concord among all classes, and that resolute British spirit, which never afterwards deserted this country. Her subsequent struggles were for conquest, these were for existence. From the deepest dejection

tion, and an unexampled accumulation of disasters, she arose at once into security and renown; the democratic spirit gradually subsided, from the excitation of new passions, and the force of more ennobling recollections; and the rising generation, who began to mingle in public affairs, now sensibly influenced national thought, by the display of the patriotic spirit which had been nursed amidst the dangers and the glories of their younger years.

66. The remaining maritime operations of this year are hardly deserving of notice. A descent of fourteen hundred men, chiefly composed of deserters and banditti, in the bay of Pembroke, in February—intended to distract the attention of the British government from Ireland, the real point of attack—met with the result which might have been anticipated, by all the party being taken prisoners. Early in spring, an expedition, under General Abercromby, captured the island of Trinidad, with a garrison of seventeen hundred men, and a ship of the line in the harbour, three other line-of-battle ships being burned by the Spanish admiral, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands. Two months after, the same force failed in an attack on Porto Rico; notwithstanding which, however, the superiority of the British over the navy of their combined enemies was eminently conspicuous during the whole year, both in the Atlantic and Indian oceans; and, in particular, an expedition from the French part of St Domingo against the forts of Trois and St Marks, which had been wrested from them in that island, was defeated after an obstinate struggle, with great loss.

67. It was just permitted to the illustrious statesman, to whose genius and foresight the development of the dauntless spirit which led to these glorious consequences is mainly, under Providence, to be ascribed, to witness its results. Mr Burke, whose health had been irretrievably broken by the death of his son, and who had long laboured under severe and increasing weakness, at length breathed his last at his country-seat of Beaconsfield, on the 9th July 1797. His counsels on

British politics, during his last eventful moments, were of the same direct, lofty, and uncompromising spirit which had made his voice sound as the note of a trumpet to the heart of England. His last work, the "Letters on a Regicide Peace," published a few months before his death, is distinguished by the same fervent eloquence, profound wisdom, and far-seeing sagacity, which characterised his earlier productions on the French Revolution. As his end approached, the vigour of his spirit, if possible, increased; and his prophetic eye anticipated, from the bed of death, those glorious triumphs which were destined to immortalise the close of the conflict. "Never," exclaimed he, in his last hours, "never succumb. It is a struggle for your existence as a nation. If you must die, die with the sword in your hand. But I have no fears whatever for the result. There is a salient living principle of energy in the public mind of England, which only requires proper direction to enable her to withstand this or any other ferocious foe. Persevere, therefore, till this tyranny be overpast."

68. Thus departed this life, if not in the maturity of years, at least in the fulness of glory, Edmund Burke. The history of England, prodigal as it is of great men, has no such philosophic statesman to boast; the annals of Ireland, graced though they be with splendid characters, have no such shining name to exhibit. His was not the mere force of intellect, the ardour of imagination, the richness of genius; it was a combination of the three, unrivalled, perhaps, in any other age or country. Endowed by nature with a powerful understanding, an inventive fancy, a burning eloquence, he exhibited the rare combination of these great qualities with deep thought, patient investigation, boundless research. His speeches in parliament were not so impressive as those of Mirabeau in the National Assembly, only because they were more profound; he did not address himself with equal felicity to the prevailing feeling of the majority. He was ever in advance of the times, and left to posterity the difficult task of reaching,

through pain and suffering, the elevation to which he had been at once borne on the wings of prophetic genius. Great, accordingly, and deserved, as was his reputation in the age in which he lived, it was not so great as it has since become; and, strongly as subsequent times have felt the truth of his principles, they are destined to rise into still more general celebrity with the experience of suffering from their abandonment, in the future ages of mankind. His eloquence in parliament, though often in the highest degree brilliant, and always founded on profound thought, was seldom effective. It was a common observation at the time, that his rising acted like the dinner-bell in thinning the house. In this there is nothing surprising; he was too far before his age. Eloquence, to be popular, must be in advance of the age, and *but a little* in advance.

69. Burke, throughout life, was on terms of intimate friendship with Johnson; and no one more strongly felt the vast extent of his genius. His celebrated saying, "Sir, you cannot stand for five minutes under a shed with Mr Burke, during a shower of rain, without hearing something worth recollecting," shows in what estimation he was held by the great philosopher of the eighteenth century. Their minds were, in many respects, similar; in others, so different as to have scarcely any affinity to each other. Both had a deep sense of religion, a profound feeling of duty, high principles of honour, an ardent patriotism, extensive erudition. Both had vast stores of acquired learning, which restrained, without oppressing, in each the fire of an ardent and poetical imagination. Both knew mankind well in all ranks, had seen life in all its bearings, had great powers of conversation, and had observed and meditated much on human affairs. But in other respects, their characters were essentially different. Their opposite habits in life had not merely given them different turns of thought, but led them to exult in different modes of showing their powers. Composition was the great channel of Burke's greatness, as conversation was of Johnson's. Burke's writings are as

much superior to Johnson's, as Johnson's sayings are to Burke's. The habit and necessity of public speaking had made the parliamentary orator burst through the trammels of an artificial style, which, in writing, coerced the reclusive author of the Rambler. Johnson's solitary independence and asperity of character enabled him to give a point to his sayings, which the practical statesman naturally shunned, or perhaps did not possess. No collection of Burke's sayings could have equalled what are to be met with in Boswell's Johnson; but Johnson could never have written the "Reflections on the French Revolution," or the "Letters on a Regioide Peace."

70. Like most men of a sound intellect, an ardent disposition, and an independent character, Mr Burke was strongly attached to the principles of freedom; and, during the American War, when those principles appeared to be endangered by the conduct of the British government, he stood forth as an uncompromising leader of the Opposition in parliament. He was from the outset, however, the friend of freedom only in conjunction with its indispensable allies, order and property; and the severing of the United States from the British empire, and the establishment of a pure republic beyond the Atlantic, appears to have given the first rude shock to his visions of the elevation and improvement of the species, and suggested the painful doubt, whether the cause of liberty might not, in the end, be more endangered by the extravagance of its supporters than by the efforts of its enemies. These doubts were confirmed by the first aspect of the French Revolution; and while many of the greatest men of his age were dazzled by the brightness of its morning light, he at once discerned, amidst the deceitful blaze, the small black cloud which was to cover the world with darkness. With the characteristic ardour of his disposition, which often led him into vehemence and invective, he instantly espoused the opposite side; and, in so doing, he severed, without hesitation, the connections and friendships of his whole life. He experienced the

most heart-rending anguish as long as the struggle lasted; but when it was over, he at once recovered—as great minds always do—his mental serenity, which he expressed by the fine quotation:—

*"Æneas celsâ in puppi, jam certus eundi,  
Carpebat somnos."*

71. He had the proud and solitary independence which so often characterises real genius. Relying on his own convictions, he was confident against the world in arms. Nor has this patriotic self-sacrifice, this heroic spirit, been without its reward. Posterity has already done justice to his principles. He is universally regarded as the first of modern political philosophers. In the prosecution of his efforts in defence of order, he was led to profounder principles of wisdom, regarding human affairs, than any intellect save that of Bacon, had reached, and which are yet far in advance of the general understanding of mankind. His was not the instinctive horror at revolu-

tion which arises from the possession of power, the prejudices of birth, or the selfishness of wealth. On the contrary, he brought to the consideration of the great questions which then divided society, prepossessions only on the other side, a heart long warmed by the feelings of liberty, a disposition enthusiastic in its support, a lifetime spent in its service. He was led to combat the principles of Jacobinism from an early and clear perception of their consequences; from foreseeing that they would infallibly, if successful, destroy the elements of freedom; and, in the end, leave to society, bereft of all its bulwarks, only an old age of slavery and decline. It was not as the enemy, but the friend of liberty, that he was the determined opponent of the Revolution; and such will ever be the foundation in character on which the most resolute, because the most enlightened and the least selfish, resistance to democratic ascendancy will be founded.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

### CAMPAIGN OF 1797—FALL OF VENICE.

1. THE year 1797 was far from realising the brilliant prospects which Mr Pitt had anticipated for the campaign, and which the recent alliance with the Empress Catherine had rendered so likely to be fulfilled. The death of that great princess, who alone, with the British statesman, appreciated the full extent of the danger, and the necessity of vigorous measures to counteract it, put an end to all the projected armaments. The Emperor Paul, who succeeded her, countermanded the great levy of a hundred and fifty thousand men which she had ordered for the French war; and, so far from evincing any disposition to mingle in the contentions of Southern Europe, seemed absorbed only in the domestic concerns of his vast empire.

Prussia was still neutral; and it was ascertained that a considerable time must elapse before the veterans of the Archduke could be drawn from the Upper Rhine to defend the Alpine frontier of the Hereditary States. Everything, therefore, conspired to indicate that, by an early and vigorous effort, a fatal blow might be struck at the heart of the Austrian power, before the resources of the monarchy could be collected to repel it.

2. Aware of the necessity of commencing operations early in spring, Napoleon had, in the beginning of the preceding winter, urged the Directory to send him powerful reinforcements, and put forth the strength of the Republic in a quarter where the barriers

of the Imperial dominions were already in a great measure broken through. A very little consideration was required to show that this was the most vulnerable side on which the enemy could be assailed; but the jealousy of the Directory prevented them from placing the greater part of their forces at the disposal of so ambitious and enterprising a general as the Italian conqueror. Obstinate adhering to the plan of Carnot, which all the disasters of the preceding campaign had not taught them to distrust, they directed Hoche to send his forces to the army of the Sambre and Meuse, of which he received the command, while large reinforcements were also despatched to the army of the Rhine. Their plan was to open the campaign with two armies of eighty thousand men each in Germany, acting independent of each other, and on a parallel and far distant line of operations. The divisions of Bernadotte and Delmas, above twenty thousand strong, were sent from the Rhine to strengthen the Army of Italy. These brave men crossed the Alps in the depth of winter. In ascending Mont Cenis, a violent snow-storm arose, and the guides recommended a halt; but the officers ordered the drums to beat and the charge to sound, and they faced the tempest as they would have rushed upon the enemy. The arrival of these troops raised the army immediately under the command of Napoleon to sixty-one thousand, independent of sixteen thousand who were scattered from Ancona to Milan, and employed in overawing the Pope, and securing the rear and communications of the army. Four divisions, destined for immediate operations, were assembled in the Trevisane March in the end of February—viz. that of Massena at Bassano, of Serrurier at Castelbranco, of Augereau at Treviso, and of Bernadotte at Padua. Joubert, with his own division, reinforced by those of Delmas and Baraguay d'Hilliers, was stationed in the Tyrol, to make head against the formidable forces which the Imperialists were assembling in that warlike province.

3. Meanwhile the Austrian government had been actively employed, dur-

ing the winter, in taking measures to repair the losses of the campaign, and make head against the redoubtable enemy who threatened them on the Carinthian frontiers. The great successes of the Archduke in Germany had filled them with the strongest hopes that the talents and influence of that youthful general would succeed in stemming the torrent of invasion from the Italian plains. As their veteran forces in Italy had almost all perished in the disastrous campaign of 1796, they resolved to bring thirty thousand men, under the Archduke in person, from the Upper Rhine, to oppose Napoleon, leaving only one corps there under Latour, and another under Werneck on the lower part of the river, to make head against the Republican armies. Fresh levies of men were made in Bohemia, Illyria, and Galicia; the contingents of the Tyrol were quadrupled; and the Hungarian nobility, imitating the noble example of their ancestors in the time of Maria Theresa, voted twenty thousand infantry and ten thousand cavalry, besides immense stores of provisions and forage, for the ensuing campaign. These forces, speedily raised, were animated by that firm and persevering spirit which has always characterised the Austrian nation; the enthusiasm of the people, awakened by the near approach of danger, rose to the highest pitch; and the recruits, hastily moved forward, soon filled the shattered battalions on the banks of the Tagliamento. But new levies, however brave, do not at once form soldiers; the young recruits were no match for the veterans of Napoleon; and by an inexplicable tardiness, attended with the most disastrous effects, though too common at that period in the Austrian councils, the experienced soldiers from the army of the Rhine were not brought up till it was too late for them to have any influence on the issue of the campaign.

4. Anxious to strike a decisive blow before this great reinforcement arrived, Napoleon commenced operations on the 10th March, when the Archduke had only assembled thirty thousand men on the Tagliamento, and when three weeks must yet elapse before the like number of veteran troops could even begin to

arrive from the Rhine. Nothing demonstrates more clearly the vital importance of time in war; to this fatal delay all the disasters of the campaign were immediately owing. What could the Archduke do, with half the forces opposed to him, in arresting the progress of the conqueror of Italy? The summits of the Alps were still glittering with snow and ice, but this only inflamed the ambition of the youthful hero. In commencing operations thus early, however, the French general incurred a fearful risk. The armies of the Republic on the Rhine were not in a condition to take the field for a month afterwards, and Napoleon was about to precipitate himself into the midst of the Austrian monarchy without any other support than what he could derive from his own forces. He was emboldened to do so, solely by the inexplicable delay which the Aulic Council had incurred in bringing the reinforcements from Germany up to the menaced point. Aware of his inability to withstand an attack in front, in the defiles of Carinthia, the Archduke Charles had suggested the plan of taking post on the flank of the invader in the Tyrol, where he would soonest be joined by the reinforcements from Germany; but this the Aulic Council, fearful of leaving the great road to Vienna open, would not consent to. In this they committed a capital error. Had the Archduke, as he earnestly desired, been permitted to collect his army in the Tyrol, instead of Carinthia, there summoned to his standard the enthusiastic peasantry of that province, and fallen back, in case of need, on his reinforcements coming up from the Rhine, he would have covered Vienna just as effectually as on the direct road, accelerated by three weeks the junction with those forces, and probably totally changed the fate of the campaign.

5. But it is hard to say whether the Aulic Council or the Directory did most to ruin the designs of their victorious generals: for the former obliged the Archduke to assemble his army on the Tagliamento, instead of the Adige; while the latter refused to ratify the treaty with the King of Sardinia, by

which Napoleon had calculated on a subsidiary force of ten thousand men, to protect the rear and maintain the communications of his army. To compensate this loss, he had laboured all the winter to conclude an alliance with the Venetian republic; but its haughty yet timid aristocracy worn out with the French exactions, not only declined his overtures, but manifested some symptoms of alienation from the Republican interest, which obliged the French general to leave a considerable force in the neighbourhood of Verona, to overawe their vacillating councils. Thus Napoleon was left alone to hazard an irruption into the Austrian states, and scale the Noric and Julian Alps with sixty thousand men, leaving on his left the warlike province of the Tyrol, by which his communications with the Adige might be cut off; and on his right Croatia and the Venetian states, the first of which was warmly attached to the house of Austria, while the last might be expected, on the least reverse, to join the same standard.

6. Three great roads lead from Verona across the Alps to Vienna—that of the Tyrol, that of Carinthia, and that of Carniola. The first, following the line of the Adige by Bolzano and Brixen, crosses the ridge of the Brenner into the valley of the Inn, from whence it passes by Salzburg into that of the Danube, and descends to Vienna after passing the Enns. The second traverses the Vicentine and Trevisane Marches, crosses the Piave and the Tagliamento, surmounts the Alps by the Col de Tarvis, descends into Carinthia, crosses the Drave at Villach, and, by Klagenfurth and the course of the Mour, mounts the Simmering, from whence it descends into the plain of Vienna. The third, by Carniola, passes the Isonzo at Gradisca, goes through Laibach, crosses the Save and the Drave, enters Styria, passes Gratz, the capital of that province, and joins the immediately preceding road at Bruck. Five lateral roads lead from the chaussée of the Tyrol to that of Carinthia: the first, branching off from Brixen, joins the other at Villach; the second, from Salzburg, leads to Spital; the third, from Lintz, traverses a lofty

ridge to Judenburg; the fourth, from Enns, crosses to Leoben; the fifth, from St Pölten to Bruck. Three cross-roads unite the chaussée of Carinthia with that of Carniola; the first branches off from Görizia, and, following the course of the Isonzo, joins at Tarwis the route of Carinthia; the second connects Laibach and Klagenfurth; the third, setting out from Marburg, also terminates at Klagenfurth. The rivers which descend from the chain of mountains into the Adriatic Sea, did not present any formidable obstacles. The Piave and the Tagliamento were hardly defensible; and although the line of the Isonzo was far stronger, yet it was susceptible of being turned by the Col de Tarwis.

7. By accumulating the mass of his forces on his own left, and penetrating through the higher ridges, Napoleon perceived that he would overcome all the obstacles which nature had opposed to his advance, and turn all the Austrian positions by the Alps which commanded them. He directed Massena, accordingly, to turn the right flank of the enemy with his powerful division, while the three others attacked them in front at the same time. Joubert, with seventeen thousand men, received orders to force the passes of the Italian Tyrol, and drive the enemy over the Brenner; and Victor, who was still on the Apennines, was destined to move forward with his division, which successive additions would raise to twenty thousand men, to the Adige, to keep in check the Venetian levies, and secure the communications of the army. Thirty-five thousand of the Austrian forces, under the Archduke in person, were assembled on the Tagliamento; the remainder of his army, fifteen thousand strong, was in the Tyrol at Bolzano, while thirty thousand of the best troops he could ultimately rely on, were only beginning their march from the Upper Rhine.

8. Napoleon moved his headquarters to Bassano on the 9th March, and addressed the following order of the day to his army: "Soldiers! The fall of Mantua has terminated the war in Italy, which has given you eternal titles to the gratitude of your country. You

have been victorious in fourteen pitched battles and seventy combats: you have made 100,000 prisoners, taken 500 pieces of field artillery, 2000 of heavy calibre, and four sets of pontoons. The contributions you have levied on the vanquished countries have clothed, fed, and paid the army, and you have, besides, sent 30,000,000 francs to the public treasury. You have enriched the Museum of Paris with 300 *chefs-d'œuvre* of art, the produce of thirty centuries. You have conquered the finest countries in Europe for the Republic; the Transpadane and Cispadane Republics owe to you their freedom. The French colours now fly, for the first time, on the shores of the Adriatic, in front, and within twenty-four hours' sail of the country of Alexander! The Kings of Sardinia, of Naples, the Pope, the Duke of Parma, have been detached from the coalition. You have chased the English from Leghorn, Genoa, Corsica; and now still higher destinies await you: you will show yourselves worthy of them! Of all the enemies who were leagued against the Republic, the Emperor alone maintains the contest; but he is blindly led by that perfidious cabinet, which, a stranger to the evils of war, smiles at the sufferings of the Continent. Peace can no longer be found but in the heart of the Hereditary States; in seeking it there, you will respect the religion, the manners, the property of a brave people; you will bring freedom to the valiant Hungarian nation."

9. The approaching contest between the Archduke Charles and Napoleon excited the utmost interest throughout Europe, both from the magnitude of the cause which they respectively bore upon their swords, and the great deeds which, on different theatres, they had severally achieved. The one appeared resplendent from the conquest of Italy; the other illustrious from the deliverance of Germany; the age of both was the same; their courage equal, their respect for each other reciprocal. But their dispositions were extremely different, and the resources on which they had to rely in the contest which was approaching as various as the causes



which they supported. The one was audacious and impetuous; the other calm and judicious: the first was at the head of troops hitherto unconquered; the last, of soldiers dispirited by disaster: the former combated not with arms alone, but with the newly-roused passions; the latter, with the weapons only of the ancient faith. The Republican army was the more numerous; the Imperial, the more fully equipped: on the victory of Napoleon depended the maintenance of the Republican sway in Italy; on the success of the Archduke the existence of the empire of the Cæsars in Germany. On the other hand, the people of the provinces, around and behind the theatre of war, were attached to the Austrians, and hostile to the French; retreat, therefore, was the policy of the former, impetuous advance of the latter: victory by the one was to be won by rapidity of attack; success could be hoped for by the other only by protracting the contest. Great reinforcements were hastening to the Archduke from the Rhine, the Hereditary States, and Hungary, while his adversary could expect no assistance in addition to what he at first brought into action. Success at first, therefore, seemed within the grasp of Napoleon; but if the contest could be protracted, it might be expected to desert the Republican for the Imperial banners.

10. On the 10th March all the columns of the army were in motion, though the weather was still rigorous, and snow to the depth of several feet encumbered the higher passes of the mountains. Massena's advanced guard came first into action; he set out from Bassano, crossed the Piave in the mountains, came up with the division of Lusignan, which he defeated, with the loss of five hundred prisoners, among whom was that general himself. By pressing forward through the higher Alps, he compelled the Archduke, to prevent his right flank being turned, to fall back from the Piave to the Tagliamento, and concentrate his army behind the latter river. On the 16th March, at nine o'clock in the morning, the three divisions of the French army,

destined to act under Napoleon in person, were drawn up in front of the Austrian force, on the right bank of the Tagliamento. This stream, after descending from the mountains, separates into several branches, all of which are fordable, and covers the ground for a great extent between them with stones and gravel. The Imperial squadrons, numerous and magnificently appointed, were drawn up on the opposite shore, ready to fall on the French infantry the moment that they crossed the stream; and a vast array of guns already scattered their balls among its numerous branches. Napoleon, seeing the enemy so well prepared, had recourse to a stratagem. He ordered the troops to retire without the reach of the enemy's fire, establish a bivouac, and begin to cook their victuals. The Archduke, conceiving all chance of attack over for the day, withdrew his forces into their camp in the rear. When all was quiet, the signal was given by the French general: the soldiers ran to arms, and forming with inconceivable rapidity, advanced quickly in columns by échelon, flanking each other in the finest order, and precipitated themselves into the river. The precision, the beauty of the movements, resembled the exercise of a field-day; never did an army advance upon the enemy in a more majestic or imposing manner. The troops vied with each other in the regularity and firmness of their advance. "Soldiers of the Rhine!" exclaimed Bernadotte, "the Army of Italy is watching your conduct." The rival divisions reached the stream at the same time, and fearlessly plunging into the water, soon gained the opposite shore. The Austrian cavalry, hastening to the spot, charged the French infantry on the edge of the water: but it was too late; they were already established in battle-array on the left bank. Soon the firing became general along the whole line; but the Archduke, seeing the passage achieved, his flank turned, and being unwilling to engage in a decisive action before the arrival of his divisions from the Rhine, ordered a retreat; and the French light troops pursued him four miles from the field of battle. In this action

the Imperialists lost six pieces of cannon and five hundred men; and, what was of more importance, the prestige of a first success. In truth, the Archduke never afterwards regained the confidence of his soldiers in contending with the conqueror of Italy.

11. Shortly after, Massena, on the central road, effected his passage at St Daniel. Soon after, he made himself master of Ozoppo, the key of the *chaussée* of the Ponteba, which was not occupied in force, pushed on to the Venetian *chiusa*, a narrow gorge, rudely fortified, which he also carried, and drove the Austrian division of Ocksay before him to the ridge of Tarwis. The occupation of the Ponteba by Massena prevented the Archduke from continuing his retreat by the direct *chaussée* to Carinthia; he resolved, therefore, to regain it by the cross-road which follows the blue and glittering waters of the Isonzo, because the Carinthian road, being the most direct, was the one which Napoleon would probably follow in his advance upon Vienna. For this purpose he despatched his parks of artillery, and the division of Bayalitch, by the Isonzo towards Tarwis, while the remainder of his forces retired by the Lower Isonzo. The day after the battle of the Tagliamento, Napoleon occupied Palma Nuova, where he found immense magazines, and soon after pushed on to Gradisca, situated on the Lower Isonzo, and garrisoned by three thousand men. Bernadotte's division arrived first before the place, and instantly plunging into the torrent, which at that time was uncommonly low, notwithstanding a shower of balls from two thousand Croats stationed on the opposite shore, succeeded in forcing the passage, from whence he rashly advanced to assault the place. A terrible fire of grape and musketry, which swept off five hundred men, speedily repulsed this attack; but while the Imperialists were congratulating themselves upon their success, the division of Serrurier, which had crossed in another quarter, appeared on the heights in the rear, upon which they laid down their arms, to the number of two thousand, with ten pieces of artillery, and eight standards. This

success had most important consequences; the division of Bernadotte marched upon and took possession of Laibach, while a thousand horse occupied Trieste, the greatest harbour of the Austrian monarchy; and Serrurier ascended the course of the Isonzo, by Caporetto and the Austrian *chiusa*, to regain at Tarwis the route of Carinthia.

12. Meanwhile Massena, pursuing the broken remains of Ocksay's division, made himself master of the important Col de Tarwis, the crest of the Alps, commanding the valleys descending both to Carinthia and Dalmatia. The Archduke immediately foresaw the danger which the division of Bayalitch would incur, pressed in rear by the victorious troops which followed it up the Isonzo, and blocked up in front by the division of Massena, at the upper end of the defile, on the ridge of Tarwis. He resolved, therefore, at all hazards, to retake that important station, and for this purpose hastened in person to Klagenfurth, on the northern side of the great chain of the Alps, and put himself at the head of a division of five thousand grenadiers, the first of the promised reinforcement, who had arrived at that place the day before from the Rhine. With these veteran troops he advanced to retake the passage. He was at first successful, and, after a sharp action, established himself on the summit with the grenadiers and the division of Ocksay. But Massena, who was well aware of the importance of this post, upon the possession of which the fate of the Austrian division coming up the Isonzo and the issue of the campaign depended, made the most vigorous efforts to regain his ground. The troops on both sides fought with the utmost resolution, and both commanders exposed their persons like the meanest of the soldiers; the cannon thundered above the clouds; the cavalry charged on fields of ice; the infantry struggled through drifts of snow. At length the obstinate courage of Massena prevailed over the persevering resolution of his adversary; and the Archduke, after having exhausted his last reserves, was compelled to give way, and yield the

possession of the blood-stained snows of Tarwis to the Republican soldiers.

13. No sooner had the French general established himself on this important station, than he occupied in force both the defiles leading to Villach, whither the Archduke had retired, and those descending to the Austrian *chiusa*, where Bayalitch's division was expected soon to appear. Meanwhile that general, encumbered with artillery and ammunition waggons, was slowly ascending the vine-clad course of the Isontso, and having at length passed the gates of the Austrian *chiusa*, he deemed himself secure, under the shelter of that almost impregnable barrier. But nothing could withstand the attack of the French. The fourth regiment, surnamed "the Impetuous," scaled, with infinite difficulty, the rocks which overhung the left of the position, while a column of infantry assailed it in front; and the Austrian detachment, finding itself thus turned, laid down its arms. No resource now remained to Bayalitch. Shut up in a narrow valley, between impassable mountains, he was pressed in rear by the victorious troops of Serrurier, and in front found his advance stopped by the vanguard of Massena on the slopes of the Tarwis. A number of Croats escaped over the mountains by throwing away their arms; but the greater part of the division, consisting of the general himself, three thousand five hundred men, twenty-five pieces of cannon, and four hundred artillery or baggage waggons, fell into the hands of the Republicans.

14. Napoleon had now gained the crest of the Alps; headquarters were successively transferred to Caporetto, Tarwis, Villach, and Klagenfurth: the army passed the Drave by the bridge of Villach, which the Imperialists had not time to burn; and, descending the course of the streams, found itself in the valleys which lead to the Danube. The Alps were passed; the scenery, the manners, the houses, the cultivation, all bore the character of Germany. The soldiers admired the good humour and honesty of the peasants, the invariable characteristics of the Gothic race; detached cottages were spread through

the valleys, the never-failing mark of general security and long-established well-being; the quantity of vegetables, of horses, and chariots, proved of the utmost service to the army. Klagenfurth, surrounded by a ruined rampart, was slightly defended; the French had no sooner made themselves masters of that town, than they restored the fortifications, and established magazines of stores and provisions; while the whole British merchandise found in Trieste, was, according to the usual custom of the Republicans, confiscated for their use.

15. While these important operations were going forward in Carinthia, Joubert had gained decisive successes in the Italian Tyrol. No sooner had the battle of the Tagliamento expelled the Imperialists from Italy, than that general received orders to avail himself of his numerical superiority, and drive the Austrians over the Brenner. He commenced the attack, accordingly, on the 20th March. The Imperialists were in two divisions, one under Kerpen, on the Lavis, in the valley of the Adige; the other under Laudon, in the mountains near Neumarkt. The former, encamped on the plateau of Cembra, on the river Lavis, was assailed by Joubert with superior forces, and after a short action driven back to Bolzano, with the loss of two thousand five hundred prisoners and seven pieces of cannon. The French, after this success, separated in two divisions: the first, under Baraguay d'Hilliers, pursued the broken remains of Kerpen's forces on the great road to Bolzano; while the second, composed of the *élite* of the troops under Joubert in person, advanced against Laudon, who had come up to Neumarkt, in the endeavour to re-establish his communication with Kerpen. The Imperialists, attacked by superior forces, were routed, with the loss of several pieces of cannon and a thousand prisoners; while, on the same day, the other division of the army entered Bolzano without opposition, and made itself master of all the magazines it contained.

16. Bolzano is situated at the junction of the valleys of the Adige and the

Eisach. To command both, Joubert left Delmas, with five thousand men, in that town, and himself advanced in person with the remainder of his forces up the narrow and rocky defile which leads by the banks of the Eisach to Brixen. Kerpen awaited him in the position of Clausen—a romantic and seemingly impregnable pass, three miles above Bolzano, where the mountains approach each other so closely, as to leave only the bed of the stream and the breadth of the road between their frowning brows. An inaccessible precipice shuts in the pass on the southern side, while on the northern a succession of wooded and rocky peaks rise in wild variety from the raging torrent to the naked cliffs, three thousand feet above. Early in the morning, the French presented themselves at the jaws of this formidable defile; but the Austrian and Tyrolese marksmen, perched on the cliffs and in the woods, kept up so terrible a fire upon the road, that column after column, which advanced to the attack, was swept away. For the whole day the action continued, without the Republicans gaining any advantage; but towards evening their active light infantry succeeded in scaling the rocky heights on the right of the Imperialists, and rolled down great blocks of stone, which rendered the pass no longer tenable. Joubert, at the same time, charged rapidly in front, at the head of two regiments formed in close column; and the Austrians, unable to withstand this combined effort, fell back towards Brixen, which was soon after occupied by their indefatigable pursuers.

17. The invasion of the Tyrol, so far from daunting, tended only to animate the spirit of the peasantry in that warlike district. Kerpen, as he fell back, distributed numerous proclamations, which soon brought crowds of expert and dauntless marksmen to his standard; and, reinforced by these, he took post at Mittenwald, hoping to cover both the great road over Mount Brenner and the lateral one which ascended the Pusterthal. But he was attacked with such vigour by General Belliard, at the head of the French infantry in close column, that he was unable to

maintain his ground, and driven from the castellated heights of Sterzen to take post on the summit of the Brenner, the last barrier of Innspruck, still covered with the snows of winter. The alarm spread through the whole of the Tyrol; an attack on its capital was hourly expected; and it was thought the enemy intended to penetrate across the valley of the Inn, and join the invading force on the Rhine.

18. But Joubert, notwithstanding his successes, was now in a dangerous position. The accounts he received from Bolzano depicted in glowing colours the progress of the *levy en masse*; and although he was at the head of twelve thousand men, it was evidently highly dangerous either to remain where he was, in the midst of a warlike province in a state of insurrection, or advance unsupported over the higher Alps into the valley of the Inn. There was no alternative, therefore, but to retrace his steps down the Adige, or join Napoleon by the cross-road from Brixen, through the Pusterthal, to Klagenfurth. He preferred the latter; brought up Delmas with his division from Bolzano, and, setting out in the beginning of April, joined the main army in Carinthia with all his forces and five thousand prisoners, leaving Servier to make head as he best could against the formidable force which Laudon was organising in the valley of the Upper Adige. Thus, in twenty days after the campaign opened, the army of the Archduke was driven over the Julian Alps; the French occupied Carniola, Carinthia, Trieste, Fiume, and the Italian Tyrol; and a formidable force of forty-five thousand men, flushed with victory, was on the northern declivity of the Alps, within sixty leagues of Vienna. On the other hand, the Austrians, dispirited by disaster and weakened by defeat, had lost a fourth of their number in the different actions which had occurred, while the army of the Rhine was at so great a distance as to be unable to take any part in the defence of the capital.

19. But, notwithstanding all this, the situation of the Republican armies, in many respects, was highly perilous. An

insurrection was breaking out in the Venetian provinces, which it was easy to see would ultimately involve that power in hostilities with the French government; Laudon was advancing by rapid strides in the valley of the Adige, with no adequate force to check his operations; and the armies of the Rhine were so far from being in a condition to afford any effectual assistance, that they had not yet crossed that frontier river. The French troops could not descend unsupported into the valley of the Danube, for they had not cavalry sufficient to meet the numerous and powerful squadrons of the Imperialists; and what were forty-five thousand men in the heart of the Austrian empire? These considerations, which had long weighed with Napoleon, became doubly cogent, from a despatch received on the 31st March, at Klagenfurt, which announced that Moreau's troops could not enter upon the campaign for want of boats to cross the Rhine, and that the Army of Italy must reckon upon no support from the other forces of the Republic. It was evident, notwithstanding the extreme pecuniary distress of the government, that there was something designed in this dilatory conduct, which endangered the bravest army and all the conquests of the Republic. The truth was, they had already conceived that jealousy of their victorious general, which subsequent events so fully justified, and apprehended less danger from a retreat before the Imperial forces, than from a junction of their greatest armies under such an aspiring leader.

20. Deprived of all prospect of that co-operation on which he had relied in crossing the Alps, Napoleon wisely determined to forego all thoughts of dictating peace under the walls of Vienna, and contented himself with making the most of his recent successes, by obtaining advantageous terms from the Austrian government. A few hours, accordingly, after receiving the despatch of the Directory, he addressed to the Archduke Charles one of those memorable letters, which, almost as much as his campaigns, exhibit his profound and impassioned mind: "General-in-chief,—Brave sol-

diers make war, and desire peace. Has not this war already continued six years? Have we not slain enough of our fellow-creatures, and inflicted a sufficiency of woes on suffering humanity? It demands repose on all sides. Europe, which took up arms against the French Republic, has laid them aside. Your nation alone remains, and yet blood is about to flow in as great profusion as ever. This sixth campaign has commenced with sinister omens; but whatever may be its issue, we shall kill, on one side and the other, many thousand men, and, nevertheless, at last come to an accommodation, for everything has a termination, even the passions of hatred. The Directory has already evinced to the Imperial government its anxious wish to put an end to hostilities; the court of London alone broke off the negotiation. But you, general-in-chief, who, by your birth, approach so near the throne, and are above all the little passions which too often govern ministers and governments, are you resolved to deserve the title of benefactor of humanity, and of the real saviour of Germany? Do not imagine, general, from this, that I conceive that you are not in a situation to save it by force of arms; but even in such an event, Germany will not be the less ravaged. As for myself, if the overture which I have the honour to make shall be the means of saving a single life, I shall be more proud of the civic crown, which I shall be conscious of having deserved, than of the melancholy glory attending military success." The Archduke returned a polite and dignified answer, in these terms: "In the duty which is assigned to me there is no power either to scrutinise the causes, or terminate the duration of the war; and, as I am not invested with any powers in that respect, you will easily conceive that I can enter into no negotiation without express authority from the Imperial government." It is remarkable how much more Napoleon, a Republican general, here assumed the language and exercised the power of an independent sovereign, than his illustrious opponent; a signal proof how early he contemplated that supreme authority

which his extraordinary abilities so well qualified him to attain, and which he so soon after reached. The Archduke was strongly impressed with the military talents displayed by Napoleon in this brief but eventful campaign; he might have said, as did Pompey to Sertorius, "I have learned more by defeat from you than by victory over others."\*

21. To give weight to his negotiations, the French general pressed the Imperialists with all his might in their retreat. Early on the 1st April, Massena came up with the Austrian rear-guard in advance of Freisach; they were instantly attacked, routed, and driven into the town pell-mell with the victors. Next day Napoleon, continuing his march, found himself in presence of the Archduke in person, who had collected the greater part of his army, reinforced by four divisions recently arrived from the Rhine, to defend the gorge of Neumarkt. This terrific defile, which even a traveller can hardly traverse without a feeling of awe, offered the strongest position to a retreating army; and its mouth, with all the villages in the vicinity, was occupied in force by the Austrian grenadiers. The French general collected his forces; Massena was directed to assemble all his divisions on the left of the chaussée; the division of Guyeux was placed on the heights on the right, and that of Serrurier in reserve. At three in the afternoon the attack commenced at all points; the soldiers of the Rhine challenged the veterans of the Italian army to equal the swiftness of their advance; and the rival corps, eagerly watching each other's steps, precipitated themselves with irresistible force

\* J'apprends plus contre vous par mes désavantages,  
J'ai emportés que les plus beaux succès  
qu'ailleurs  
Ne m'ont encore appris par mes prospérités.  
Je vois ce qu'il faut faire, à voir ce que vous faites :  
Les sièges, les assauts, les savantes retraites,  
Bien camper, bien choisir à chacun son emploi :  
Votre exemple est partout une étude pour moi.

CORNILLIE, *Sertorius*, Act iii. scene I.

upon the enemy. The Austrians, after a short action, fell back in confusion; and the Archduke took advantage of the approach of night to retire to Hundemarkt. In this affair the Imperialists lost fifteen hundred men, although the division of Massena was alone seriously engaged. Napoleon instantly pushed on to Schuffling, a military post of great importance, as it was situated at the junction of the cross-road from the Tyrol and the great chaussée to Vienna, which was carried after a rude combat; and on the following day he despatched Guieux up the rugged defiles of the Mour in pursuit of the column of Sporck, which, after a sharp action with the French advanced guard, succeeded in joining the main army of the Imperialists by the route of Rastadt. Two days after, Napoleon pushed on to Judenburg, where headquarters were established on the 6th April, and then halted to collect his scattered forces, while the advanced guard occupied the village of Leoben. The Archduke now resolved to leave the mountains, and concentrate all his divisions in the neighbourhood of Vienna, where the whole resources of the monarchy were to be collected, and the last battle fought for the independence of Germany.

22. This rapid advance excited the utmost consternation at the Austrian capital. In vain the Aulic Council strove to stem the torrent; in vain the lower orders surrounded the public offices, and demanded with loud cries to be enrolled for the defence of the country; the government yielded to the alarm, terror in high places paralysed every heart. The Danube was covered with boats conveying the archives and most precious articles beyond the reach of danger; the young archduke and archduchess were sent to Hungary; and with them was MARIA LOUISA, then hardly six years of age, who afterwards became Empress of France. The old fortifications of Vienna, which had withstood the arms of the Turks, but had since fallen into decay, were hastily put into repair, and the militia directed to the intrenched camp of Marienhalf, to learn the art which might so soon be required for the defence of the capital.

23. The Emperor, although endowed with more than ordinary firmness of mind, at length yielded to the torrent. On the 7th April, the Archduke's chief of the staff, Bellegarde, along with General Meerfeld, presented himself at the outposts, and at LEOBEN a suspension of arms was agreed on for five days. All the mountainous region, as far as the Simmering, was to be occupied by the French troops, as well as Gratz, the capital of Styria. On the 9th, the advanced posts established themselves on that ridge, the last of the Alps, before they sink into the Austrian plain, from whence, in a clear day, the steeples of the capital can be discerned; and on the same day headquarters were established at Leoben in order to conduct the negotiation. At the same time General Joubert arrived in the valley of the Drave, and Kerpen, by a circuitous route, joined the Archduke. The French army, which lately extended over the whole Alps, from Brixen to Trieste, was concentrated in cantonments in a small space, ready to debouch, in case of need, into the plain of Vienna.

24. While these decisive events were occurring in the Alps of Carinthia, the prospects of the French in the Tyrol, Croatia, and Friuli, were rapidly changing for the worse. An insurrection had taken place among the Croatsians. Fiume was wrested from the Republicans, and nothing but the suspension of arms prevented Trieste from falling into the hands of the insurgents. Such was the panic they occasioned, that detached parties of the French fled as far as Görizia, on the Isonzo. Meanwhile Laudon, whose division was raised to twelve thousand by the insurrection in the Tyrol, descended the Adige, driving the inconsiderable division of Serurier before him, who was soon compelled to take refuge within the walls of Verona. Thus, at the moment that the French centre, far advanced in the mountains, was about to be exposed to the whole weight of the Austrian monarchy, its two wings were exposed, and an insurrection in progress which threatened to cut off the remaining communications in its rear. The perilous situation of the French army can-

not be better represented than in the words of Napoleon in his despatch to the Directory, enclosing the preliminaries of Leoben. "The court had evacuated Vienna; the Archduke and his army were falling back on that of the Rhine; the people of Hungary, and of all the Hereditary States, were rising in mass, and at this moment the heads of their columns are on our flanks. The Rhine is not yet passed by our soldiers; the moment it is, the Emperor will put himself at the head of his armies, and although, if they stood their ground, I would, without doubt, have beaten them, yet they could still have fallen back on the armies of the Rhine and overwhelmed me. In such a case retreat would have been difficult, and the loss of the Army of Italy would have drawn after it that of the Republic. Impressed with these ideas, I had resolved to levy a contribution in the suburbs of Vienna, and attempt nothing more. I have not four thousand cavalry, and, instead of the forty thousand infantry I was to have received, I have never got twenty. Had I insisted, in the commencement of the campaign, upon entering Turin, I would never have crossed the Po; had I agreed to the project of going to Rome, I would have lost the Milanese; had I persisted in advancing to Vienna, I would probably have ruined the Republic."

25. When such were the views of the victorious and the dangers of the vanquished party, the negotiation could not be long in coming to a conclusion. Napoleon, though not furnished with any powers to that effect from the Directory, took upon himself to act in the conferences like an independent sovereign. The Austrians attached great importance to the etiquette of proceedings, and offered to recognise the French Republic if they were allowed the precedence; but Napoleon ordered that article to be withdrawn. "Efface that," said he; "the Republic is like the sun, which shines with its own light; so much the worse for the blind, who cannot see it or profit by it." "In truth," he adds, "such a condition was worse than useless; because, if one day the French people should

wish to create a monarchy, the Emperor might object that he had recognised a Republic." A striking proof how early the thoughts of the young general had been fixed upon the throne.

26. As the French plenipotentiaries had not arrived, Napoleon, of his own authority, signed the treaty. Its principal articles were—1. The cession of Flanders to the Republic, and the extension of its frontier to the Rhine, on condition of a suitable indemnity being provided to the Emperor in some other quarter. 2. The cession of Savoy to the same power, and the extension of its territory to the summit of the Piedmontese Alps. 3. The establishment of the Cisalpine Republic, including Lombardy, with the states of Modena, Cremona, and the Bergamasque. 4. The Oglio was fixed on as the boundary of the Austrian possessions in Italy. 5. The Emperor was to receive, in return for so many sacrifices, *the whole continental states of Venice*, including Illyria, Istria, Friuli, and Upper Italy, as far as the Oglio. 6. Venice was to obtain, in return for the loss of its continental possessions, Romagna, Ferrara, and Bologna, which the French had wrested from the Pope. 7. The important fortresses of Mantua, Peschiera, Porto Legnago, and Palma-Nuova, were to be restored to the Emperor, on the conclusion of a general peace, with the city and castles of Verona.

27. With truth does Napoleon confess, that these arrangements were made "in hatred of Venice."\* Thus did that daring leader, and the Austrian government, take upon themselves, without any declaration of war, or any actual hostilities with the Venetian government, to partition out the territories of that neutral republic, for no other reason than because they lay conveniently for one of the contracting powers, and afforded a plausible pretext for an enormous acquisition of territory by the other. The page of history, stained as it is with acts of oppression and violence, has nothing more iniquitous to present. It is darker in atrocity than the partition of Poland, and has only excited less indignation in subsequent

\* Napoleon, iv. 197.

years, because it was not wound up with the interest of the democratic party, ever foremost in giving celebrity to any transaction, and was attended with no heroism or dignity in the vanquished. It reveals the melancholy truth, that small states have never so much reason to tremble for their independence, as when large ones in their neighbourhood are arranging the terms of peace; nor is it easy to say whether the injustice of the proceeding is most apparent on the first statement of the spoliation, or on a review of the previous transactions which are referred to in its defence.

28. VENICE, the Queen of the Adriatic, seated on her throne of waters, had long sought to veil the weakened strength and diminished courage of age under a cautious and reserved neutrality. The oldest state in existence, having survived for nearly fourteen centuries, she had felt the weakness and timidity of declining years, before any serious reverse had been sustained in her fortunes, and was incapable of resisting the slightest attack, while as yet her external aspect exhibited no symptoms of decay. The traveller, as he sailed amid the palaces, which still rose in undecaying beauty from the waters of the Adriatic, no longer wondered at the astonishment with which the stern Crusaders of the north gazed at her marble piles, and felt a rapture like that of the Roman Emperor, when he approached where "Venice sat in state, throned on her hundred isles;" but in the weak and pusillanimous crowd which he beheld on all sides, he looked in vain for the descendants of those brave men who leaped from their galleys on the towers of Constantinople, and stood forth as the bulwark of Christendom against the Ottoman power; and still less, amidst the misery and dejection with which he was surrounded, could he go back in imagination to those days of liberty and valour—

— "when Venice once was dear,  
The pleasant place of all Festivity;  
The Revel of the Earth, the Mask of Italy."

29. In truth, Venice exhibits one of the most curious and instructive instances which is to be found in modern



history, of the decline of a state without any rude external shock, from the mere force of internal corruption, and the long-continued direction of the passions to selfish objects. The league of Cambray, indeed, had shaken its power; the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope had dried up part of its resources, and the augmentation of the strength of the Transalpine monarchies had diminished its relative importance. Yet were its wealth and population such as to entitle it to a respectable rank among the European states; and, if directed by energy and courage, they might have given it a preponderating weight on the issue of this campaign. But centuries of peace had dissolved the courage of the higher orders; ages of corruption had extinguished the patriotism of the people; and the continued pursuit of selfish gratification had rendered all classes incapable of the sacrifices which exertion for their country required. The arsenals were empty; the fortifications decayed; the fleet, which once ruled the Adriatic, was rotting in the Lagoon; and the army, which formerly faced the banded strength of Europe in the league of Cambray, was drawn entirely from the semi-barbarous provinces on the Turkish frontier. With such a population, nothing grand or generous could be attempted; but it was hardly to be expected that the country of Dandolo and Carmagnola should have yielded without a struggle, and the eldest born of the European commonwealths have sunk unpitied into the grave of nations.

30. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, however, the very peculiar situation of Venice gave it extraordinary facilities for maintaining a defence, and, in fact, rendered it, with the maritime aid of England, altogether impregnable. It is situated upon a cluster of islands, surrounded by the Lagoon, a series of shallow salt-water lakes, in general not more than three or four feet deep, and separated from the Adriatic by a great sand-bank called the Lido, all the entrances to which were strongly fortified. The most considerable of these, Malamocco and Chiusa, the scene of such desperate contests between the Genoese and Venetians in the sixteenth century,

are guarded by strong fortresses, which could only be reduced by a power having the command of the sea. On the land side, Venice is unassailable, unless by a power which, by long-continued efforts, has succeeded in raising up a body of boatmen capable of contending with the celebrated gondoliers of the Adriatic Queen for the mastery of the green waves of the Lagoon. But this is a very difficult matter, for long practice has given these boatmen extraordinary skill in the management of their narrow vessels; and the intricacies of the navigation by which the capital is to be reached from the mainland, abounding with shoals and sand-banks, which can be avoided only by devious and circuitous channels, render the approach almost impossible to all but those intimately acquainted with the navigation. The distance of the capital from the nearest point of the shore being above five miles, renders any attempt at bombardment utterly hopeless.

31. When the impatient traveller emerges from the green mounds of the fortifications of Mestri or Fusina, the nearest harbours of the Continent, on which he embarks for the Venetian capital, and first finds himself on the broad wave of the Lagoon, he perceives its domes and steeples rising, like specks above the water, at the extremity of the horizon, from the bosom of the waves. As he approaches nearer, winding through the channels of the Lagoon clogged with green sea-weed, the lower buildings of the capital gradually become visible; islands stretching out on either side, surmounted by domes, churches, and lofty buildings, give variety to the uniform surface of the water, and numerous pleasure-boats, seen in all directions, indicate the approach to the metropolis. The canals by which the city is at first entered, are bordered by mean brick edifices, which but ill correspond with its imposing aspect when seen from a distance. But this unfavourable impression is soon removed when the traveller reaches the Great Canal, which winds in a serpentine form through the heart of the city, lined on either side by stately palaces of marble, adorned with the richest façades, in the

Palladian style. Independent of the historical associations with which it is connected, Venice is, from the peculiarity of its situation, and the exquisite beauty of its architectural decorations, the most interesting city in Europe. The Place of St Mark, adorned by the genius of Palladio and San-Suvirio, with its eastern end filled by the barbaric magnificence of the Church of St Mark, presents the most beautiful square that is anywhere to be met with; while the adjoining harbour, the broad expanse of which is reached through the pillared avenue of the Piazzetta, exhibits a scene probably unique in the world. The singular assemblage of ships and galleys, often of the most grotesque construction, from every part of the Mediterranean; the concourse of Turks, Greeks, and Asiatics on the quay; the glittering aspect of the barques and gondolas which in every direction traverse the harbour, mark the approach to the Eastern world; but the noble domes of St Georgio Maggiore, the Reddento, and the Madonna della Salute, bespeak the taste of Italy, and the predominance of the Christian faith. Altogether, Venice produces an impression never to be effaced from the mind of the traveller, the recollection of which recurs to the latest period of life with its bright skies, glassy waves, and glowing sunsets, like the visions of bliss seen in earlier and enthusiastic days.

32. The proximity of the Venetian continental provinces to those which had recently been revolutionised by the Republican arms, and the sojourning of the French armies among the ardent youth of its principal cities, naturally and inevitably led to the rapid propagation of democratic principles among their inhabitants. This took place more particularly after the victories of Rivoli and the fall of Mantua had dispelled all dread of the return of the Austrian forces. Everywhere revolutionary clubs and committees were formed in the towns, who corresponded with the Republican authorities at Milan, and openly expressed a wish to throw off the yoke of the Venetian oligarchy. During the whole winter of 1796, the democratic party, in all the continental states of

Venice, was in a state of unceasing agitation; and although Napoleon was far from desirous of involving his rear in hostilities, when actively engaged in the defiles of the Noric Alps, yet he felt anxious to establish a party able to counteract the efforts of the Venetian government, which already began to take umbrage at the menacing language and avowed sedition of their disaffected subjects. For this purpose, he secretly enjoined Captain Landrieux, chief of the staff to the cavalry, to correspond with the malcontents, and give unity and effect to their operations; while, to preserve the appearance of neutrality, he gave orders to General Kilmaine to direct all the officers and soldiers under his command to give neither counsel nor assistance to the disaffected.

33. Landrieux undertook a double part: while, on the one hand, in obedience to Napoleon's commands, and in conjunction with the ardent democrats of the Italian towns, he excited the people to revolt, and organised the means of their resistance; on the other, he entered into a secret correspondence with the Venetian government, and despatched his agent, Stephani, to Ottolini, the chief magistrate of Bergamo, to detail the nature and extent of the conspiracy which was on foot, and inform him that it aimed to separate entirely its continental possessions from the Venetian republic. By this double perfidy did this hypocritical chief of the staff render inevitable a rupture between France and Venice;\* for while, on the one hand, he excited the democratic party against the government, on the other, he gave the government too good reasons to adopt measures of coercion against the democratic party and their French allies. The revolt came on, however, sooner than was either intended or desirable. It is an easy matter to excite the passions of democracy; but it is rarely that the leaders who fan the flame can allay it at the point which

\* "Landrieux," said Napoleon, in his secret despatch to the Directory, "instigated the revolt in Bergamo and Brescia, and was paid for it; at the same time he revealed the plot to the Venetian government, and was paid for that also by them."—*Corresp. Confid.* iv. 287.

they desire. The vehement language and enthusiastic conduct of the French soldiers, joined to the secret machinations of their chief, brought on an explosion in the Venetian territories sooner than was expedient for the interests either of the general or of the army.

34. Napoleon's constant object was, by the terror of an insurrection in their continental possessions, to induce the government to unite cordially in a league with France, and make the desired concessions to the popular party; but having failed in his endeavours, he marched for the Tagliamento, leaving insurrection ready to break out in all the provinces in his rear. On the morning of the 12th March, the revolt began at Bergamo, in consequence of the arrest of the leaders of the insurrection; the insurgents declared openly that they were supported by the French, despatched couriers to Milan and the principal towns of Lombardy to obtain succour, and besought the Republican commander of the castle to support them with his forces. But he declined to interfere ostensibly in their behalf, though he countenanced their projected union with the Cisalpine Republic. A provisional government was soon established, which instantly announced to the newly-born Cispadane Republic that Bergamo had recovered its liberty, and their desire to be united with that state; and concluded with these words: "Let us live, let us fight, and, if necessary, die together; thus should all free people do: let us then for ever remain united; you, the French, and ourselves." The example speedily spread to other towns. Brescia, under the instigation of Landrioux, openly threw off its allegiance, and disarmed the Venetian troops in presence of the French soldiers, who neither checked nor supported the insurrection. At Crema, the insurgents were introduced into the gates by a body of French cavalry, and, having speedily overturned the Venetian authorities, proclaimed their union with the Cispadane Republic.

35. These alarming revolts excited the utmost consternation at Venice; and the Senate, not daring to act openly against insurgents who declared them-

selves supported by the Republican commanders, wrote to the Directory, and despatched Pesaro to the headquarters of Napoleon, to complain of the countenance given by his troops to the revolt of their subjects. The Venetian deputies came up with the French general at Görizia; he feigned surprise at the intelligence, but endeavoured to take advantage of the terror of the republic to induce them to submit to increased exactions. They represented that the French armies had occupied the principal fortresses and castles of the republic, and that, having thus obtained the vantage-ground, they were bound either to take some steps to show that they disapproved of the revolt, which was organised in their name, or to cede these places to the republic, and permit them to exert their own strength in restoring order in their dominions. Napoleon positively declined to do either of these things, but constantly urged the deputies to throw themselves into the arms of France. "That I should arm against our friends, against those who have received us kindly, and wish to defend us, in favour of our enemies, of those who hate and seek to ruin us, is impossible. Never will I turn my arms against the principles of the Revolution; to them I owe in part all my success. But I offer you, in perfect sincerity, my friendship and my counsels; unite yourselves cordially to France; make the requisite changes in your constitution; and, without employing force with the Italian people, I will induce them to yield to order and peace." They passed from that to the contributions for the use of the army. Hitherto Venice had furnished supplies to the French army, as she had previously done to the Imperial. The Venetian deputies insisted that Napoleon, having now entered the Hereditary States, should cease to be any longer a burden on their resources. This was far from being the French general's intention; for he was desirous of levying no requisitions on the Austrian territories, for fear of rousing a national war among the inhabitants. The commissaries, whom the Venetian government had secretly commissioned to furnish

supplies to the French army, had ceased their contributions, and they had in consequence commenced requisitions in the Venetian territories. "That is a bad mode of proceeding," said Napoleon; "it vexes the inhabitants, and opens the door to innumerable abuses. Give me a *million a-month* as long as the campaign lasts; the Republic will account to you for it, and you will receive more than a million's worth in the cessation of pillage. You have nourished my enemies, you must do the same to me." The envoys answered that their treasury was exhausted. "If you have no money," said he, "take it from the Duke of Modena, or levy it on the property of the Russians, Austrians, and English, which is lying in your depôts. But beware of proceeding to hostilities. If, while I am engaged in a distant campaign, you light the flames of war in my rear, you have sealed your own ruin. That which might have been overlooked when I was in Italy becomes an unpardonable offence when I am in Germany." Such was the violence with which this haughty conqueror treated a nation which was not only neutral, but had for nine months furnished gratuitously all the supplies for his army; and such the degradation which this ancient republic had prepared for itself, by the timid policy which hoped to avert danger by declining to face it.

36. The Venetian government at length saw that they could no longer delay taking a decided part. A formidable insurrection, organised in the name and under the sanction of the Republican authorities, was rapidly spreading in their continental possessions, great part of which had already joined the Cisalpine Republic; and the general-in-chief, instead of taking any steps to quench the flame, had only demanded fresh contributions from a state already exhausted by his exactions. They resolved, therefore, by a large majority, to act vigorously against the insurgents, but without venturing to engage in hostilities with the French forces—an ill-judged step, the result of timidity and irresolution, which exposed them to all the perils of war without any of its favourable chances; which irritated

without endangering the enemy, and allowed the French general to select his own time for wreaking upon the state, alone and unbefriended, the whole weight of Republican vengeance.

37. The retreat of the French from the valley of the Adige, and the irruption of the Croats into Friuli, encouraged the Venetian government to commence hostilities against their refractory subjects. But before that took place, tumults and bloodshed had arisen spontaneously, and about the same time, in many different parts of the territory, in consequence of the furious passions which were roused by the collision between the aristocracy on the one hand, and the populace on the other. Matters were also precipitated by an unworthy fraud, perpetrated by the Republican agents at Milan. This was the preparation and publishing of an address, purporting to be from Battaglia, governor of Verona, calling upon the citizens faithful to Venice to rise in arms, to murder the insurgents, and chase the French soldiers from the Venetian territory. This fabrication, which was written at Milan by a person in the French interest, of the name of Salvador, was extensively diffused by Landrieux, the secret agent of the French general; and though it bore such absurdity on its face as might have detected the forgery, yet, in the agitated state of the country, a spark was sufficient to fire the train; and hostilities, from the excited condition of men's minds, would, in all probability, have been commenced, even without this unworthy device. The mountaineers and the inhabitants of the Alpine valleys flew to arms; large bodies of the peasantry collected together; and everything was prepared for the irruption of a considerable force into the plains of Brescia.

38. The democrats in Brescia, instigated by French agents, resolved instantly to commence hostilities. A body of twelve hundred men issued from their gates, accompanied by four pieces of cannon, served by French gunners, to attack Salò, a fortified town, occupied by Venetians, on the western bank of the lake of Garda. The expedition reached the town, and was about

to take possession of it, when they were suddenly attacked and routed by a body of mountaineers, who made prisoners two hundred Poles of the legion of Dombrowski, and so completely surprised the French that they narrowly escaped the same fate. This success contributed immensely to excite the movements; large bodies of peasants issued from the valleys, and speedily ten thousand armed men appeared before the gates of Brescia. The inhabitants, however, prepared for their defence, and soon a severe cannonade commenced on both sides. General Kilmaine, upon this, collected a body of fifteen hundred men, chiefly Poles, under General Lahoz, attacked and defeated the mountaineers, and drove them back to their mountains; they were soon after followed by the French flotilla and land forces, and Salo was taken and sacked.

39. The intelligence of these events excited the utmost indignation at Venice. The part taken by the French troops in supporting the revolt could no longer be concealed; and the advance of Laudon, at the same time, in the Tyrol, produced such apparently well-founded hopes of the approaching overthrow of the Republicans, that nothing but the vicinity of Victor's corps prevented the Senate from openly declaring against the French. The Austrian generals spread, in the vicinity of Verona, the most extravagant reports, that he was advancing at the head of sixty thousand men, that Napoleon had been defeated in the Noric Alps, and that the junctions of the corps in his rear would speedily compel him to surrender. These statements excited the most vehement agitation at Verona, where the patrician party, from their proximity to the revolutionary cities, were in imminent danger, and a popular insurrection might be hourly expected. The government, however, deeming it too hazardous to come to an open rupture with the French, continued their temporising policy; they even agreed to give the million a month which the Republican general demanded, and contented themselves with redoubling the vigilance of the police, and arresting such of their own subjects as were sus-

pected of seditious practices. Meanwhile Napoleon, having received intelligence of the steps which the Venetian government had adopted to crush the insurrection in their dominions, and the check which the Republican troops, in aiding them, had received at Salo, affected the most violent indignation. Having already concluded the armistice at Leoben, and agreed to abandon the whole continental possessions of Venice to Austria, he foresaw in these events the means of satisfying the avidity of the Imperialists, and procuring advantageous terms for the Republic, at the expense of the helpless state of Venice. He therefore sent his aide-de-camp, Junot, with a menacing letter to the Senate, in which he threatened them with the whole weight of the Republican vengeance, if they did not instantly liberate the Polish and French prisoners, surrender to him the authors of the hostilities, and disband all their armaments. Junot was received by the Senate, to whom he read the imperious letter of Napoleon; but they prevailed on him to suspend his threats, and despatched two senators to the Republican headquarters, to endeavour to bring matters to an accommodation.

40. But the very day after the deputies set out from Venice for Leoben, an explosion took place on the Adige, which gave the French general too fair a pretext to break off the negotiation. The levy *en masse* of the peasants, to the number of twenty thousand, had assembled in the neighbourhood of Verona; three thousand Venetian troops had been sent into that town by the Senate, and the near approach of the Austrians from the Tyrol promised effectual support. The tocsin sounded; the people flew to arms, and put to death in cold blood four hundred wounded French in the hospitals. Indignant at these atrocious cruelties, General Bolland, who commanded the French garrison in the forts, fired on the city with red-hot balls. Conflagrations soon broke out in several quarters, and although various attempts at accommodation were made, they were all rendered abortive by the furious passions of the multitude. The cannonade continued on both sides,

the forts were closely invested, the city in many parts was in flames, the French already began to feel the pressure of hunger, and the garrison of Fort Chiusa, which capitulated from want of provisions, was inhumanly put to death, to revenge the ravages of the bombardment.

41. But the hour of retribution was at hand; and a terrible reverse awaited the sanguinary excesses of the Venetian insurrection. The day after hostilities commenced, the intelligence of the armistice was received, and the Austrian troops retired into the Tyrol; two days after, the columns of General Chabran appeared round the town, and invested its walls; while, to complete their misfortunes, on the 23d the accounts of the signature of the preliminaries of Leoben arrived. The multitude immediately passed from the highest exultation to the deepest dejection; and they now sought only to deprecate the wrath of the conqueror, to whom they had given so much cause of hostility. Submission was immediately made; the authors of the cruelties were shot; a general disarming was effected among the peasantry; and a contribution of 1,100,000 francs (£44,000) levied on the city. The plains were speedily covered with French troops; the united divisions of Victor and Kilmaine occupied successively Vicenza and Padua, and soon the French standards were discovered from the steeples of Venice on the shores of the Laguna. These excesses were the work of popular passion, equally sanguinary and inconstant, when not rightly directed, in all ages and countries; but an event of the same kind stained the last days of the Venetian government itself. A French vessel of four guns approached the entrance of the harbour of Lido, in opposition to a rule of the Venetian Senate, to which all nations, not excepting the English themselves, were accustomed to yield obedience. A cannonade ensued between the batteries on shore and the vessel, and the French ship having been captured by the galleys on the station, the captain and four of the crew were massacred, and eleven wounded. Immediately after, a decree of the Senate publicly applauded this cruel and un-

necessary act. These sanguinary proceedings sufficiently verify the old observation, that pusillanimity and cruelty are allied to each other; and that none are so truly humane as the brave and the free. They do not in the slightest degree palliate the treachery of the French, or the rapacity of the Imperialists, the former of whom had instigated the revolt of the Venetian democrats, and signed the partition of Venice *before* either of these events took place; \* but they go far to diminish the regret which otherwise would be felt at the success of unprincipled ambition, and the fall of the oldest republic of the Christian world.

42. The Venetian senate, thunder-struck by the intelligence they had received, did their utmost to appease the wrath of the victors. Their situation had become to the last degree perilous, for they were precipitated into hostilities with the victorious Republic, at the very time when Austria, discomfited, was retiring from the strife, and when their own dominions had become a prey

\* The massacre at Verona took place on the 17th April, that at Lido on the 23d, while the preliminaries of Leoben, which assigned the whole of the continental Venetian territories to Austria, were agreed to on the 9th, at Judenburg, and the formal treaty was drawn up on the 16th, in Carinthia, before even the first of these events had occurred, and signed on the 18th. Napoleon has given the clearest proof of his sense of the unjustifiable nature of this aggression, by having, in his memoirs on this subject, *entirely kept out of view the dates*, and made it appear as if his menacing letter by Junot to the Senate was the consequence of the massacre of April 17, at Verona, when in fact it was dated the 9th April, at Judenburg, at a time when, so far from the Venetian government having given any cause of complaint to the French, they had only suffered aggressions at their hands, in the assistance openly lent to the democratic rebels, and the attack by the Republican forces on Salò. Conflicts, indeed, had taken place between the Venetian insurgents, stimulated by the French, and the aristocratic adherents; but the government had committed no act of hostility, the monthly supplies were in course of regular payment, and the French ambassador was still at Venice. — *Napoleon*, iv. 142. By not attending minutely to this matter, Sir W. Scott has totally misrepresented the transactions which led to the fall of Venice, and drawn them in far too favourable colours for the hero whose life he has so ably delineated. — *Scott's Napoleon*, iii. 315, 316.

to the most furious discord. The democratic party, following the French standards, had revolted at Vicenza, Treviso, Padua, and all the continental cities, while a vehement faction in the capital itself was threatening to overthrow the constitution of the state. A deputation was sent to Gratz to endeavour to pacify the conqueror, and another to Paris, with ample funds at the command of both, to corrupt the sources of influence at these places. They succeeded, by the distribution of a very large sum, in gaining over the Directory;\* but all their efforts with Napoleon were fruitless. His was not only a character totally inaccessible to that species of corruption, but he was too deeply implicated in the partition of the Venetian territories, which he had just signed, to forego so fortunate a pretext for vindicating it as these excesses had afforded.

43. Venice had still at its command most formidable means of defence, if the spirit of the inhabitants had been equal to the emergency. They had within the city eight thousand seamen and fourteen thousand regular troops, thirty-seven galleys and one hundred and sixty gun-boats, carrying eight hundred cannon, for the defence of the Lagunæ; and all the approaches to the capital were commanded by powerful batteries. Provisions existed for eight months, fresh water for two; the nearest islands were beyond the reach of cannon-shot from the shore, and, with the assistance of the fleets of England, they might have bid defiance to all the armies of France. The circumstances of the republic were not nearly so desperate as they had been in former times, when they extricated themselves with glory from their difficulties; when the league of Cambray had wrested from them all their territorial possessions, or when the Genoese fleet had seized the gates of the Lagunæ and blockaded their fleet at Malmocco. But the men were no longer the same. The poison of democracy had extinguished every feel-

ing of patriotism in the middle, the enjoyments of luxury, every desire for independence among the senatorial classes; ages of prosperity had corrupted the sources of virtue, and the insane passion for equality vainly rose like a passing meteor to illuminate the ruins of a falling state.

44. On the 8d May, Napoleon published from Palma Nuova his declaration of war against Venice. He there complained that the Senate had taken advantage of the holy week to organise a furious war against France; that vast bodies of peasantry were armed and disciplined by troops sent out of the capital; that a crusade against the French was preached in all the churches; their detached bodies murdered, and the sick in the hospitals massacred; the crew of a French galley slain under the eyes of the Senate, and the authors of the tragedy publicly rewarded for the atrocious act. To this manifesto the Venetians replied, that the massacres complained of were not the work of government, but of individuals whom they could not control; that the popular passions had been excited by the ungovernable insolence of the Republican soldiery, and of the democratic party whom they had roused to open rebellion; that the first acts of aggression were committed by the French commanders, by publicly assisting the rebels in various encounters with the Venetian forces, long before the massacres complained of were committed; and that the only fault of which they were really guilty, consisted in their not having earlier divined the ambitious designs of the French general, and joined all their forces to the Austrian armies, when combating for a cause which must sooner or later be that of every independent state.

45. The French general was not long in following up his menaces, and preparing the execution of that unjustifiable partition which had been decided upon between him and the Imperial cabinet. The Republican troops, in pursuance of the treaty of Leoben, rapidly evacuated Carinthia, and, returning by forced marches on their steps, soon appeared on the confines of the

\* Two hundred thousand crowns, as a private bribe, were placed at the disposal of Barras.—HARDENBERG, v. 19; and Napoleon in O'MEARA, 271.

Lagunæ, within sight of the tower of St Mark. As they advanced the republic became a prey to the passions, and torn by the factions, which are the general forerunners of national ruin. At the news of the proclamation of war, all the towns of the continental possessions of Venice revolted against the capital. Every city proclaimed its independence, and appointed a provisional government; Bergamo, Brescia, Padua, Vicenza, Bassano, Udina, constituted so many separate republics, who organised themselves after the great French model, suppressed the convents, and confiscated their property, abolished all feudal rights, established national guards, and hoisted the tricolor flag.

46. Meanwhile Venice, itself a prey to the most vehement faction, was in a cruel state of perplexity. The senators met at the Doge's palace, and endeavoured, by untimely concessions, to satisfy the demands and revive the patriotism of the popular party—a vain expedient, founded upon utter ignorance of democratic ambition, which concessions dictated by fear can never satisfy, but which, in such a successful course, rushes forward, like an individual plunged in the career of passion, upon its own destruction. The patriots found themselves deprived of all the resources of government; a furious rabble filled the streets, demanding with loud cries the abdication of the senate, the immediate admission of the French troops, and the establishment of a government formed on a highly democratic basis; a revolutionary committee, formed of the most active of the middle orders, was in open communication with the French army, and rose in audacity with every concession from the government; the sailors of the fleet had manifested symptoms of insubordination; and the fidelity of the Slavonians, who constituted the strength of the garrison, could not, it was ascertained, be relied on. These elements of anarchy, sufficient to have shaken the courage of the Roman senate, were too powerful for the weak and vacillating councils of the Venetian oligarchy. Yielding to the tempest which they could not withstand, they assem-

bled in mournful silence on the 12th May, and, after passing under review the exhausted resources and distracted state of the republic, voted, amidst the tears of all friends to their country, by a majority of five hundred and twelve to fourteen voices, the abdication of their authority. Shouts from the giddy multitude rent the sky; the tree of liberty was hoisted on the Place of St Mark; the democrats entered, amidst bloodshed and plunder, upon the exercise of their new-born sovereignty; and the revolutionary party fondly imagined that they were launched upon a boundless career of glory. But the real patriots, the men of sense and firmness, lamented the decision of the senate, and, retiring in silence to their homes, exclaimed with tears, "Venice is no more; St Mark has fallen!"

47. While the revolutionists were thus bartering their country for the vain chimera of democratic equality, and the unworthy descendants of Dandolo and Morosini were surrendering without a struggle the glories and the independence of a thousand years, more generous sentiments burst forth among the labouring classes, often the last depositaries, in a corrupted age, of public virtue. No sooner was the mournful act communicated to the people than they flocked together from all quarters, and with loud cries demanded the restoration of the standard of St Mark, and arms to combat for the independence of their country. Several bloody contests ensued between them and the revolutionary party; but the populace, however ardent, cannot maintain a contest for any length of time when destitute of leaders. The cannon of the republicans dispersed the frantic assemblages; and, amidst the shouts of the insane revolutionists, the French troops were conducted by Venetian boats to the Place of St Mark, where a foreign standard had not been seen for fifteen hundred years, but where the colours of independence were never again destined to wave.

48. The French troops were not long of securing to themselves the spoils of their revolutionary allies. The Golden Book, the record of the senators of Ve-



nice, was burned at the foot of the tree of liberty; and while the democrats were exulting over the destruction of this emblem of their ancient subjection, their allies were depriving them of all the means of future independence. The treasures of the republic were instantly seized by the French generals; but instead of the vast sums which they expected, 1,800,000 francs, belonging to the Duke of Modena, were all that fell into their hands. All that remained in the celebrated harbour of St Mark's was made prize of: but such was its dilapidated condition that they with difficulty fitted out two sixty-four gunships, and a few frigates, out of the arsenal of the Queen of the Adriatic. The remainder of the fleet, consisting of five sail of the line, six frigates, and eleven galleys, was not in a condition to keep the sea; and Admiral Bruéys received orders from the Directory to set sail to secure the fruit of the republican fraternisation. In the middle of July he arrived at Venice, where his fleet was paid, equipped, and fed at the expense of the infant republic—a burden which began to open the eyes of the revolutionary party, when too late, to the consequences of their conduct. The bitter fruits of republican alliance were still more poignantly felt when the conditions of the treaty of Milan, signed by Napoleon, with the new government of Venice, became known, which stipulated the abolition of the aristocracy; the formation of a popular government; the introduction of a division of French troops into the capital; a contribution of three millions in money, three millions' worth of naval stores, and the surrender of three ships of the line and two frigates, with many illustrious works of art. Among the rest, the famous horses brought in the car of victory from Corinth to Rome, thence to Constantinople, and thence to Ve-

\* The seizure of these horses was an act of pure robbery. The Venetians, in the secret articles, agreed to surrender "twenty pictures and five hundred manuscripts," but no statues. Nevertheless, the French carried off the horses from the Place of St Mark, and put them on the triumphal arch in the Tuilleries. In like manner, the secret articles only bound the Venetians to furnish three millions' worth of naval stores; but Napoleon

nice, were carried off in triumph by the conquering Republic.\*

49. While these memorable events were going forward on the southern side of the Alps, the war languished on the frontier of the Rhine. Latour commanded the Imperial army on the Upper Rhine; his troops, after the departure of the veteran bands under the Archduke, did not exceed thirty-four thousand infantry and six thousand horse; while those under the orders of Werneck, on the Lower Rhine, were about thirty thousand, and twenty thousand were shut up within the fortresses on that stream. The French forces were much more numerous: the army of the Rhine and Moselle, under Moreau, being sixty thousand strong; while that of the Sambre and Meuse, cantoned between Düsseldorf and Coblenz, amounted to nearly seventy thousand. The latter was under the command of Hoche, whose vigour and abilities gave every promise of success in the ensuing campaign; while the possession of the *tête-de-pont* at Düsseldorf and Neuwied afforded a facility for commencing operations, which the army on the upper branch of the river did not possess since the loss of Kehl and the *tête-de-pont* at Huningen. The rapidity and energy with which Napoleon commenced operations on the banks of the Tagliamento before the middle of March, inflamed the rivalry of the generals on the Rhine; while the interests of the Republic imperiously required that the campaign should simultaneously be commenced in both quarters, in order that the army most advanced should not find itself engaged alone with the strength of the Austrian monarchy. Nevertheless, such was the exhausted state of the treasury, from the total ruin of the paper system, and the dilapidation of the public revenues during the convulsions of the Revolution, that

ordered the French admiral Bruéys, who was sent to superintend the spoliation, to carry off the *whole stores* to Toulon; and the Directory wrote to Berthier in these terms: "Let all the artillery, all the magazines of war and of provisions, found at Venice, be transported to Corfu, Ancona, and Ferrara, so that you may leave Venice without a single piece of cannon."—*Secret Correspondence of Napoleon*, iii. 170, and iv. 427.

the Directory was unable to furnish Moreau with the equipage necessary for crossing the Rhine; and he was obliged to go in person to Paris, in the beginning of April, and pledge his private fortune to procure that necessary part of his equipments. At length, the obstacles having been overcome, he returned to the Rhine, and completed his preparations for crossing that river.

50. The point selected for this important enterprise was Diersheim; the preparations of the enemy in the neighbourhood of Strassburg rendering hazardous any attempt to cross near that town. Seventy barks were collected in the Ill, a small stream which falls into the Rhine, and directed to Diersheim on the night of the 19th April, while two false attacks above and below that place were prepared, to distract the attention of the enemy. Delays unavoidable in the collection of the flotilla

\* Louis Nicolas Davoust, afterwards Prince of Echemühl, and Marshal of France, one of the most distinguished generals of the Revolution, was born at Annoux in Burgundy, on the 10th May 1770, of a respectable and noble family. Destined early for the profession of arms, he was sent to the Military School of Brienne, as a gentleman cadet, in September 1780, when Napoleon was there. In 1788 he entered the army as a sub-lieutenant in the regiment of Royal-Champagne, in which he served till autumn 1791, when he was dismissed the service, in consequence of having taken part with the private soldiers in a mutiny against their officers during the political disturbances of the preceding year. Ardent, impetuous, impatient of control, his fretful humour chafed against the restraint of military subordination, and found a freer and more suitable vent in the tumult and energy of the revolutionary corps. Restored by his dismissal from the army to the class of citizens, he was, from his acquaintance with his profession, and ardent republican ideas, named lieutenant-colonel of the 3d battalion of the Volunteers of the Yonne, at the age of twenty-two. To an officer of the army, the embracing the new opinions was in those days a certain passport to popular election and rapid promotion. In that capacity he took part in the campaign of 1792, in Champagne; and, determined in his adhesion to the cause of the Revolution through all its excesses, he presented himself at the bar of the Assembly to testify his own adherence, and that of his corps, to the overthrow of the throne.

He was soon called to evince, in a decisive crisis, his attachment to the principles of the Revolution. In April 1793, Dumourier, having been summoned to the bar of the Con-

vention on account of the suspicion under which he laboured of a design to restore the Bourbons, had quitted his headquarters at Saint-Amand, and was moving towards the cantonments of the regiment of Deux-Ponts, which was entirely at his devotion, when he met, early in the morning, on the banks of the Scheldt, the Volunteers of the Yonne, whom Davoust was leading to Valenciennes to support the authority of the Convention. Without a moment's hesitation, Davoust ordered the leading company to fire on Dumourier, and the group of staff officers by whom he was surrounded. The men, knowing he had been denounced by the Convention, obeyed. Dumourier's horse was shot under him, two of his attendants were killed, and the general himself only escaped by mounting on the horse of a trooper who had fallen, and flying with the utmost haste across the frontier. This decided act at once drove Dumourier into exile and made Davoust's fortune. Arrested in the first instance, for such an act of insubordination as firing on his general, he was within twenty-four hours liberated by order of the all-powerful Convention, and immediately received rapid promotion. In July 1793, he was promoted to the rank of general of brigade, and was on the eve of being made general of division when the decree, 29th August of that year, which deprived all persons of noble birth in the army of their commands, reduced him to a private station. After the 9th Thermidor, however, in July 1794, he was restored to his rank as general of brigade, and took an active part in the campaigns of 1794 and 1795, on the Rhine, in the course of which he was made prisoner by the Austrians, but soon after exchanged. Early in 1797 he distinguished himself by his coolness and decision in the passage of the Rhine,

that cool intrepidity and sagacious foresight by which his future career was eminently distinguished. During the whole day, the Imperialists renewed their attacks with great intrepidity, and in the end with twelve thousand men; but they were constantly repulsed by the obstinate valour of the Republican infantry. On the following day, the attack was renewed with increased forces, but no better success; and the bridge having, in the mean-time, been established, Moreau began to debouch in great strength; upon which the Austrians commenced their retreat, during which they sustained considerable loss from the Republican cavalry.

51. Thus, by a bold and able exertion, was the passage of the Rhine secured, and all the fruits of the bloody sieges of Kehl and Huningen lost to the Imperialists. In these actions the loss of the Austrians was three thousand prisoners and twenty pieces of cannon, besides two thousand killed and wounded. When it is recollected that this passage was gained, not by stratagem, but by main force, in presence of a considerable part of the Austrian army, and that it undid at once all the advantages gained by them in the preceding winter, it must ever be regarded as a glorious deed of arms, and one of the most memorable military achievements of the revolutionary war. Taught by

under Moreau at Diersheim; and added to the fame he had already acquired by his intrepidity in the combats of Hohenblau, Kinzig, and Hasslach, in the preceding campaign. The peace, or rather the truce, which followed, suspended all military operations in Germany, and, wearied of inactivity, he followed Napoleon into Egypt. Thenceforward he needs no biography; his name will be found associated with all the greatest deeds of the Emperor from the Pyramids to Waterloo. He was cool and collected in danger, possessing an admirable *coup d'œil* on the field, and by his indefatigable energy and methodical arrangements in a campaign, always had his troops in much better order than any other corps in the army, except the Guards. But he was inexorable and severe as a general, often cruel and rapacious in military command, coarse and vulgar in his manners, and so passionate in his demeanour that an officer who would not have hesitated to face a battery of Russian cannon often trembled when brought into the presence of the Prince of Echemühl. — *Biographie Universelle, Supplément*, lxii. 168, 178; and *Dumourier's Memoirs*, iv. 178, 175.

the disasters of the preceding campaign, Moreau resolved to pursue the corps of Starkey with vigour, and prevent that methodical retreat which had proved so beneficial to the Imperialists in the previous year. For this purpose he pushed his advanced guard on to Renchen the very day after the passage was completed; and was in the high-road to further successes, when he was interrupted by the intelligence of the armistice of Leoben, which terminated the campaign in that quarter.

52. The campaign was in like manner cut short in the midst of opening successes on the Lower Rhine. The army put there at the disposal of Hoche was one of the most numerous and well appointed which the Republic sent into the field, and particularly remarkable for the numbers and fine condition of the cavalry and artillery. Hoche resolved to effect the passage with the bulk of his forces from Neuwied, and to facilitate that purpose by a simultaneous movement at Düsseldorf. The Austrians were so far deceived by these movements, that they advanced with the greater part of their forces to Altkirchen, in order to stop the progress of the troops from Düsseldorf, leaving only a small body in front of Neuwied. No sooner did he perceive that they had fallen into the snare, than Hoche debouched rapidly from the *tête-de-pont* at that place at the head of thirty-six thousand men. Kray commanded the Imperialists in that quarter; and his position, blocking up the roads leading from the bridge, was strongly fortified, and covered by powerful batteries. The attack of the Republicans was impetuous; but the resistance of the Imperialists, though greatly inferior in number, was not less vigorous; and no advantage was gained by the assailants till the fortified village of Hulsendorf was carried by a concentric attack from several of the French masses, after which the other redoubts, taken in flank, were successively stormed, and the Austrians driven back, with the loss of five thousand men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, twenty-seven pieces of cannon, and sixty caissons. At the same time the left wing of the army crossed the

Sieg, advanced to Ukerath and Altenkirchen, which were abandoned as soon as it was known that the bulk of the enemy's forces was advancing from Neuwied, and on the following night they effected their junction with the victors on the field of battle.

53. After this disaster, Werneck retired to Neukirchen, and united the two divisions of his army; but, finding that he was unable to make head against the immense forces of his opponent, which were nearly double his own, he fell back behind the Lahn. Thither he was immediately followed by the victorious general; and, the Imperialists having continued their retreat towards the Maine, Hoche conceived the design of cutting them off before they crossed that river. For this purpose he pushed forward his right wing, under Lefebvre, to Frankfort, while the centre and left continued to press the enemy on the high-road, by which they continued their retreat. The advanced guard of Lefebvre was at the gates of that opulent city, when hostilities were suspended, by the intelligence of the preliminaries of Leoben, to the infinite mortification of the French general, who saw himself thus interrupted, by his more fortunate rival, in a career of success, from which the most glorious effects might have been anticipated to the Republic.

54. Prussia, during this eventful year, adhered steadily to the system of armed neutrality, inclining rather to France, and supporting the protection of the associated states within the proscribed line, which was begun by the treaty of Bâle in 1795, and consolidated by the convention of 5th August 1796. The health of the king had for some time been visibly declining, and he at length expired at Berlin, on the 16th November; having, as his last act, bestowed the decoration of the order of the Black Eagle on his favourite minister Haugwitz. Though neither endowed with shining civil nor remarkable military talents, few monarchs have conferred greater benefits on their country than this sovereign. Among the many and valuable territorial acquisitions which he made, is to be reckoned the import-

ant commercial city and fortress of Dantzic, which commands the navigation of the Vistula, and holds the keys of Poland.\* The army also, during his reign, was increased by twenty-five thousand men; and, like his great predecessor, he ever considered that arm as the main foundation of the public strength. Much of this increase is doubtless to be ascribed to a fortunate combination of extraneous things; and it chiefly arose from the monstrous partition of Poland. Yet something also must be admitted to have been due to the wisdom of the cabinet, which skillfully turned these circumstances to its own advantage, and contrived to reap nothing but profit from a stormy period, deeply checkered to other states by disaster. But in the close of his reign, the national jealousy of Austria, and partiality for France, were carried to an unreasonable length; and in the unwise desertion of the cause of Europe, by this important monarchy, is to be found one of the principal causes of the disasters which subsequently befell itself. The king was simple and unostentatious in his habits; addicted to conviviality, but rather on account of the pleasures of the table than from any capacity to appreciate the refinements of conversation; good-humoured in general, but subject to occasional and ungovernable fits of passion. Hardly adequate to the consideration of important subjects of policy himself, he at least had the sense to intrust the administration of public affairs to able ministers. He was fond of music, and distinguished by a marked predilection for architecture, which caused his reign to be signalised by the construction of several noble and imposing edifices. But his facility and passions led him into various irregularities in private life; and the court during his latter years was scandalised by the great ascendancy obtained by his profuse and rapacious mistress, the Countess Lichtenau, who was called to

\* During his reign, the territory of the monarchy was augmented by 2200 square (German) miles, and its population by 2,500,000 souls. He received from his uncle, the Great Frederick, 3600 square miles, and 6,000,000 of inhabitants; and left to his successor 5800 square miles, and 8,500,000 of inhabitants.

a severe account for her malversations by his successor.

55. Very different was the character of the youthful sovereign who now ascended the throne, **FREDERICK WILLIAM III.**, afterwards called to such important destinies on the theatre of Europe. Born on the 3d August 1770, he was twenty-seven years of age when he succeeded to the crown; and his character and habits already presaged the glories of his reign. Severe and regular in private life, he had continued, amidst a dissolute court, a pattern of every domestic virtue. Married early to a beautiful and high-spirited princess, he bore to her that faithful attachment which her captivating qualities were so well fitted to excite, and which afterwards attracted the admiration, though they could not relax the policy or melt the sternness, of Napoleon, or excite a spark of chivalry in his cold and intellectual breast. He entertained a sincere, though undeserved, distrust of his own capacity in judging of state affairs, which at first threw him, to an unreasonable degree, under the government of his ministers, but was gradually removed during the difficulties and necessities of the later periods of his reign. His first acts were in the highest degree popular. On the day of his accession, he wrote a circular to the constituted authorities, informing them that he was aware of the abuses which had crept into various branches of the public service, and was resolved to rectify them; and at the same time gave an earnest of his sincerity by abolishing the monopoly of tobacco, which his father had re-established. The public indignation, rather than his own wishes, rendered the trial of the Countess Lichtenau unavoidably necessary; her wealth was known to be enormous, and many of the crown jewels were found in her possession. She was obliged to surrender the greater part of her ill-gotten treasures, and assigned a pension of 15,000 francs—the remainder of her great fortune being settled on an hospital of Berlin. At the same time the king, under the directions of Hardenberg, declared, in a circular addressed to all the states in the north of Germany,

his resolution to continue those measures for the security of that part of the empire which his father had commenced; and in a holograph letter to the Directory, his wish to cultivate the good understanding with the French Republic, which ultimately led to such disastrous effects to Prussia and Europe.

56. In concluding the survey of these memorable contests, it is impossible to refuse to the genius of Napoleon that tribute which is justly due to it, not only for the triumphs in Italy, but for those in Germany. When he began his immortal campaign in the Maritime Alps, the Imperialists, greatly superior to their antagonists, were preparing to cross the Rhine, and carry the war into the territory of the Republic. It was his brilliant victories in Piedmont and Lombardy which compelled the Aulic Council to detach Wurmser with thirty thousand men from the Upper Rhine to the valley of the Adige; and thus not only reduced the Austrians to the defensive in Germany, but enabled the Republicans to carry the war into the centre of that country. Subsequently, the desperate conflicts round the walls of Mantua drew off the whole resources of the Austrian monarchy into that quarter, and the French advance into the Alps of Carinthia compelled the draft of thirty thousand of the best troops from Suabia, to defend the Hereditary States. Thus, with an army which, though frequently reinforced, never at one time amounted to sixty thousand men, he not only vanquished six successive armies in Italy and the Julian Alps, but drew upon himself great part of the weight of the German war; and, finally, without any other aid than that derived from the valour of his own soldiers, carried hostilities into the Hereditary States, and dictated a glorious peace within sight of the steeples of Vienna.

57. Meanwhile Napoleon, sheathing for a time his victorious sword, established himself at the chateau of Montebello, near Milan—a beautiful summer residence, which overlooked great part of the plain of Lombardy. Negotiations for a final peace were there immediately

commenced; before the end of May, the powers of the plenipotentiaries had been verified, and the work of treaties was in progress. There the future Emperor of the West held his court in more than regal splendour; the ambassadors of the Emperor of Germany, of the Pope, of Genoa, Venice, Naples, Piedmont, and the Swiss Republic, assembled to examine the claims of the several states which were the subject of discussion; and there weightier matters were to be determined, and dearer interests were at stake, than had ever been submitted to European diplomacy since the iron crown was placed on the brows of Charlemagne. Josephine Buonaparte there received the homage due to the transcendent glories of her youthful husband; Pauline displayed those brilliant charms which afterwards shone with so much lustre at the court of the Tuileries; and the ladies of Italy, captivated by the splendour of the spectacle, hastened to swell the illustrious train, and vied with each other for the admiration of those warriors whose deeds had filled the world with their renown. Already Napoleon acted as a sovereign prince; his power exceeded that of any living monarch; and he had entered on that dazzling existence which afterwards entranced and subdued the world.

58. The establishment of a republic on a democratic basis on both sides of the Po, the fermentation in the Venetian states, and the general belief of the irresistible power of the French armies, soon excited an extraordinary degree of enthusiasm at Genoa. The government there was vested in an aristocracy, which, though less jealous and exclusive than that at Venice, was far more resolute and determined. As in all other old popular constitutions, the influence in the state had, in the progress of time, and from the gradual decay of public spirit, become vested in an inconsiderable number of families; but the principle of government was by no means exclusive, and many plebeians had recently been inscribed in the Golden Book, who had raised themselves to a rank worthy of that distinction. But these gradual changes were far from being sufficient for the fervent spirit of

the age. The democratic party, under the secret influence of the French, had long been in activity; and it was calculated by the friends of revolution, that the resistance of the aristocratic senators could not possibly be prolonged beyond the end of August.

59. A treaty had been concluded with the French Directory, by which Genoa purchased its neutrality by the payment of two millions of francs, a loan to the same amount, and the recall of the families exiled for their political opinions. But the vehemence of the revolutionary club, which met at the house of an apothecary of the name of Morandi, soon insisted on far greater concessions. Secretly stimulated by Napoleon, and the numerous agents of the French army,\* they openly announced the assistance and protection of the Directory, and insisted for the immediate formation of the constitution on a new and highly democratic basis; while the Senate, irresolute and divided, did not possess either the moral energy or physical strength to combat the forces by which they were assailed. The arrest of two of the popular party, who had proceeded to acts of sedition, brought matters to a crisis, and the intervention of the French minister, Fy-poult, was sought to procure their liberation, and prevent the effusion of blood. Instead of calming, he rather increased the effervescence; and the consequence was, that on the following day a general insurrection took place. The troops of the line wavered, the burgher guard could not be trusted, and the senators, reduced to their own resources, were pursued and massacred, and at length took refuge with the French minister, as the only means of appeasing the tumult. Upon this, some of the patrician families, finding themselves deserted by their natural leaders, and seeing the

\* "Genoa," said Napoleon in his confidential despatch to the Directory, on the 19th May 1797, "loudly demands democracy: the senate has sent deputies to me to sound my intentions. It is more than probable that, in ten days, the aristocracy of Genoa will undergo the fate of that of Venice. There would then be three democratic republics in the north of Italy, which may hereafter be united into one."—*Confid. Despatch*, 19th May 1797; *Confid. Correspond.* iii. 176.

dagger at their throats, put themselves at the head of their followers, with loud cries demanded arms from the Senate, and brought in their faithful followers from the country to endeavour to stem the torrent. They soon prevailed over their revolutionary antagonists. The posts, which had been seized in the first burst of the tumult, were regained, the club Morandi was dispersed, the Genoese colours again floated on the city, and the tricolor flag, which the democrats had assumed, was torn down from the walls. The firmness of the aristocracy, supported by the courage of the rural population, had prevailed over the passions of democracy, and the independence of Genoa, but for foreign interference, was preserved.

60. But it was no part of the system of Republican ambition to allow the revolutionary party to be subdued in any country which the arms of France could reach. In the course of these struggles, some Frenchmen and citizens of the Cisalpine Republic, who had taken an active part with the popular side, were wounded and made prisoners; and Napoleon instantly made this a pretext for throwing the weight of his authority into the scale, in favour of the democrats. The French minister peremptorily demanded their instant liberation; and Napoleon sent his aide-de-camp, Lavalette, to the city to compel the enlargement of the prisoners, the disarming of the counter-revolutionists, and the arrest of all the nobles who had instigated any resistance to the innovators. To support these demands, French troops advanced to Tortona, while Admiral Brueys, with two sail of the line and two frigates, appeared in the bay. The democratic party, encouraged by this powerful protection, now resumed the ascendancy. In vain the senate endeavoured, by half measures, to preserve in part the constitution of their country; they found that the revolutionists were insatiable, and the minister of France demanded his passports, if the whole demands of the Republican general and his adherents in Genoa were not instantly conceded. Terrified by the menaces of the populace, and the threats of their formidable

allies, the senators at length yielded to necessity, and nominated a deputation, who were empowered to submit without reserve to the demands of the conqueror. They signed, on the 6th June, a convention at Montebello, which effected a revolution in the government, and put an end to the constitution of Doria. By this deed, the supreme legislative authority was vested in two councils, one of three hundred, the other of one hundred and fifty members, chosen by all the citizens; the executive in a senate of twelve, elected by the councils.

61. This prodigious change immediately excited the usual passions of democracy. The people assembled in menacing crowds, burned the Golden Book, and destroyed the statue of Andrea Doria, the restorer of the freedom of Genoa, and the greatest hero of its history. This outrage to the memory of so illustrious a man, while it proved how ignorant the people were of the glory of their country, and how unfit to be intrusted with its government, greatly displeased Napoleon, who had already begun to feel that hatred at democratic principles, by which he was ever after so remarkably distinguished. Subsequently, the nobles and priests, finding that they were excluded from all share in the administration of affairs, according to the mode of election which was adopted for carrying the constitution into effect, excited a revolt in the rural districts of the republic. Many parishes refused to adopt the new constitution; the tocsin was sounded in the valleys, and ten thousand armed peasants assailed and carried the line of fortified heights which form the exterior defence of Genoa. General Duphot, however, who commanded the newly-organised forces of the infant republic, having assembled three thousand regular troops, attacked and defeated the insurgents; movable columns penetrated into and exacted hostages from the hostile valleys; and the new constitution was put in force in the territory of Genoa, which thenceforward lost even the shadow of independence and became a mere outwork of the French Republic.

62. Piedmont, during the course of this summer, experienced the bitter humiliations consequent upon the forced alliance in which it was held by the conqueror of Italy. The Directory, from ulterior views as to the revolutionising of these dominions, had refused to ratify the treaty of alliance into which Napoleon had entered with its sovereign; its fortified places were either demolished or in the hands of the French; the feelings of the nobility and the rural population were outraged by the increasing vehemence of the popular party in the towns; and the king, exhausted by humiliation, was already beginning to look to Sardinia as the only refuge for the crown, amidst the troubles by which it was surrounded.

63. The British government made another attempt this summer to open negotiations for peace with the French Directory. Early in July, Lord Malmesbury was sent to Lisle, to renew the attempts at pacification which had failed the year before at Paris; and as the abandonment of the Low Countries by Austria at Leoben had removed the principal obstacle to an accommodation, sanguine hopes were entertained of success. The moderation of the demands made by England on this occasion was such as to call forth the commendations even of her adversaries. She proposed to surrender all her conquests, reserving only Trinidad from the Spaniards, and the Cape of Good Hope, with Ceylon and its dependencies, from the Dutch. Such proposals, coming from a power which had been uniformly victorious at sea, and had wrested from its enemies almost all their colonial possessions, were an unequivocal proof of moderation, more especially when, by the separate treaty which Austria had made for herself, Great Britain was relieved from the necessity of demanding any equivalent in her turn for her Continental allies. The French plenipotentiaries insisted that the Republic should be recognised, and the title of King of France renounced by the English monarch—a vain formality which had been retained since it was first assumed by Edward III. These obstacles would probably have been

overcome, and the negotiations might have terminated in a general pacification, had it not been for the revolution of the 18th Fructidor (4th September 1797), to be immediately noticed, and the consequent accession of violence and presumption which it brought to the French government. Immediately after that event, the former plenipotentiaries were recalled, and replaced by Treilhارد and Bonnier, two furious republicans, who, from the very outset, assumed such a tone that it was evident any accommodation was out of the question. Their first step was to demand from Lord Malmesbury production of authority from the British government to him to surrender all the conquests made by Great Britain during the war, without any equivalent, accompanied by an intimation that, if this was not acceded to within twenty-four hours, he must leave Lisle. This insolent demand, which proved that the new Republican government were as ignorant of the forms of diplomacy as of their situation in the war with England, was received as it deserved: Lord Malmesbury demanded his passports, and returned to this island, "leaving Europe," says the French historian Jomini, "convinced that, on this occasion at least, the cabinet of St James's had evinced more moderation than a Directory whose proceedings were worthy of the days of Robespierre."

64. Meanwhile the negotiations for a final treaty at Montebello slowly advanced towards their accomplishment. The cabinet of Vienna, aware of the reaction which was going forward in France, and which was only prevented from overturning the Revolutionary government by the events of the 18th Fructidor, took advantage of every circumstance to protract the conferences, in the hopes of a more moderate party obtaining the ascendant in that country, and more reasonable terms of accommodation being in consequence obtained. But when these hopes were annihilated by the result of that disastrous revolution, the negotiations proceeded with greater rapidity, and the subversion of neighbouring states was commenced without mercy. The French



had at first flattered the Venetian commissioners that they should obtain Ferrara, Romagna, and perhaps Ancona, as a compensation for the territories which were taken from the republic; but ultimately they ceded these provinces to the new Cisalpine commonwealth. The republicans of Venice, in despair, endeavoured to effect a junction with that infant state; but this proposal was instantly rejected. It became evident, in the course of the negotiations, that the high contracting parties had laid aside their mutual animosities, and were occupied with no other object but that of arranging their differences at the expense of their neighbours. Exchanges, or rather spoliations, of foreign territories, were proposed without hesitation and accepted without compunction: provinces were offered and demanded, to which the contracting parties had no right: the value of cessions was alone considered, not their legality.

65. But though France and Austria had no sort of difficulty in agreeing upon the spoliation of their neighbours, they found it not so easy a matter to arrange the division of their respective acquisitions in the plain of Lombardy. Mantua, justly regarded as the most important place in Italy, was the great subject of dispute; the Republicans contending for it as the frontier of the Cisalpine Republic, the Imperialists as the bulwark of their Italian possessions. To support their respective pretensions, great preparations were made on both sides. Thirty regiments, and two hundred pieces of cannon, reached the Isonzo from Vienna; while the French added above fifteen thousand men to their armies in Italy. At length Napoleon, irritated by the interminable aspect of the negotiations, declared, that if the ultimatum of the Directory was not signed in twelve hours, he would denounce the truce. The period having expired, he took a vase of porcelain in his hands, which the Austrian ambassador highly valued, as the gift of the Empress Catherine, and said, "The die is then cast, the truce is broken, and war declared: but, mark my words; before the end of autumn,

I will break in pieces your monarchy as I now destroy this porcelain;" and with that he dashed it in pieces on the ground. Bowing then to the ministers, he retired, mounted his carriage, and despatched, on the spot, a courier to the Archduke, to announce that the negotiations were broken off, and that he would commence hostilities in twenty-four hours. The Austrian plenipotentiary, thunderstruck, forthwith agreed to the ultimatum of the Directory, and the treaty of CAMPO FORMIO was signed on the following day at five o'clock.

66. But though Napoleon assumed this arrogant manner to the Austrian ambassadors, he was very far indeed from himself feeling any confidence in the result of hostilities, if actually resumed; and he had, on the contrary, the day before, written to the Directory, that "the enemy had, on the frontiers of Carinthia, ninety thousand infantry and ten thousand horse, besides eighteen thousand Hungarian volunteers, while he had only forty-eight thousand infantry and four thousand cavalry, and that, if they resumed the offensive, everything would become doubtful." "The war," he adds, "which was national and popular when the enemy was on our frontiers, is now foreign to the French people; it has become a war of governments. In the end we should necessarily be overthrown." In truth, his resolution to sign the treaty was accelerated from his having observed, when he looked out from his windows, on the 13th October, the summit of the Alps covered with snow—a symptom which too plainly told him that the season for active operations that year was drawing to a close, and he had no confidence in the ability of France to resume the contest in the following spring. He then shut himself up in his cabinet, and, after reviewing his forces, said: "Here are eighty thousand effective men; but I shall not have above sixty thousand in the field. Even if I gain the victory, I shall have twenty thousand killed and wounded; and how, with forty thousand, can I withstand the whole forces of the Austrian monarchy, who will advance to the relief of Vienna? The

armies of the Rhine could not arrive to my succour before the middle of November, and, before that time arrives, the Alps will be impassable from snow. It is all over; I will sign the peace! *Venice shall pay the expenses of the war, and the extension of France to the Rhine; let the government and the lawyers say what they choose.*"

67. But in addition to these state reasons, Napoleon had other secret motives for agreeing to the spoliation of Venice, and being desirous of coming to an accommodation with the Imperialists. Although Carnot and a majority of the Directory had at first approved of the destruction of that republic, and given it a conditional sanction in the June preceding; yet, after the revolution of 18th Fructidor, they had come to the resolution of not acquiescing in that disgraceful seizure of an independent state, and had sent their ultimatum to Napoleon, enjoining him not to admit its surrender to the Emperor; and declaring that, rather than have any share in such a perfidious act, they would see their armies driven over the Alps, and all their Italian conquests wrested from the Republic. At the same time, they

had declared their intention, in the event of hostilities being resumed, of sending commissioners to relieve Napoleon of his diplomatic cares, and allow him to attend exclusively to his military duties. Napoleon, whose jealousy of the revolutionary government, established at Paris by the revolution of 18th Fructidor, had been much increased by the appointment of Augereau in the room of Hoche to the command of the army on the Rhine, was so much disgusted by these restrictions on his authority, that he wrote to Paris on the 25th September, offering to resign the command.\* The Directory, on the 29th September, returned an answer, positively forbidding the cession of Venice to Austria;† upon which, Napoleon, seeing his authority slipping from his hands, and a doubtful campaign about to begin, without hesitation violated his instructions, and signed the treaty fatal to Venice on the 18th October. The whole infamy, therefore, of that proceeding rests on his head; the French Directory is entirely blameless, except in not having had the courage to disown the treaty after his signature was affixed to it.

68. By this treaty the Emperor ceded

\* "It is evident," said he in that letter, "that the government is resolved to act to me as they did to Pichegru. I beseech you, citizen, to appoint a successor to me, and accept my resignation. No power on earth shall make me continue to serve a government which has given me such a *scandalous proof of ingratitude*, which I was far indeed from expecting."

† The resolution of the Directory, after the 18th Fructidor, not to despoil Venice, was repeatedly and strongly expressed. Barras wrote to Napoleon, on 8th September:—"Conclude a peace, but let it be an honourable one; let Mantua fall to the Cisalpine Republic, but Venice must not go to the Emperor. That is the wish of the Directory, and of all true Republicans, and what the glory of the Republic requires." Napoleon answered, on the 18th September:—"If your ultimatum is not to cede Venice to the Emperor, I much fear peace will be impracticable; and yet Venice is the city of Italy most worthy of freedom; and hostilities will be resumed in the course of October." The Directory replied:—"The government now is desirous of tracing out to you with precision its ultimatum. Austria has long desired to swallow up Italy, and to acquire maritime power. It is the interest of France to prevent both these designs. It is evident that, if the Emperor acquires Venice, with its territorial

possessions, he will secure an entrance into the whole of Lombardy. We should be treating as if we had been conquered, independent of the disgrace of abandoning Venice, which you describe as worthy of being free. What would posterity say of us should we surrender that great city, with its naval arsenals, to the Emperor? Better a hundred times restore to him Lombardy than pay such a price for it. Let us take the worst view of matters: let us suppose, what your genius and the valour of your army forbid us to fear, that we are conquered and driven out of Italy. In such a case, yielding only to force, our honour at least will be safe; we shall still have remained faithful to the interests of France, and not incurred the disgrace of a *perfidy without excuse*, as it will induce consequences more disastrous than the most unfavourable results of war. We feel the force of your objection, that you may not be able to resist the forces of the Emperor; but consider that your army would be still less so some months after the peace, so imprudently and shamefully signed. Then would Austria, placed by our own hands in the centre of Italy, indeed take us at a disadvantage. The whole question comes to this: Shall we give up Italy to the Austrians? The French government neither can nor will do so; it would in preference incur all the hazards of war."—*Corresp. Confid. de Napoléon*, iv. 233, 235.

to France Flanders and the line of the Rhine; he agreed to the territory of the republic being extended to the summit of the Maritime Alps; he consented to the establishment of the Cisalpine Republic, comprehending Lombardy, the duchies of Reggio, Modena, Mirandola, Bologna, Ferrara, Romagna, the Valtelline, and the Venetian states as far as the Adige, comprising the territory of Bergamo, Brescia, Crema, and the Polesina. The Ionian Islands, part of the Venetian territory, were given up to France, which acquired besides Mantua, on the frontiers of the Imperial states in Italy, and Mayence, the bulwark of the empire on the Rhine. On the other hand, the Republic ceded to the Emperor, in exchange for the states of Flanders, Istria, Dalmatia, the Venetian isles in the Adriatic, the mouths of the Cattaro, the city of Venice, and its continental possessions as far as the eastern shore of the lake of Garda, the line of the Adige, and that of the Po. By this arrangement, Verona, Peschiera, and Porto-Legnago, fell into the hands of the Austrians, who lost in Flanders and Lombardy provinces, rich, indeed, but distant, inhabited by 3,500,000 souls, and received in the Venetian states a territory of equal riches, with a great seaport, and 3,400,000 souls, lying close to the Hereditary States, besides an acquisition of nearly the same amount which they had made during the war, on the side of Poland. The advantages of the treaty, therefore, how great soever to the conquerors, were in some degree also extended to the vanquished.

69. Besides these public, the treaty contained many secret articles of nearly equal importance. The most material of these regarded the cession of Salzburg, with its romantic territory, to Austria; the relinquishment of the important town of Wasserburg on the Inn, by Bavaria, to the same power; the free navigation of the Rhine and the Meuse; the abandonment of the Frickthal by Austria to Switzerland, and the providing equivalents to the princes dispossessed on the left bank of the Rhine, on the right of that river. But it was expressly provided that "no acquisition should be proposed to the advantage of Prussia."

For the arrangement of these complicated objects, a convention was appointed to meet at Rastadt to settle the affairs of the Empire. Finally, it was agreed, "that if either of the contracting powers should make acquisitions in Germany, the other should receive equivalents to the same amount."

70. Thus terminated the Italian campaigns of Napoleon—the most memorable of his military career, and which contributed so powerfully to fix his destinies and immortalise his name. The sufferings of Italy in these contests were extreme, and deeply did its people rue the fatal precipitance with which they had thrown themselves into the arms of republican ambition. The enormous sum of 120,000,000 francs, or nearly £5,000,000 sterling, was levied on its territory by the conqueror, in specie, in little more than twelve months—a sum equal to £12,000,000 in Great Britain; and the total amount extracted from the peninsula, in contributions and supplies, during the two years the war lasted, was no less than 400,000,000 francs, or £16,000,000 sterling. This immense burden fell almost exclusively on the states to the north of the Tiber, whose republican ardour had been most decided. The Italian territory was partitioned; its independence ruined; its galleries pillaged; the trophies of art had followed the car of Victory; and the works of immortal genius, which no wealth could purchase, had been torn from their native seats, and violently transplanted to a foreign soil.

71. Napoleon's conduct in thus violating the instructions of his government to effect the spoliation of the Venetian republic, and betray his democratic allies in that state, would be wholly inexplicable, if evidence did not remain in his secret correspondence of the formation, even at that early period, of those ulterior views by which his conduct through life was mainly regulated. It is remarkable how strongly the mind of Napoleon was already set upon two objects, which formed such memorable features in his future life—the expedition to Egypt, and interminable hostility to Great Britain. "Why," said he, in his letter to the Directory, of 13th

September 1797, "do we not lay hold of Malta? Admiral Bruëys could easily make himself master of it; four hundred knights, and, at the utmost, five hundred men, compose the whole garrison of La Valette. The inhabitants, who amount to one hundred thousand, are already well disposed towards us, for I have confiscated all the possessions of the Order in Italy, and they are dying of famine. With Malta and Corfu, we should soon be masters of the Mediterranean. Should we, on making peace with England, be compelled to give up the Cape of Good Hope, it will be absolutely necessary to take possession of Egypt. That country never belonged to any European power; even the Venetians had there only a precarious authority. We might embark from hence with twenty-five thousand men, escorted by eight or ten ships of the line, or frigates, and take possession of it. Egypt does not belong to the Grand Seignior." His inveterate hostility to England was equally early and strongly expressed. In enumerating the reasons which induced him to sign the treaty of Campo Formio, he concludes,—“Finally, we are still at war with England; that enemy is great enough, without adding another. The Austrians are heavy and avaricious; no people on earth are less active or dangerous as regards our military affairs, than they are; the English, on the contrary, are generous, intriguing, enterprising. *It is indispensable for our government to destroy the English monarchy, or it will infallibly be overturned by the intrigues and the corruption of these active islanders.* The present moment offers to our hands a noble enterprise. Let us concentrate all our activity on the marine, and destroy England; that done, *Europe is at our feet.*” In reality, it was his desire to acquire the harbour and naval resources of Venice, for his projected expedition against Egypt and Great Britain, that was one main inducement with Napoleon to treat with such unexampled severity that unhappy republic.

72. No words can paint the horror and consternation which the promulgation of this treaty excited in Venice. The democratic leaders, in particular,

who had allied themselves with the French, compelled the government to abdicate in order to make way for a republican régime, and received a French garrison within their walls, broke out into the most vehement invectives against their former allies, and discovered, with unavailing anguish, that those who join a foreigner to effect changes in the constitution of their country, hardly ever escape sacrificing its independence. But, whatever may have been the unanimity of feeling which this union of imperial rapacity with republican treachery awakened among the Venetians, it was too late; with their own hands they had taken the serpent into their bosom, and they were doomed to perish from the effects of their own revolutionary frenzy. With speechless sorrow they beheld the French, who occupied Venice, lower the standard of St Mark, demolish the Bucentaur, pillage the arsenal, remove every vestige of independence, and take down the splendid bronze horses, which for six hundred years had stood over the portico of the church of St Mark, commemorating the capture of Constantinople by the Venetian crusaders. When the last Doge appeared before the Austrian commissioner to take the oath of homage to the Emperor, his emotion was such that he fell insensible on the ground—honouring thus, by the extremity of grief, the last act of national independence. Yet even in this catastrophe the fury of party appeared manifest, and a large portion of the people celebrated with transports of joy the victory over the democratic faction, though it was obtained at the expense of the existence of their country.

73. The fall of the oldest commonwealth in Europe excited a general feeling of commiseration throughout the civilised world. Many voices were raised, even in the legislative body of France, against this flagrant violation of the law of nations. Independent of the feelings of jealousy, which were naturally awakened by the aggrandisement of two belligerent powers at the expense of a neutral state, it was impossible to contemplate without emotion the overthrow of that illustrious

republic, which had contributed in so powerful a manner to the revival of civilisation in Europe. No modern state, from so feeble an origin, had arisen to such eminence; nor, with such limited resources, made so glorious a stand against barbaric invasion. Descended, perhaps alone of all the European states, in a direct and unmixed line from the patricians of ancient Rome, they had rivalled the firmness of that memorable people. But for their fleets and armies, the standards of Mahomet would have swept over Europe, and Sultaun Bajazet realised his threat of stabling his steeds in the shrine of St Peter's. Their Doges had conquered Constantinople, and seated their generals on the throne of the East; their fleets had wafted the Crusaders to Palestine, and thus arrested in the Holy

Land the arms of Saladin. Without inquiring what right either France or Austria had to partition the territories of the commonwealth, men contemplated only its long existence, its illustrious deeds, its constancy in misfortune; they beheld its annihilation with a mingled feeling of terror and pity; and sympathised with the sufferings of a people who, after fourteen hundred years of independence, were doomed to pass irrevocably under a stranger's yoke.

In contemplating this memorable event, it is difficult to say whether most indignation is felt at the perfidy of France, the cupidity of Austria, the weakness of the Venetian aristocracy, or the insanity of the Venetian people.

74. For the conduct of Napoleon, no possible apology can be found.\* He

\* The French entered the Venetian territory with the declaration—"The French army, to follow the wreck of the Austrian army, must pass over the republic of Venice; but it will never forget that ancient friendship unites the two republics. Religion, government, customs, and property will be respected. The general-in-chief engages the government to make known these sentiments to the people, in order that confidence may cement that friendship which has so long united the two nations." On the 10th March 1797, after the democratic revolt had broken out in Brescia, Napoleon wrote to the Venetian governor of Verona,—"I am truly grieved at the disturbances which have occurred at Verona, but trust that, through the wisdom of your measures, no blood will be shed. The Senate of Venice need be under no sort of disquietude, as they must be thoroughly persuaded of the loyalty and good faith of the French government, and the desire which we have to live in good friendship with your republic." On the 24th March 1797, he wrote to the Directory, after giving an account of the civil war in the Venetian states,—"M. Pesaro, chief sage of the republic of Venice, has just been here, regarding the events in Brescia and Bergamo, the people of which towns have disarmed the Venetian garrisons, and overturned their authorities. I had need of all my prudence; for it is not when we require the whole assistance of Friuli, and the good-will of the Venetian government, to supply us with provisions in the Alpine defiles, that it is expedient to come to a rupture. I told Pesaro that the Directory would never forget that the republic of Venice was the ancient ally of France, and that our desire was fixed to protect it to the utmost of our power. I only besought him to spare the effusion of blood. We parted the best of friends. He appeared perfectly satisfied with my reception. *The great point in all this affair is to gain time.*" On the 5th April,

he wrote again to Pesaro,—"The French republic does not pretend to interfere in the internal dissensions of Venice; but the safety of the army requires that I should not overlook any enterprises hostile to its interests."

Having thus, to the very last moment, kept up the pretended system of friendship for Venice, Napoleon no sooner found himself relieved by the armistice of Leoben, on the 8th April, from the weight of the Austrian war, than he threw off the mask. On the day after the armistice was signed, he issued a proclamation to the population of the continental possessions of Venice, in which he said,—"The government of Venice offers you no security either for persons or property; and it has, by indifference to your fate, provoked the just indignation of the French government. If the Venetians rule you by the right of conquest, I will free you; if by usurpation, I will restore your rights." And having thus roused the whole population of the cities of Venetian *terra firma* to revolt, he next proceeded to hand over all these towns to Austria, by the third clause of the preliminaries of Leoben, which assigned to the Emperor of Austria "*the whole Venetian territory situated between the Mincio, the Po, and the Austrian States.*"

Nor did the duplicity of Napoleon end here. On the 16th May, he concluded the treaty with the Venetian republic, already mentioned, the first article of which was—"There shall be henceforth peace and good understanding between France and the Venetian republic." The object of Napoleon, in signing this treaty, is unfolded in his Secret Despatch to the Directory three days afterwards,—"You will receive," says he, "herewith the treaty which I have concluded with the republic of Venice, in virtue of which General Baraguay d'Hilliers, with 16,000 men, has taken possession of the city. I have had several objects in view in concluding this treaty. 1. To enter into the town without difficulty,

first excited the revolutionary spirit to such a degree in all the Italian possessions of the republic, at the very time that his troops were fed and clothed by the bounty of its government, that disturbances became unavoidable, and then aided the rebels, and made the efforts of the government to crush the insurrection the pretext for declaring war against the state. He then excited to the uttermost the democratic spirit in the capital, took advantage of it to paralyse the defences and overturn the government of the country; established a new constitution on a highly popular basis, and signed a treaty on the 16th May at Milan, by which, on payment of a heavy ransom, he agreed to maintain the independence of Venice under its new and revolutionary government. Having thus committed all his supporters in the state irrevocably in the cause of democratic independence, and got

possession of the capital, as that of an allied and friendly power, he plundered it of everything valuable it possessed; and then united with Austria in partitioning the commonwealth, took possession of one half of its territories for France and the Cisalpine Republic; and handed over the other half, with the capital, and its ardent patriots, to the most aristocratic government in Europe.

75. These transactions throw as important a light upon the moral as the intellectual character of Napoleon. To find a parallel to the dissimulation and rapacity by which his conduct to Venice was characterised, we must search the annals of Italian treachery; the history of the nations to the north of the Alps, abounding as it does in deeds of atrocity, is stained by no similar act of combined duplicity and violence. This opens a new and hitherto unob-

and be in a situation to extract from it whatever we desire, under pretence of executing the secret articles. 2. To be in a situation, if the treaty with the Emperor should not finally be ratified, to apply to our purposes all the resources of the city. 3. To avoid every species of odium in violating the preliminaries relative to the Venetian territory, and, at the same time, to gain *pretects which may facilitate their execution*. 4. To calm all that may be said in Europe, since it will appear that our occupation of Venice is but a momentary operation, solicited by the Venetians themselves. The Pope is eighty-three, and alarmingly ill. The moment I heard of that, I pushed forward all the Poles in the army to Bologna, from whence I shall advance them to Ancona." His intentions towards Venice were further summed up in these words, in his despatch to the Directory of 25th May,—"Venice must fall to those to whom we give the Italian continent; but meanwhile, we will take its vessels, strip its arsenals, destroy its bank, and keep Corfu and Ancona."

Still keeping up the feigned appearance of protection to Venice, Napoleon wrote to the municipality of that town, on the 28th May,—"The treaty concluded at Milan may, in the mean time, be signed by the municipality, and the secret articles by three members. In every circumstance, I shall do what lies in my power to give you *proofs of my desire to consolidate your liberties*, and to see unhappy Italy at length assume the place to which it is entitled in the theatre of the world—free, and independent of all strangers." Soon after he wrote to General Baraguay d'Hilliers, 13th June,—"You will, upon the receipt of this, present yourself to the provisional government of Venice, and represent

to them that, in conformity with the principles which now unite the Republic of France to that of Venice, and the *immediate protection which the Republic of France gives to that of Venice*, it is indispensable that the maritime forces of the republic be put on a respectable footing. *Under this pretext you will take possession of everything*—taking care, at the same time, to maintain a good understanding with the Venetians, and to engage in our service all the sailors of the republic, making use constantly of the Venetian name. In short, you must manage so as to transport all the naval stores and vessels in the harbour of Venice to Toulon. By a secret article of the treaty, the Venetians are bound to furnish to the French Republic *three millions' worth of stores* for the marine of Toulon; but my intention is, to take possession, for the French Republic, of *ALL the Venetian vessels, and all the naval stores*, for the use of Toulon."

These orders were too faithfully executed; and when every article of naval and military stores had been swept away from Venice, Napoleon, without hesitation, assigned away his revolutionary allied republic, which he had engaged to defend, to the aristocratic power of Austria. The history of the world contains no blacker page of perfidy and dissimulation.

It is in vain to allege, that the spoliation of Venice was occasioned, and justified, by her attack on the rear of the French army at Verona. The whole continental possessions of the republic were assigned to Austria by Napoleon at Leoben, four days before that event took place, and when nothing had occurred in the Venetian states but the contests between the aristocratic and democratic factions, which had been stirred up by the secret emissaries of Napoleon himself.

served feature in his character, which is in the highest degree important. The French Republican writers uniformly represent his Italian campaigns as the most pure and glorious period of his history, and portray his character, at first almost perfect, as gradually deteriorated by the ambition and passions consequent on the attainment of supreme power. This was in some respects true; but in others the reverse. Bad in some particulars as it afterwards was, his character never again appears so perfidious as during his earlier years: in fact, it had then attained the *ne plus ultra* of deceit and dissimulation; and, contrary to the usual case, it was in a certain degree improved by the possession of supreme power; and to the last moment of his life, the Emperor was progressively throwing off many of the unworthy qualities by which he was at first stained. Extraordinary as this

may appear, abundant evidence of it will be found in the sequel of this work. It was the same with Augustus, whose early life, disgraced by the proscriptions and horrors of the Triumvirate, was almost overlooked in the wisdom and beneficence of his imperial rule. Nor is it difficult to perceive in what principle of our nature the foundation is laid for so singular an inversion of the causes which usually debase the human mind. It is the terrible effect of revolution, as Madame de Staël has well observed, to obliterate altogether the ideas of right and wrong, and instead of the eternal distinctions of morality and religion, to apply in general estimation no other test to public actions but success. It was out of this corrupted atmosphere that the mind of Napoleon, like that of Augustus, at first arose, and it was then tainted by the revolutionary profligacy of the times;

His conduct throughout this transaction appears to have been governed by one principle, and that was, to secure such pretexts for a rupture with Venice as might afford a decent ground for making its territories the sacrifice which would, at any time, bribe Austria into a peace, and extricate the French army from any peril into which it might have fallen. Twice did the glittering prize answer this purpose: once, when it brought about the armistice of Leoben, and saved Napoleon from the ruin which otherwise might have befallen him; and again at Campo Formio, by relieving him from a war to which he himself confessed his forces were unequal.

When M. Villefort, the secretary of the French legation at Venice, remonstrated with Napoleon upon the abandonment of that republic, he replied, in words containing, it is to be feared, too faithful a picture of the degradation of modern Italy,—“The French Republic is bound by no treaty to sacrifice its interests and advantages to those of Venice. Never has France adopted the maxim of making war for the sake of other nations. I should like to see the principle of philosophy or morality which should command us to sacrifice forty thousand French, contrary alike to the declared wishes of France and its obvious interests. I know well, that it costs nothing to a handful of declaimers, whom I cannot better characterise than by calling them madmen, to rave about the establishment of republics everywhere. *I wish these gentlemen would make a winter campaign.* Besides, the Venetian nation no longer exists. Divided into as many separate interests as it contains cities, effeminate and corrupted, not less cowardly than hypocritical, the people of Italy, but especially the Venetians, are totally unfit for freedom.”

The same idea is expressed in a letter about the same period to Talleyrand.—“You little know the people of Italy: they are not worth the sacrifice of forty thousand Frenchmen. I see by your letters that you are constantly labouring under a delusion. You suppose that liberty can do great things for a base, cowardly, and superstitious people. You wish me to perform miracles; I have not the art of doing so. Since coming into Italy, I have derived little if any support from the love of the Italian people for liberty and equality. I have not in my army a single Italian, excepting fifteen hundred rascals, swept from the streets of its towns, who are good for nothing but pillage. Everything, excepting what you must say in proclamations and public speeches, is here mere romance.”—*Letter to Talleyrand, Flassieriano, 7th Oct. 1797; Corresp. Confid. iv. 206.*

It only remains to add to this painful narrative of duplicity, that having no further occasion for the services of Landrieux, whom he had employed to stir up the revolt in the Italian cities, and having discovered evidence that he had been in correspondence with the Venetian government, Napoleon himself denounced him to the Directory. Authentic evidence had been discovered of the double part which he acted in that disgraceful transaction, by the French commissioners who examined the Venetian archives; and Napoleon, in consequence, on the 15th November, wrote to the Directory—“*Landrieux excited the revolt in Brescia and Bergamo, and was paid for it; but, at the same time, he privately informed the Venetian government of what was going on, and was paid by them too. Perhaps you will think it right to make an example of such a rascal; and, at all events, not to employ him again.*”

but with the possession of supreme power he was called to nobler employments, and often relieved from the necessity of committing iniquity for the sake of advancement. He was brought into contact with men professing and acting on more elevated principles; and, in the discharge of such duties, he cast off, in some instances at least, many of the stains of his early career. This observation is no impeachment of the character of Napoleon; on the contrary, it is its best vindication. His virtues and talents were his own; his vices, in part, at least, were the fatal bequest of the Revolution.

76. The conduct of Austria, if less perfidious, was not less a violation of every principle of public right. Venice, though long wavering and irresolute, was at length committed in open hostilities with the French Republic. She had secretly nourished the Imperial as well as the Republican forces; she had given no cause of offence to the allied powers; she had been dragged, late indeed and unwillingly, but irrevocably, into a contest with the Republican forces; and if she had committed any fault, it was in favour of the cause in which Austria was engaged. Generosity in such circumstances would have prompted a noble power to lend the weight of its influence in favour of its unfortunate neighbour: justice forbade that it should do anything to aggravate its fate. But to share in its spoliation, to seize upon its capital, and extinguish its existence, is an act of rapacity for which no apology can be offered, and which must for ever form a foul stain on the Austrian annals.

77. Nor can the aristocracy of Venice be absolved from their full share of the blame consequent on the destruction of their country. It was clearly pointed out to them, and they might have known, that the contest in which Europe was engaged with France was one of such a kind as to admit of no neutrality or compromise; that those who were not with the democratic party were against them; that their exclusive and ancient aristocracy was, in an especial manner, the object of Republican jealousy; and that, if they were

fortunate enough to escape destruction at the hands of the French armies, they certainly could not hope to avoid it from their own revolutionary subjects. Often, during the course of the struggle, they held the balance of power in their hands, and might have interposed with decisive effect on behalf of the cause which was ultimately to be their own. Had they put their armies on a war footing, and joined the Austrians when the scales of war hung even at Castiglione, Arcola, or Rivoli, they might have rolled back the tide of revolutionary conquest, and secured to themselves and their country an honoured and independent existence. They did not do so; they pursued that timid policy which is ever the most perilous in presence of danger; they shrunk from a contest which honour and duty alike required, and were, in consequence, assailed by the revolutionary tempest when they had no longer the power to resist it, and doomed to destruction, amidst the maledictions of their countrymen, and the contempt of their enemies. "Too blind," as has been finely said, "to avert danger, too cowardly to withstand it, the most ancient government of Europe made not a moment's resistance: the peasants of Unterwalden died upon their mountains, the nobles of Venice clung only to their lives."

78. Last in the catalogue of political delinquency, the popular party are answerable for the indulgence of that insane and unpatriotic spirit of faction which never fails, in the end, to bring ruin upon those who indulge it. Following the phantom of democratic ambition; forgetting all the ties of kindred and country in the pursuit of popular exaltation, they leagued with the stranger against their native land, and paralysed the state in the moment of its utmost peril, by the fatal passions which they introduced into its bosom. With their own hands they tore down the venerable ensign of St Mark; with their own arms they ferried the invaders across the Lagoon, which no enemy had passed for fourteen hundred years; with their own arms they subjugated the senate of their country, and compelled,



in the last extremity, a perilous and disgraceful submission to the enemy. They received, in consequence, the natural and appropriate reward of such conduct—the contempt of their enemies, the hatred of their friends, the robbery of their trophies, the partition of their territory, the extinction of their liberties, and the annihilation of their country.\*

79. What a contrast to this timid and vacillating conduct in the rulers, and these flagitious passions in the people of Venice, does the firmness of the British government, and the spirit of the British people afford at this juncture! They, too, were counselled to temporise in danger, and yield to the tempter; they, too, were shaken in credit and paralysed by revolt; they, too, were assailed by democratic ambition, and urged to conciliate and yield as the only means of salvation. The Venetian aristocracy did what the British aristocracy were urged to do. They cau-

\* The last occasion on which the Place of St Mark had seen the Transalpine soldiers, was when the French crusaders knelt to the Venetian people to implore succour from that opulent republic, in the last crusade against the infidels in the Holy Land. The unanimous shout of approbation in the assembled multitude—"It is the will of God! It is the will of God!" led to that cordial union of these two powers which overturned the throne of Constantinople.—"Maximus," says Bacon, "innovator tempus."—GIBSON, chap. ix.

tiously abstained from hostilities with the revolutionary power; they did nothing to coerce the spirit of disaffection in their own dominions; they yielded at length to the demands of the populace, and admitted, in the moment of danger, a sudden and portentous change in the internal structure of the constitution. Had the British government done the same, they might have expected similar results to those which took place in Venice—expected to see the revolutionary spirit acquire irresistible force, the means of national resistance become prostrated by the divisions of those who should wield them, and the state fall an easy prey to the ambition of those neighbouring powers who had fomented its passions to profit by its weakness. From the glorious result of the firmness of the one, and the miserable consequences of the pusillanimity of the other, a memorable lesson may be learned both by rulers and nations. Thence they may see that courage in danger is often the most prudent as well as the most honourable course; that periods of foreign peril are never those in which considerable changes in internal institutions can with safety be adopted; and that, whatever may be the defects of government, those are the worst enemies of their country who league with foreign nations for their redress.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

### INTERNAL GOVERNMENT OF FRANCE, FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DIRECTORY TO THE REVOLUTION OF 18TH FRUCTIDOR.

1. THE different eras of the Revolution, which have hitherto been traced, show the progress of the principles of democracy through their natural stages of public transport, monied insecurity, financial embarrassment, arbitrary confiscation, general distress, plebeian insurrection, sanguinary oppres-

sion, civil warfare, and military despotism. It remains to examine its progress during the receding tide—to trace the declining and enfeebled efforts of Republican fervour during the years when its desolating effects had become generally known, and the public strength refused to lend its aid to the ambition

and the delusion of individuals. At this period it is evident that the chief desire of the human mind is for repose. The contentions, the miseries of former years, rise up in fearful remembrance to all classes of citizens. The chimera of equality can no longer seduce—the illusion of power no longer mislead; and men, bitterly suffering under the consequences of former error, eagerly range themselves under any government which promises to save them from “the worst of tyrannies, the tyranny of a multitude of tyrants.”

2. To effect the maximum of freedom with the minimum of democratic ascendancy, is the great problem of civil government, as the chief object of war is to attain the greatest possible national security at the smallest expenditure of human life. Republican passion is frequently necessary to sustain the conflicts of freedom, in the same manner as the military spirit is often indispensable to purchase national independence, and always essential to its security. But it is not a less evil in itself, if not kept under due restraint, than the savage passion for the destruction of the species. When too vehemently excited, it generally becomes an evil incomparably more serious than the political grievances which awakened its fury. Great national objects sometimes cannot be achieved without the excitation of this passion, because it is desire, and not reason, which ever governs the masses of mankind; but when it becomes the ruling power, the last extremities of suffering are at hand. Like all other passions, however, whether in the individual or society, it cannot be indulged to excess, without inducing evils which speedily terminate its ascendancy, and punish the delinquencies to which it has given rise. The democratic passion is to nations what the desire of licentious freedom is to the individual: it bears the same relation to the principle of genuine liberty, that the chastened attachment of marriage, which “peoples heaven,” does to the wild excesses of lust, which find inmates for hell. The fleeting enjoyments of guilt are speedily lost in its lasting pains; the extravagance of de-

mocratic ambition, if it obtains unrestricted sway, invariably terminates, before the expiry of a few years, in universal suffering.

3. Nature never intended that the great body of mankind should be immediately concerned in government, because their intellects and information are unequal to, and their situation inconsistent with, the task. Useful and necessary as a check upon the government of others, they bring about the greatest calamities when they become the governors themselves: respectable, virtuous, and salutary when employed in their proper sphere, they become dangerous, impassioned, and irrational, when called to the exercise of duties which do not belong to them. The restraint of holding property, and constantly suffering themselves from any shocks it may receive, is the only security against the undue abuse of power. As the great body of the people cannot possess this advantage, and consequently political power cannot be exercised by them without injury, first to others, and at last to themselves, nature has wisely provided for the speedy and effectual extinction of the passion for it, in the necessary consequence of the effects which it produces. The insecurity, privations, and suffering which follow in its train, unavoidably lead, before the lapse of a very long period, to military despotism. Some democratic states, as Milan, Florence, and Sienna, to terminate their dissensions, have voluntarily submitted to the yoke of a military leader; others have fallen under his dominion at the close of a sanguinary period of domestic strife. All have, in one way or other, expelled the deadly venom from the system, and, to escape the horrors of anarchy, have shielded themselves under the lasting government of the sword.

4. The illusions of republicanism were now dispelled in France. Men had passed through so many vicissitudes, and lived so long in a few years, that all their pristine ideas were overturned. The rule of the middle class, and of the multitude, had successively passed like a rapid and bloody phantasmagoria. The age was far removed from that of

France of the 14th July 1789, with its enthusiastic feelings, its high resolves, its ardent aspirations, its popular magistrates, and its buoyant population. It was still further removed from that of France of the 10th August, when a single class, and that the most licentious, had usurped the whole authority of the state, and borne to the seat of government its vulgar manners and sanguinary ideas—its distrust of all above, and its severity to all beneath itself. Society emerged, weakened and disjoined, from the chaos of revolution; and, in despair of effecting any real amelioration in the social system, all classes rushed with unbounded vehemence into the enjoyments of private life. The elegances of opulence, long suspended, were resumed with unprecedented alacrity; balls, festivities, and theatres, were frequented with more avidity than in the most corrupted era of the monarchy; it seemed as if the nation, long famished, was quenching its thirst in the enjoyments of existence. Compassion for suffering was generally felt: those who had recently escaped death themselves had their hearts open to the woes of humanity. Experience now proved the truth of the poet's lamentation, that the most secure foundation for pity of the sufferings of others is the experience of suffering ourselves.\* Public affairs wore an air of tranquillity which singularly contrasted with the disasters of former years: the emigrants returned in crowds, with a confidence which afterwards proved fatal to them. All women were in transports at the auspicious change. Horror at the Jacobins restored the awe of the rich; the recollection of the clubs secured the influence of the saloons; female charms resumed their ascendancy with the return of pacific ideas; and the passion for enjoyment, freed from the dread of death and the restraints of religion, was

indulged without control. Manners were never more corrupted than under the rule of the Directory—luxury never more prodigal—passion never more unrestrained. Society resumed its wonted order, not by repentance for crime, but by a change of its direction. This is the natural termination of popular effervescence. The transition is easy from the extravagance of democracy to the corruptions of sensuality, from the fanaticism of the Puritans to the gallantries of Charles II., because these opposite extremes alike proceed from the indulgence of individual passion. Such transition is extremely difficult from either to the love of genuine freedom, because that implies a sacrifice of both to patriotic feeling. The age of Nero soon succeeded the strife of Gracchus; but ages revolved, and a different race of mankind was established, before that of Fabricius was restored.

5. The deputies were regarded with the utmost solicitude by all parties upon the completion of the elections. The third part, who had been recently chosen, according to the provision of the constitution, represented with tolerable fidelity the opinions and wishes of the party which had now become influential in France. They consisted not of those extraordinary and intrepid men who shine in the outset of the revolutionary tempest, but of those more moderate characters who, in politics equally as the fine arts, succeed to the vehemence of early passion; who take warning by past error, and are disposed only to turn the existing state of things to the best account for their individual advantage. But their influence was inconsiderable, compared with that of the two-thirds who remained from the old Assembly, and who, both from their habits of business and acquired celebrity, retained the principal direction of public affairs. The whole deputies having assembled, according to the directions of the constitution, chose by ballot two hundred and fifty of their number, all above forty, and married, to form the Council of the Ancients. They afterwards proceeded to the important task of appointing the Directors; and, after some hesitation, the

\* "E legge di natura,  
Che a competir ci mova  
Chi prova una avventura,  
Che noi provammo ancor:  
O sia che amore in noi,  
La somiglianza accenda;  
O sia che più s'intenda  
Nel suo l'altrui dolor."

METASTASIO, *Giuseppe*, parte 1.

choice fell on Barras, Rewbell, La Révellière-Lépaux, Letourneur, and Sièyes. Upon the last declining the proffered honour, Carnot was chosen in his stead. These five individuals immediately proceeded to the exercise of their new sovereignty.

6. Though placed at the head of so great a state, the Directors were at first surrounded with difficulties. When they took possession of their apartments in the Luxembourg, they found scarcely any furniture in the rooms; a single table, an inkstand and paper, and four straw chairs, constituted the whole establishment of those who were about to enter on the management of the greatest Republic in existence. The incredible embarrassment of the finances, the critical state of the armies, the increasing discontents of the people, did not deter them from undertaking the discharge of their perilous duties. They resolved unanimously that they would make head against all the difficulties in which the state was involved, or perish in the attempt.

7. Barras was the one of the Directory who was most qualified by his character and previous services to take the lead in the government. Naturally indolent, haughty, and voluptuous; accessible to corruption, profligate, and extravagant; ill qualified for the fatigues and the exertion of ordinary business, he was yet possessed of the firmness, decision, and audacity which fitted him to be a leader of importance in perilous emergencies. His lofty stature, commanding air, and insinuating manners, were calculated to impose upon the vulgar, often ready to be governed in civil dissensions as much by personal qualities as by mental superiority; while the eminent services which he had rendered to the Thermidorian party on the fall of Robespierre, and his distinguished conduct and decisive success on the revolt of the Sections, gave him considerable influence with more rational politicians. Rewbell, an Alsatian by birth, and a lawyer by profession, was destitute of either firmness or eloquence; but he owed his elevation to his habits of business, his knowledge of forms, and the pertinacity

with which he represented the feelings of the multitude, often in the close of revolutionary convulsions envious of distinguished ability. La Révellière-Lépaux, a sincere republican, who had joined the Girondists on the day of their fall, and preserved, under the proscription of the Jacobins, the same principles which he had embraced during their ascendancy, was blessed by nature with a mild and gentle disposition, which fitted him to be the ornament of private society. But he was weak and irresolute in public conduct, totally destitute of the qualities requisite in a statesman, strongly tinged with the irreligious fanaticism of the age, and perpetually dreaming of establishing the authority of natural religion on the ruins of the Christian faith. Letourneur, an old officer of artillery, had latterly supplied the place of Carnot in the Committee of Public Salvation, but without possessing his abilities; and when Carnot came in the room of Sièyes, he received the department of the marine and the colonies.

8. The first object of the Directory was to calm the passions, the fury of which had so long desolated France. This, however, was no easy task—the more especially as, with the exception of Carnot and Barras, there was not one of them either a man of genius or of any considerable reputation. Such was the cruel effect of a revolution which in a few years had cut off whole generations of ability, and swept away all, save in the military career, that could either command respect or insure success. Their principles were republican, and they had all voted for the death of the King in the Convention, and consequently their elevation gave great joy to the democratic party, who had conceived considerable disquietude from the recent formidable insurrection and the still menacing language of the Royalists. The leaders of that party, defeated, but not humbled, had great influence in the metropolis; and their followers seemed rather proud of the perils they had incurred, than subdued by the defeat they had sustained. Within and without, the Directors were surrounded by difficulties. The Revo-

lution had left everything in the most miserable situation : the treasury was empty ; the people were starving ; the armies destitute ; the generals discouraged. The progress of the public disorders had induced that extreme abuse in the multiplication of paper money, which seems the engine employed by nature, in revolutionary disorders, to bring salutary suffering home to every individual, even of the humblest rank in society, as the opposite set of evils, arising from the undue contraction of the currency, produces that destruction alike of industry and realised wealth which warns mankind of the dangers of the rule of a monied oligarchy. The revenue had almost ceased to be collected, and the public necessities were provided for merely by a daily issue of paper, which every morning was sent forth from the public treasury still damp from the manufactory of the preceding night. Its value was fixed by law, but it would not pass for a hundredth, sometimes a thousandth part of that amount. The sales of all kinds of commodities had ceased, from the effect of the law of the maximum and forced contributions ; and the subsistence of Paris and the other great towns was secured merely by compulsory requisitions, for which the unfortunate peasants received only assignats, worth not a hundredth part of the value at which they were compelled to accept them. Finally, the armies, destitute of everything, and unfortunate at the close of the campaign, were discontented and dejected. The brilliant successes by which Napoleon restored the military affairs of the republic, had not yet shed their lustre over the affairs of the new government.\* Amidst these difficulties, they were successively assailed by the different factions whose strife had brought the country to this miserable condition ; and they owed their victory over both, only to the public torpor which recent experience of the sufferings all had endured had produced.

9. One of their first acts was a deed of humanity — the liberation of the

\* Chap. xx. and xxiii.

daughter of Louis XVI. from the melancholy prison where she had been confined since her parents' death. This illustrious princess, interesting alike for her unparalleled misfortunes, and the resignation with which she had borne them, after having discharged, as long as the barbarity of her persecutors would permit, every filial and sisterly duty — after having seen her father, her mother, her aunt, and her brother, successively torn from her arms, to be consigned to destruction — had been detained in solitary confinement since the fall of Robespierre, and was still ignorant of the fate of those she had so tenderly loved. The Directory, yielding at length to the feelings of humanity, and a sense of the difficulty which would be experienced in assigning a suitable station in a republic to a princess of such exalted birth, agreed to exchange her for the deputies who had been delivered up by Dumourier to the Imperialists. Accordingly, on the 19th December 1795, this last of the royal captives left the prison where she had been detained since the 10th August 1793, and proceeded by rapid journeys to Bâle, where she was exchanged for the Republican commissioners, and received by the Austrians with the honour due to her rank. Her subsequent restoration, and second banishment, will form an interesting episode in the concluding part of this work.†

10. The earliest measure of the Directory for the relief of the finances, was to obtain a decree authorising the cessation of the distribution of rations to the people, which were thenceforward to be continued only to the most necessitous classes. This great measure, the first symptom of emancipation from the tyranny of the mob of the metropolis, was boldly adopted ; and though the discontents to which it gave rise appeared in the conspiracy of Babeuf, which shortly after broke forth, it was successfully carried into effect. All, except those who lived on the public bounty, felt that the system could no longer be maintained, and concurred in supporting its abolition. The

† *Infra*, Chap. xcii.

state of monetary affairs next occupied their anxious attention. After various ineffectual attempts to return to a metallic circulation, the government found itself obliged to continue the issue of assignats. The quantity in circulation at length rose, in January 1796, to forty-five milliards, or £1,800,000,000 sterling, and the depreciation became so excessive, that a milliard, or a thousand millions of francs, produced only a million in metallic currency: in other words, the paper money had fallen to a *thousandth* part of its nominal value. To stop this enormous evil, the government adopted the plan of issuing a new kind of paper money, to be called *territorial mandates*, which were intended to retire the assignats at the rate of thirty for one. This was in truth creating a new kind of assignat, with an inferior denomination, and was meant to conceal from the public the enormous depreciation which the first had undergone. It was immediately acted upon; mandates were declared the currency of the Republic, and became by law a legal tender; the national domains were forthwith exposed to sale, and assigned over to the holder of a mandate without any other formality than a simple *procès verbal*. At the same time the most violent measures were adopted to give this new paper a forced circulation. All payments by and to the government were ordered to be made in it alone; severe penalties were enacted against selling the mandate for less than its nominal value in gold or silver, and, to prevent all speculations on their value, the public exchange was closed.

11. The only advantage possessed by the mandates over the old assignats was, that they entitled the holder to a more summary and effectual process for getting his paper exchanged for land. As soon as this became generally understood, it procured for them an ephemeral degree of public favour; a mandate for 100 francs rose, soon after it was issued, from fifteen to eighty francs, and their success procured for government a momentary resource. But this relief was of short duration. Two milliards four hundred millions of man-

dates (£100,000,000) were issued, secured over an extent of land supposed to be of the same value; but before many months had elapsed, they began to decline, and were soon nearly at as great a discount, in proportion to their value, as the old assignats. By no possible measure of finance could paper-money, worth nothing in foreign states from a distrust of its security, and redundant at home from its excessive issue, be maintained at anything like an equality with gold and silver. The mandates were, in truth, a reduction of assignats to a thirtieth part of their value; but to be on a par with the precious metals, they should have been issued at one thousandth part, being the rate of discount to which the original paper had now fallen.

12. Government, therefore, and all the persons who received payment from it, including the public creditors, the army, and the civil servants, were still suffering the most severe privation; but the crisis had passed with the great bulk of individuals in the state. Most of the unhappy original holders had become bankrupt, had been guillotined, or were in exile. Their distresses, how great soever, had passed away, like those of a deceased generation. The fall in the value of the assignats had been so excessive, that no one would take either them or their successors in exchange. Barter, and the actual interchange of one commodity for another, had come to supply the place of sale; and all those possessed of any fortune, realised it in the form of the luxuries of life, which were likely to procure a ready sale in the market. The most opulent houses were converted into vast magazines for the storing of silks, velvets, and luxuries of every description, which were retailed sometimes at a profit, and sometimes at a loss, and by which the higher classes were enabled to maintain their families. From the general prevalence of this rude interchange, internal trade and manufactures regained, to a certain degree, their former activity; and though the former opulent quarters were deserted, the Boulevards and Chaussée d'Antin began to exhibit that splendour for which they after-

wards became so celebrated under the Empire. As the victories of the Republic increased, and gold and silver were obtained from the conquest of Flanders, Italy, and the German states, the government paper entirely ceased to be a medium of exchange; transfers of every description were effected by barter or sales for the precious metals, and the territorial mandates were nowhere to be seen but in the hands of speculators, who bought them for a twentieth part of their nominal value, and sold them at a small advance to the purchasers of the national domains.

13. But while all classes were thus emerging from this terrible financial crisis, the servants of government, and the public creditors, still paid in mandates at par, were literally dying of famine. Employment from government, instead of being solicited, was universally shunned; persons in every kind of service sent in their resignations; and the soldiers deserted from the armies in as great crowds as they had flocked to them during the Reign of Terror. While the armies of Pichegru and Napoleon, who received their allowances in the coin they extracted from the conquered states, were living in luxurious affluence, those on the soil of the Republic, and paid in its depreciated paper, were starving. But most of all, the public creditors, the *rentiers*, were overwhelmed by unprecedented distress. The opulent capitalists who had fanned the first triumphs of the Revolution, the annuitants who had swelled the multitude of its votaries, were now crushed under its wheels. Then was seen the unutterable bitterness of private distress, which inevitably follows such a convulsion. The prospect of famine produced many more suicides among that unhappy class, than all the horrors of the Reign of Terror. Poverty to those unused to it has more terrors than death itself. Many, driven to extremities, had recourse, late in life, to daily labour for their subsistence; others, unable to endure its fatigues, subsisted upon the charity which they obtained from the more fortunate survivors of the Revolution. Under the shadow of night they

were to be seen crowding round the doors of the opera and other places of public amusement, of which they had formerly been the principal supporters, and in a disguised voice, or with an averted head, imploring charity from crowds, among whom they were fearful of discovering a former acquaintance or dependant.

14. The situation of the armies in the interior was not less deplorable. Officers and soldiers, alike unable to procure anything for their pay, were maintained only by the forced requisitions which, under the pressure of necessity, were still continued in the departments. The detachments dispersed, and deserted on the road; even the hospitals were shut up, and the unhappy soldiers who filled them turned adrift upon the world, from utter inability to procure for them either medicines or provisions. The gendarmerie, or mounted police, disbanded; the soldiers who composed that force, unable to maintain their horses, sold them, and left the service; and the high-roads, infested by numerous brigands, the natural result of the disorganisation of society, became the theatre of unheard-of atrocities. Strangers profited by the general distress of France to carry on commerce with its suffering inhabitants, which contributed in a considerable degree to restore the precious metals to circulation. The Germans, the Swiss, the Russians, and the English, seized the moment when the assignats were lowest, to fall with all the power of metallic riches upon the scattered but splendid movables of France. Wines of the most costly description were bought up by speculators, and sold cheaper at Hamburg than Paris; diamonds and precious stones, concealed during the Reign of Terror, were brought forth from their places of concealment, and procured for their ruined possessors a transitory relief. Pictures, statues, and furniture of every description, were eagerly purchased for the Russian and English palaces, and by their general dispersion effected a change in the taste for the fine arts over all Europe. A band of speculators, called *La Bande Noire*, bought up an immense number

of public and private edifices, which were sold for almost nothing, and reimbursed themselves by selling a part of the materials; and numerous families, whose estates had escaped confiscation, retired to the country, and inhabited the buildings formerly tenanted by their servants, where they lived in seclusion and rustic plenty on the produce of a portion of their estates.

15. The excessive fall of the paper at length made all classes perceive that it was in vain to pursue the chimera of upholding its value. On the 16th July 1796, the measure, amounting to the open confession of a bankruptcy which had long existed, was adopted. It was declared that all persons were to be at liberty to transact business in the money which they chose; that the mandates should be taken at their current value, which should be published every day at the Treasury; and that the taxes should be received either in coin or mandates at that rate, with the exception of the departments bordering on the seat of war, in which it should still be received in kind. The publication of the fall of the mandates rendered it indispensable to make some change as to the purchase of the national domains; for where the mandate had fallen from one hundred francs to five francs, it was impossible that the holder could be allowed to obtain in exchange for it land worth one hundred francs in 1790, and still, notwithstanding the fall of its value, from the insecure tenure of all possessions, deemed worth thirty-five francs. It was in consequence determined, on the 18th July, that the unassigned national domains should be sold for mandates at their current value.

16. Such was the end of the system of a paper circulation bearing a forced value, six years after it had been originally commenced, and after it had effected a greater change in the fortunes of individuals, than had perhaps ever been accomplished in the same time by any measure of government. It did more to overthrow the existing wealth, to transfer movable fortunes from one hand to another, than even the confiscation of the emigrant and church estates. All debts were in fact annihi-

lated by the elusory form in which it permitted payment to be made. In its later stages, a debtor with one franc in specie could force a discharge of a debt of two hundred, sometimes even of a thousand; the public creditors, the government servants, in fact all the classes who formerly were opulent, were reduced to the last stage of misery. On the other hand, the debtors throughout the whole country found themselves liberated from their engagements; the national domains were purchased almost for nothing by the holders of government paper; and the land, infinitely subdivided, required little of the expenditure of capital, and became daily more productive from the number and energy of its new cultivators. These vast alterations in the circulation induced social changes more durable in their influence, and far more important in their final results, than all the political catastrophes of the Revolution; for they entirely altered, and that too in a lasting manner, the distribution of property, and made a permanent alteration in the form of government unavoidable from a total change in the class possessed of substantial power.

17. Deprived of the extraordinary resource of issuing paper, the Directory were compelled to calculate their real revenue, and endeavour to accommodate their expenditure to that standard. They had estimated the revenue for 1796 at 1,100,000,000 francs, or £44,000,000, including an arrear of 300,000,000 francs, or £12,000,000 of the forced loans, which had never yet been recovered. But the event soon showed that this calculation was fallacious; the revenue proved much less, and the expenditure much greater than had been expected. The land-tax produced only 200 millions, instead of 250; the 200 millions expected from the sale of the remainder of the national domains was not half realised, and all the other sources of revenue failed in similar proportion. Meanwhile, the armies of the Rhine, of the Sambre and Meuse, and of the interior, were in the most extreme state of penury, and all the national establishments on the point of ruin. In these circumstances, it was no



longer possible to avoid a bankruptcy. The public creditors, as usual in all such extremities, were the first to be sacrificed. After exhausting every expedient of delay and procrastination with the *rentiers*, the Directory at length paid them only a fourth in money, and three-fourths in bills, dischargeable on the national domains, called *Bons des Trois Quarts*. The annual charge of the debt was 248 millions of francs, or nearly £10,000,000 sterling; so that, by this expedient, the burden was in effect reduced to 62 millions, or £2,500,000. The bills received for the three-fourths were from the first at a ruinous discount, and soon became altogether unsaleable; and the disorders and partiality consequent on this mode of payment ere long became so excessive that it could no longer be continued. The income of 1797 was estimated at 616,000,000 fra., or nearly £25,000,000, but the expenditure could not be reduced to this without taking a decisive step in regard to the debt. It was therefore finally resolved to continue a payment of a third only of the debt in specie; and the remaining two-thirds were to be discharged by the payment of a capital in bills, secured on the national domains, at the rate of twenty years' purchase. These bills, like the *Bons des Trois Quarts*, immediately fell to a sixth of their value, and shortly after dwindled away to almost nothing, from the quantity simultaneously thrown into the market. As the great majority of the public creditors were in such circumstances that they could not take land, this was, to all intents, a national bankruptcy, which cut off at one blow two-thirds of their property.

18. These attempts of the Directory, though long unsuccessful, to restore order to the distracted chaos of revolutionary France, were seconded by the efforts of the great majority of the people, to whom a termination of political contests had become the most imperious of necessities. Such, in truth, is the disposition in human affairs to right themselves, when the fever of passion has subsided, that men fall insensibly into order, under any government which promises to save them from

the desolating effect of their own passions. Within a few months after the establishment of the new government, the most frightful evils entailed on France by the revolutionary régime had been removed or alleviated. The odious law of the maximum, which compelled the industry of the country to pay tribute to the idleness of towns, was abolished; the commerce of grain in the interior was free; the assignats were replaced, without any convulsion, by a metallic currency; the press had resumed its independence; the elections had taken place without violence; the guillotine no longer shed the noblest blood in France; the roads were secure; the ancient proprietors lived in peace beside the purchasers of the national domains. Whatever faults they may have afterwards committed, France owes to the Directory, during the first year, the immense obligation of having begun the reconstruction of society out of the fusion it had undergone in the revolutionary crucible.

19. In one particular alone the Directory made no approach towards improvement. Religion still remained prostrated as it had been by the strokes of the Decemvirs; the churches were closed; Sunday was abolished: baptism and communion were unknown; the priests in exile, or in hiding under the roofs of the faithful remnant of the Christian flock. The youth of both sexes were brought up without the slightest knowledge of the faith of their fathers; a generation was ushered into the world, destitute of the first elements of religious instruction. Subsequently, the immense importance of this deficiency appeared in the clearest manner; it has left a chasm in the social institutions of France, which all the genius of Napoleon, and all the glories of the Empire, have not been able to repair; and which, it is to be feared, is destined to prevent the growth of anything like rational or steady freedom in that distracted country. In vain La Révellière-Lépaux endeavoured to establish a system of *Theophilanthropy*, and opened temples, published chants, and promulgated a species of liturgy. All these endeavours to supersede the

doctrines of revelation speedily failed ; and Deism remained the religion of the few of the revolutionary party who bestowed any thought on religious concerns. The tenets and ideas of this singular sect were one of the most curious results of the Revolution. Their principles were, for the most part, contained in the following paragraph :—“ We believe in the existence of God, and the immortality of the soul. Worship the Deity ; cherish your equals ; render yourself useful to your country. Everything is good which tends to preserve and bring to perfection the human race ; everything which has an opposite tendency is the reverse. Children, honour your fathers and mothers ; obey them with affection, support their declining years. Fathers and mothers, instruct your children. Women, behold in your husbands the heads of your houses ; husbands, behold in women the mothers of your children, and reciprocally study each other's happiness.” When men flatter themselves that they are laying the foundations of a new religion, they are, in truth, only dressing up, in a somewhat varied form, the morality of the Gospel.\*

20. Napoleon viewed these enthusiasts, some of whom were still to be found in Paris when he seized the helm of affairs in 1799, in their true light. “ They are good actors,” said he.—“ What !” answered one of the most enthusiastic of their number, “ is it in such terms that you stigmatise those whose chiefs are among the most virtuous men in Paris, and whose tenets inculcate only universal benevolence and the moral

\* The worship of this sect was very singular. La Révollère-Lépaux was their high-priest ; they had four temples in Paris, and on appointed days service was performed. In the middle of the congregation, an immense basket, filled with the most beautiful flowers of the season, was placed as the symbol of the creation. The high-priest pronounced a discourse, enforcing the moral virtues, “ in which,” says the Duchess of Abrantes, “ there was frequently so much truth and feeling, that, if the Evangelists had not said the same thing much better 1800 years before them, one might have been tempted to embrace their opinions.” This sect, like all others founded upon mere Deism and the inculcation of the moral virtues, was short-lived, and never included any considerable body of the people.

virtues !”—“ What do you mean by that ?” replied the First Consul ; “ all systems of morality are fine. Apart from certain dogmas, more or less absurd, which were necessary to suit the capacity of the people to whom they were addressed, what do you see in the Veda, the Koran, the Old Testament, or Confucius ? Everywhere pure morality—that is to say, a system inculcating protection to the weak, respect to the laws, gratitude to God. The Gospel alone has exhibited a complete assemblage of the principles of morality, divested of absurdity. That is what is truly admirable, and not a few commonplace sentences put into bad verse. Do you wish to see what is truly sublime ? Repeat the Lord's prayer. You and your friends would willingly become martyrs ; I shall do them no such honour. No strokes but those of ridicule shall fall upon them ; and, if I know anything of the French, they will speedily prove effectual !” Napoleon's views soon proved correct. The sect lingered on five years ; and two of its members had even the courage to publish short works in its defence, which speedily died a natural death. Their number gradually declined ; and they were at length so inconsiderable that, when a decree of government, on the 4th October 1801, prohibited them from meeting in the four churches which they had hitherto occupied as their temples, they were unable to raise money enough to hire a room to carry on their worship. The extinction of this sect was not owing merely to the irreligious spirit of the French metropolis ; it would have undergone the same fate in any other age or country. It is not by flowers and verses, declamations on the beauty of spring and the goodness of the Deity, that a permanent impression is to be made on a being exposed to the temptations, liable to the misfortunes, and filled with the desires, incident to the human race. Those are the allies of religion ; but not religion itself.

21. The shock of parties, however, had been too violent, the wounds inflicted too profound, for society to relapse, without further convulsions, into

a state of repose. It was from the Jacobins that the first efforts proceeded; and the principles of their leaders at this juncture are singularly instructive as to the extremities to which the doctrines of democracy are necessarily pushed, when they take a deep hold of the body of the people. This terrible faction had never ceased to mourn in secret the ninth Thermidor as the commencement of their bondage. They still hoped to establish absolute equality, notwithstanding the variety of human character—universal virtue, despite the general tendency to vice—and complete democracy, without regard to the institutions of modern civilisation. They had been driven from the government by the fall of Robespierre, and deprived of all influence in the metropolis by the defeat and disarming of the faubourgs. But the necessities of government, on occasion of the revolt of the sections on the thirteenth Vendémiaire, had compelled it to invoke the aid of their desperate bands to resist the efforts of the Royalists, and the character of the Directors inspired them with hopes of regaining their influence in the direction of affairs. Flattered by these prospects, the broken faction reassembled. They instituted a new club, which held its meetings in a vast subterranean vault under the Pantheon. This club, they trusted, would rival the far-famed assemblage of the Jacobins; and they there instituted a species of idolatrous worship of Marat and Robespierre, whom they still upheld as objects of veneration and imitation to their followers.

22. The principles of this remarkable party were in great part those which Rousseau developed in his *Contrat Social*, and which were at the bottom of all the miseries and convulsions of the French Revolution. They are thus given in the words of the able historian of their party, himself deeply implicated in the conspiracy. "Democracy is the public system in which equality and good morals put the people in a situation to exercise with advantage legislative power. Among the men who have appeared with most lustre in the revolutionary arena, there are some

who, from the very beginning, pronounced themselves boldly in favour of the real emancipation of the French people. Marat, Robespierre, and St Just figured gloriously, with some others, in the honourable list of the defenders of equality. Marat and Robespierre boldly attacked the anti-popular system which prevailed in the Constituent Assembly; directed before and after the 10th August the proceedings of the patriots, struggled in the Convention against the hatred and calumnies of the selfish party which prevailed there; elevated themselves, in the condemnation of the king, to the highest flights of philosophy, and bore the principal parts in the great events of the 31st of May, and the following days, of which the false friends of equality at last destroyed the happy effects. The principles of this party were, that the chief rights of man consist in the preservation of his existence and of his liberty, and belong equally to all; that property is that portion of the public good which law permits him to retain; that sovereignty resides in the people, and all public functionaries are their servants; that law is the free and solemn expression of the people's will; that resistance to oppression is the inevitable result of the rights of man; that every institution which is not founded on the principle that *the people are good, and the magistrate is corruptible*, is erroneous; and that kings, aristocrats, and tyrants, whoever they are, are slaves who have revolted against the sovereign of the earth, which is the human race, and against the legislature of the universe, which is nature."

23. These principles the new conspirators had borrowed from Robespierre and the extreme popular party since the beginning of the Revolution. But they now contended for a new and more important element, from the want of which, in their opinion, all the former effects of the Revolution had failed. This element was, the equal division of property. The head of this party was Babouf, surnamed Gracchus, who aspired to become chief of the fanatical band. He published a Journal, entitled

\* BUONAROTTI, *Comp. de Babouf*, i. 23, 33.

the "Tribune of the People," which advocated the principles of his sect with much ability, and that earnestness of manner which is so important an element in popular eloquence. His leading principle was, that the friends of freedom had hitherto failed, because they had not ventured to make that use of their power which could alone insure its lasting success. "Robespierre fell," said he, "because he did not venture to pronounce the word—'Agrarian Law.' He effected the spoliation of a few rich, but without benefiting the poor. The Sans-culottes, guided by too timid leaders, piqued themselves on their foolish determination to abstain from enriching themselves at others' expense. Real aristocracy consists in the possession of riches, and it matters not whether they are in the hands of a Villeroi, a Laborde, a Danton, a Barras, or a Rewbell. Under different names, it is ever the same aristocracy which oppresses the poor, and keeps them perpetually in the condition of the Spartan helots. The people are excluded from the chief share in the property of France; nevertheless, the people, who constitute the whole strength of the state, should be alone invested with it, and that too in equal shares. There is no real equality without an equality of riches. All the great of former times should, in their turn, be reduced to the condition of helots; without that, the Revolution is stopped where it should begin. These are the principles which Lycurgus or Gracchus would have applied to Revolutionary or Republican France; and, without their adoption, the benefits of the Revolution are a mere chimera."

24. These doctrines of Babœuf, which were nothing more than the maxims of the Revolution pushed to their legitimate consequences, instead of being stopped short when they had served the purpose of a particular party, show how correctly Mr Burke had, long before, characterised the real Jacobin principles. "Jacobinism," says he, "is the revolt of the enterprising talents of a country against its property. When private men form themselves into associations for the purpose of destroy-

ing the laws and institutions of their country; when they secure to themselves an army, by dividing among the people of no property the estates of the ancient and lawful proprietors; when the state recognises those acts; when it does not make confiscation for crimes, but crimes for confiscations; when it has its principal strength, and all its resources, in such a violation of property; when it stands chiefly upon such violation, massacring, by judgments or otherwise, those who make any struggle for their own legal government, and their old legal possessions—I call this Jacobinism by establishment." Such were the professed objects of the Revolutionists; their real designs have been thus eloquently characterised by Sir James Mackintosh: "These men, Republicans from servility, who published the social panegyric on massacre, and who reduced plunder to a system of ethics, are as ready to preach slavery as anarchy. But the more daring ruffians cannot so easily bow their heads under the yoke. These fierce spirits have not lost

'The unconquerable will,

The study of revenge, immortal hate.'

They pursue their old end of tyranny under their old pretext of liberty. The recollection of their unbounded power renders every inferior condition irksome and vapid; and their former atrocities form a sort of moral destiny which impels them to the commission of new crimes. They have no place left for penitence on earth: they labour under the most awful proscription of opinion ever pronounced against human beings; they have cut down every bridge by which they could retreat into the society of men. Tyrannical power is their only refuge from the just vengeance of their fellow-creatures. Murder is their only means of usurping power. They have no taste, no occupation, no pursuit, but power and massacre. They have drunk too deep of human blood ever to relinquish their cannibal appetite."

25. As the great object of the conspirators was a total overthrow of property, and a division of it in equal, or nearly equal proportions, among the

whole people, it was necessary to proceed with extreme caution, both in divulging their intentions to the public, and in preparing the means of enforcing them by an armed force. The nucleus of the conspiracy was formed in the prisons of Paris, particularly those of Plessis and the Four Nations, during the period after the fall of Robespierre, when a large number of the most ardent democrats were confined together. The greater part of these were by degrees liberated by the government which succeeded the ninth Thermidor, and under the auspices of Babœuf, Darthé, Buonarrotti, and others, a new society, composed of the most extreme Jacobins, was formed, who met in a great vault under the Pantheon, where, by the light of flambeaus, and seated on the humid ground, they ruminated on the most likely method of regenerating France. The machinery which they set in motion for this purpose was very extensive, and soon had its ramifications in every department of the country, and in a small part of the army. A chief revolutionary agent, with several subordinate assistants, was established in each of the twelve divisions of Paris, who soon extended their correspondents into most of the departments of the Republic. A secret directory of public safety was also established, consisting of d'Antonelle, Babœuf, Bedon, Buonarrotti, Darthé, Filipe, Rexellet, and Silvain-Maréchal. Being well aware, however, that, in order to secure the co-operation of the people, it was necessary to present to them not only the ultimate prospect of social regeneration, but some immediate practical benefits which might incite them to insurrection, they framed a solemn instrument, styled an "Insurrectional Act," the publication of which was to be the signal of the new revolution. In this proclamation it was declared that the whole effects of the emigrants, of the conspirators against public freedom, and of the enemies of the people, should be forthwith divided among the poor and the defenders of the cause of freedom; that the working-classes should be immediately lodged in the houses of the conspirators against freedom,

and clothed in their dresses; that the whole effects pledged by the people with the pawnbrokers should instantly be restored to them; and that the nation should adopt the wives, children, fathers, mothers, brothers, and sisters of those who had been slain in support of their cause in the insurrection, and maintain them at the public expense. In addition to this, it was proposed that it should be declared by the sovereign people, that all the property of France was at their disposal, and that the future division of it should be made entirely at their pleasure. Finally, in order to strike terror into the tyrants, it was proposed that the Directory and the principal members of the government should, instead of being publicly executed, be crushed under the ruins of their palaces, the remains of which were to be left in wild confusion, like a mighty cairn, to mark the spot where tyranny had been finally overthrown in France.

26. There was a time when plausible doctrines such as these, so well calculated to excite the passions of the squalid multitude in large cities, would in all probability have produced a great effect on the Parisian populace. But time extinguishes passion, and unmarks illusions, to a generation as well as an individual. The people were no longer to be deceived by these high-sounding expressions; they knew, by dear-bought experience, that the equality of democracy is only an equality of subjection, and the equal division of property only a pretence for enriching the popular rulers. The lowest of the populace alone, accordingly, were moved by these efforts of the Jacobins; the middle classes, who were likely to suffer by them, steadily resisted them; and the Directory finding their government firmly established in the opinion of the better classes, closed the Club at the Pantheon, and seized several numbers of Babœuf's Journal, containing passages tending to overthrow the constitution. To avert the further encroachments of the Jacobin party, they endeavoured to introduce a restriction on the liberty of the press; but the two Councils, after a solemn discus-

sion, refused to sanction any such proposal.

27. Defeated in this attempt, the democratic chiefs assembled in a place called the *Temple of Reason*, where they sang revolutionary songs, deploring the death of Robespierre and the slavery of the people. They had some communication with the troops in the camp at Grenelle, and admitted to their secret meetings a captain in that force, named Grizel, whom they considered one of their most important adherents. Their design was now to establish at once what they called the "Public Good," and for that end to divide property of every description, and put at the head of affairs a government consisting of "true, pure, and absolute democrats." It was unanimously agreed to murder the Directors, disperse the Councils, and put to death the leading members, and erect the sovereignty of the people; but to whom to intrust the supreme authority of the executive, after this was achieved, was a matter of anxious and difficult deliberation. At length they selected sixty-eight persons who were esteemed the most determined and absolute democrats, in whom the powers of the state were to be invested until the complete democratic regime was established. The day for commencing the insurrection was fixed, and all the means of carrying it into effect were arranged. It was to take place on the 21st May. Placards and banners were prepared, bearing the words, "Liberty, Equality, Constitution of 1793, Common Good;" and others having the inscription, "Those who usurp the sovereignty of the people should be put to death by freemen." The conspirators were to march from different quarters to attack the Directors and the Councils, and make themselves masters of the Luxembourg, the treasury, the telegraph, and the arsenal of artillery at Meudon; a correspondence had been opened with the Jacobins in other quarters, that the revolt might break out simultaneously in all parts of France. To induce the lower classes to take part in the proceedings, proclamations were immediately to be issued, requiring every citi-

zen of any property to lodge and maintain a man who had joined in the insurrection; and the bakers, butchers, and wine-merchants, were to be obliged to furnish the articles in which they dealt to the citizens, at a low price fixed by the government. All soldiers who should join the people were to receive instantly a large sum in money, and their discharge; or, if they preferred remaining by their colours, they were to get the houses of the Royalists to pillage.

28. The principles of this remarkable sect, however, did not stop short at these steps, immediately calculated to awaken the cupidity and win the support of the working-classes. They went a great deal farther, and had matured their plans for the ultimate remodeling of the whole social institutions of France, on a footing of the most complete republican equality. They contemplated the erection of a community similar to that of Lycurgus, but without its kings, its Ephori, or its helots. They proposed to abolish private property of every description, both landed and movable; an entire community of goods and labour being their grand remedy for all social evils, which had wholly sprung, in their estimation, from the concentration of these advantages in the hands of a few. As a consequence of this, labour was to be universal and compulsory. Every man was to belong to some trade, and bring the produce of his toil to its common fund. Parental and domestic education was to be abolished; every child of either sex was to be considered as belonging to the state, and educated for the public behoof at great public seminaries. The young of different sexes were not to meet till married, except at great festivals on stated occasions, when patriotic hymns were to be sung, and the choice of partners was to be made. Every facility was proposed for divorce, the indissolubility of marriage being considered, next to private property, the most prolific source of evil. The national defence was to be intrusted to all the young men indiscriminately, till they arrived at a certain age, and all of them were to be armed and marched to the camps on the frontiers; the legislative

functions were to be exercised by the same individuals, in primary assemblies, when they returned to their places of abode after their period of service was over. The aged, infirm, and orphans, were to be gratuitously maintained at the public expense. There was to be no capital or central government, no magistrates or teachers, save those appointed by the people. Disease, it was said, under such a system, would be rare, law unknown, theology unheard of; luxury, idleness, and oppression, would disappear; the country would be covered with a succession of villages, the land become a continuous garden; and all the privations consequent on the loss of luxury to a few would be more than compensated by the diminution of labour, and increase of comfort to all.

29. These extreme measures, the natural result of a long-continued revolutionary strife, are nearly akin to the dreams of Plato for a perfect republic, and, amidst all their extravagance, they savoured of something grand and generous. The immediate incitements which the democratic leaders held out, however—universal plunder and division of property—were addressed to the basest passions, though they indicated a perfect knowledge of human nature, and the means by which the masses are to be most effectually stimulated. They might, at an earlier period, have roused the most vehement democratic passions. But coming, as they did, at a time when such opinions inspired all men of any property with horror, they failed in producing any considerable effect. The designs of the conspirators were divulged to government by Grizel; and on the 20th May, the day before the plot was to have been carried into execution, Babœuf, and all the leaders of the enterprise, were seized, some at their own houses, others at their place of assembly, and with them documents which indicated the extent of the conspiracy. Babœuf, though in captivity, abated nothing of his haughty bearing, and would only condescend to negotiate with the government on a footing of perfect equality. "Do you consider it beneath you," said he to the Directory, "to treat

with me as an independent power? You see of what a vast party I am the centre; you see that it nearly balances your own; you see what immense ramifications it contains. I am well assured that the discovery must have made you tremble. It is nothing to have arrested the chiefs of the conspiracy; it will revive in other bosoms if theirs are extinct. Abandon the idea of shedding blood in vain; you have not hitherto made much noise about the affair; make no more; treat with the patriots; they recollect that you were once sincere Republicans; they will pardon you, if you concur with them in measures calculated to effect the salvation of the Republic." Instead of acceding to this extravagant proposal, the Directory published the letter, and ordered the trial of the conspirators before the High Court of Vendôme. This act of vigour contributed more than anything they had yet done to consolidate the authority of government.

30. The partisans of Babœuf, however, were not discouraged. Some months afterwards, and before the trial of the chiefs had come on, they marched in the night, to the number of six or seven hundred, armed with sabres and pistols, to the camp at Grenella. They were received by a regiment of dragoons, which, instead of fraternising with them as they expected, charged and dispersed the motley array. Great numbers were cut down in the fight. Of the prisoners taken, thirty-one were condemned and executed by a military commission, and thirty transported. This severe blow extinguished for a long period the hopes of the Jacobin party, by cutting off all their leaders of resolution and ability; and though that party still inspired terror, by the recollection of its former excesses, it ceased from this time forward to have any real power to disturb the tranquillity of the state. Despotism is never so secure as immediately after the miseries of anarchy have been experienced. The Directory followed up this success by the trial of Babœuf, Amar, Vadier, Darré, and the other leaders taken on the 20th May, before the Court of Vendôme. Their behaviour on this occasion was that of men who neither feared death

nor were ashamed of the cause in which they were to die. At the commencement and conclusion of each day's proceedings, they sang the *Marseillaise* hymn; their wives attended them to the court, and encouraged them by their constancy, to suffer bravely in the cause of freedom.

31. "Examine your own heart," said Babœuf in addressing the jury; "you will find the secret voice which tells you these men aimed only at the happiness of their fellow-creatures. The Revolution was to them no matter of personal interest. Rest assured, citizens, those are men who regard it as an event interesting to humanity; believe me, it had become to them a true religion, to which they were ready to sacrifice their comfort, their repose, their property, their life. To strike a friend of liberty is to lend a helping hand to kings. You are sitting in judgment on liberty; it has been fertile in martyrs, and the avengers of their memory. Liberty expires when the generous passions are extinguished; when to the men whom it has inflamed are presented the bloody heads of those who have devoted themselves to its worship. It is in vain to say that, were our arguments well founded, our intentions pure, they could be carried into execution only by overturning the constitution. If so strange a proposition is admitted, there is in France neither an institution of jury nor a country. It is not on the conspiring to overturn existing authority, but legitimate authority, that the attention of the jury is to be fixed; for how can they find him guilty who, albeit conspiring against actual authority, does so alone in favour of the only real authority, the will of the people? To what, then, comes the Supreme Law of the Interest of the People, if the depositaries of its power are to reckon as naught the love of country in the hearts of the accused?" Babœuf and Darthé, at the conclusion of this address, turned towards their wives, and said, "that they should follow them to Mount Calvary, because they had no reason to blush for the cause for which they suffered." They were all acquitted except Babœuf and Darthé, who were con-

demned to death, and seven others, who were sentenced to transportation. The two first, on hearing the sentence, mutually stabbed each other with a poniard; but the wounds did not prove fatal, and they were led out next day, bleeding as they were, to the place of execution, where they died with the stoicism of the old Romans.

32. The terror excited by these repeated efforts of the Jacobins was extreme, and totally disproportioned to the real danger with which they were attended. It is the remembrance of the danger which is past, not the prospect of that which is future, that ever affects the generality of mankind. This feeling encouraged the Royalists to make an effort to regain their ascendancy, in the hope that the troops in the camp at Grenelle, who had so firmly resisted the seductions of the democratic, might be more inclined to aid the exertions of the monarchical party. Their conspiracy, however, destitute of any aid in the legislative bodies, though numerously supported by the population of Paris, proved abortive. Its leaders were Brottier, an old counsellor of the parliament, Laville-Heurnois, and Dunan. They made advances to Malo, the captain of dragoons, who had resisted the seductions of the Jacobins; but he was equally inaccessible to the offers of the Royalists, and delivered up their leaders to the Directory. They were handed over to the civil tribunal, which, being unwilling to renew the reign of blood, humanely suffered them to escape with a short imprisonment.

33. The manners of 1795 and 1796 were different from any which had yet prevailed in France, and exhibited a singular specimen of the love of order and the spirit of elegance regaining their ascendancy over a nation which had lost its nobility, its religion, and its morals. The total destruction of fortunes of every description during the Revolution, and the complete ruin of paper-money, reduced every one to the necessity of doing something for himself, and restored commerce to its pristine form of barter. The saloons of fashion were converted into magazines of stuffs, where ladies of the highest rank engaged dur-



ing the day in the drudgery of trade, to maintain their families or relations, while in the evening the reign of pleasure and amusement was resumed. In the midst of the wreck of ancient opulence, modern wealth began to display its luxury; the faubourg St Antoine, the seat of manufactures, the faubourg St Germain, the abode of rank, remained deserted; but in the quarter of the Chaussée-d'Antin, and in the Boulevard Italien, the riches of the bankers, and of those who had made fortunes in the Revolution, began to shine with unprecedented lustre. Splendid hotels, sumptuously furnished in the Grecian style, which had now become the fashion, were embellished by magnificent fêtes, where all that was left of elegance in France by the Revolution assembled to indulge the newly revived passion for enjoyment. The dresses of the women were carried to extravagance in the Grecian style; and the excessive nudity which they exhibited, while it proved fatal to many persons of youth and beauty, contributed, by the novel aspect of the charms which were presented to the public eye, to increase the general enchantment. The assemblies of Barras, in particular, were remarkable for their magnificence; but, in the general confusion of ranks and characters which they presented, they afforded too clear an indication of the universal destruction of the ancient landmarks, in morals as well as society, which the Revolution had effected.

34. In these assemblies were to be seen the elements out of which the Imperial court was afterwards formed. The young officers, who had risen to eminence in the Republican armies, began here to break through the rigid circle of aristocratic etiquette; and the mixture of characters and ideas which the Revolution had produced rendered the style of conversation incomparably more varied and animating than anything which had been known under the ancient regime. In a few years the world had lived through centuries of knowledge. There was to be seen Hoche, not yet twenty-seven years of age, who had recently extinguished the war in La Vendée, and whose handsome figure,

brilliant talents, and rising glory, rendered him the idol of women even of aristocratic habits; while the thoughtful air, energetic conversation, and eagle eye of Napoleon, already, to persons of discernment, foretold no ordinary destinies. The beauty of Madame Tallien was still in its zenith; while the grace of Madame Beauharnais, and the genius of Madame de Stael, threw a lustre over the reviving society of the capital, which had been unknown since the fall of the monarchy. The illustrious men of the age, for the most part, at this period selected their partners for life from the brilliant circle by which they were surrounded; and never did such destinies depend on the decision or caprice of the moment. Madame Permon, a lady of rank and singular attraction, from Corsica, in whose family Napoleon had from infancy been intimate, and whose daughter afterwards became Duchess of Abrantes, refused, in one morning, the hand of Napoleon for herself, that of his brother Joseph for her daughter, and that of his sister Pauline for her son. She little thought that she was declining for herself the throne of Charlemagne; for her daughter that of Charles V.; and for her son the most beautiful princess in Europe.

35. But the passions roused had been too violent to subside without further convulsions; and France was again destined to undergo the horrors of Jacobin rule, before she settled down under the despotism of the sword. The Directory was essentially democratic; but the first elections having taken place during the excitement produced by the suppression of the revolt of the sections at Paris, and two-thirds of the councils being composed of the members of the old Convention, the legislature was, in that respect, in harmony with the executive. The elections of the year 1797, however, when one-third of both were changed, produced a total alteration in the balance of parties in the state. These elections, for the most part, turned out favourable to the royalist interest—a reaction inevitable immediately after the miseries of democratic rule have been experienced. So far did the members of that party carry hos-

tility to the Jacobins, that they questioned all the candidates in many of the provinces as to whether they were holders of the national domains, or had ever been engaged in the Revolution, or in any of the public journals, and instantly rejected all who answered affirmatively to any of these questions. The reaction against the Revolution was soon extremely powerful over the whole departments. The royalists, perceiving, from the turn of the elections, that they would acquire a majority, soon gained the energy of victory. The multitude, ever ready to follow the victorious party, ranged themselves on their side; while a hundred journals thundered forth their declamations against the government, without its venturing to invoke the aid of the sanguinary law, which affixed the punishment of death against all offences tending towards a restoration of royalty. The avowed corruption, profligacy, and unmeasured ambition of Barras and the majority of the Directory, strongly contributed to increase the reaction throughout the country. The result of the election was such, that a great majority in both councils was in the royalist or anti-conventional interest; and the strength of the republican party lay solely in the Directory and the army.

36. The first act of the new Assembly, or rather of the Assembly with its new third of members, was to choose a successor to the director Letourneur, upon whom the lot had fallen of retiring from the government. The choice fell on Barthélemy, the minister who had concluded the peace with Prussia and Spain—a respectable man, of royalist principles. Pichegru, who had been elected deputy of the department of the Jura, was, amidst loud acclamations, appointed president of the Council of Five Hundred: Barbé-Marbois, also a royalist, president of the Council of the Ancients. Almost all the ministry were changed, and the Directory was openly divided into two parties: the majority consisting of Rewbell, Barras, and La Révellière; the minority of Barthélemy and Carnot. The latter, though a steady republican, was in-

clined to join the royalist party from his love of freedom, and his rooted aversion to violent measures. Steadily pursuing what he conceived to be the public good, he had, during the crisis of the Reign of Terror, supported the dictatorial authority; and now, when the danger to freedom from foreign subjugation was over, he strove to restore the monarchical party. The opposite factions soon became so exasperated that they mutually aimed at supplanting each other by means of a revolution; a neutral party, headed by Thibaudeau, strove to prevent matters coming to extremities, but, as usual in such circumstances, was unsuccessful, and shared in the ruin of the vanquished.

37. The chief strength of the royalist party lay in the club of Clichy, which acquired as preponderating an influence at this epoch, as that of the Jacobins had done at an earlier stage of the Revolution. Few among its members were in direct communication with the royalists, but they were all animated with hatred at the Jacobins, and an anxious desire to prevent their regaining their ascendancy in the government. The opposite side assembled at the Club of Salm, where was arrayed the strength of the Republicans, the Directory, and the army. The reaction in favour of royalist principles, at this juncture, had become so strong that, out of seventy periodical journals which appeared at Paris, only three or four supported the cause of the Revolution. Lacretelle, the future historian of the Revolution, the Abbé Morellet, the author of one of its most interesting memoirs, Laharpe, the celebrated critic, Sicard, the unwearied philanthropist, and all the literary men of the capital, wrote periodically on the royalist side. Michaud, destined to illustrate and beautify the history of the Crusades, went so far as to publish a direct *éloge* on the princes of the exiled family—an offence which, by the subsisting laws, was punishable with death. He was indicted for the offence, but acquitted by the jury, amidst the general applause of the people. The majority of the Councils supported the liberty of the

press, from which their party was reaping such advantages, and, pursuing a cautious but incessant attack upon government, brought them into obloquy by continually exposing the confusion of the finances, which were becoming inextricable, and dwelling on the continuance of the war, which appeared interminable.

38. At this epoch, by a singular but not unusual train of events, the partisans of royalty were the strongest supporters of the liberty of the press, while the Jacobin government did everything in their power to stifle its voice. This is the natural course of things when parties have changed places, and the executive authority is in the hands of the popular leaders. Freedom of discussion is the obvious resource of liberty, whether menaced by regal, republican, or military violence; it is the insurrection of thought against physical force. It may frequently mislead and blind the people, and for years perpetuate the most fatal delusions; but still it is the great assistant of freedom, and it alone can restore the light of truth to the generation it has misled. The press is not to be feared in any country where the balance of power is properly maintained, and opposing parties divide the state, because their opposite interests and passions call forth contradictory statements and arguments, which at length extricate truth from their collision. The period of danger from its abuse commences when it is in great part turned to one side, either by despotic power, democratic violence, or purely republican institutions. France under Napoleon was an example of the first; Great Britain, during the Reform fever in 1831, of the second; America is at present of the third. Wherever one power in the state is overbearing, whether it be that of a sovereign, an oligarchy, or of the multitude, the press becomes the instrument of the most debasing tyranny.

39. To ward off the attacks daily made upon them, the Directory proposed a law for restricting the liberty of the press, and substituting graduated penalties for the odious punishments which the subsisting law authorised,

but which could not be carried into effect from its severity. It passed the Five Hundred, but was thrown out in the Ancients, amidst transports of joy in the Royalist party. Encouraged by this success, they attempted to undo the worst parts of the revolutionary fabric. The punishment of imprisonment or transportation, to which the clergy were liable by the revolutionary laws, was done away, and a proposal made to permit the open use of the ancient worship, allow the use of bells in the churches, the cross on the graves of such as chose to place that emblem there, and relieve the priests from the necessity of taking the republican oaths. On this occasion Camille-Jourdan, deputy from Lyons, whose religious and royalist principles had been strongly confirmed by the atrocities of the Jacobins in that unfortunate city, made an eloquent and powerful speech, which produced a great sensation. He pleaded strongly the great cause of religious toleration, and exposed the iniquity of those laws which, professing to remove the restriction on subjects of faith, imposed fetters severer than had ever been known to Catholic superstition. The Council, tired of the faded extravagances on the subject of freedom, were entranced for the moment by a species of eloquence for years unheard in the Assembly, and by the revival of feelings long strangers to their breasts; and listened to the declamations of the young enthusiast as they would have done to the preaching of Peter the Hermit. But the attempt was premature; the principles of infidelity were too deeply seated, to be shaken by transient bursts of genius; and the Council ultimately rejected the proposal by such a majority as showed that ages of suffering must yet be endured before that fatal poison could be expelled from the social body.

40. Encouraged by this state of opinion in the capital, the emigrants and the banished priests assembled in crowds from every part of Europe. Fictitious passports were transmitted from Paris to Hamburg, and other towns, where they were eagerly purchased by those who longed ardently to revisit their

native land. The clergy returned in still greater numbers, and were received with transports of joy by their faithful flocks, especially in the western departments, who for four years had been deprived of all the ordinances and consolations of religion. Again the infants were baptised; the sick visited; the nuptial benediction pronounced by consecrated lips; and the last rites performed over the remains of the faithful. On this, as on other occasions, however, the energy of the royalists consisted rather in words than in actions. They avowed too openly the extent of their hopes not to awaken the vigilance of the revolutionary party; and spoke themselves into the belief that their strength was irresistible, without taking any steps to render it so, and when their adversaries were silently preparing the means of overturning it.

41. In effect, the rapid march of the Councils, and the declamations of the royalists, both in the tribune, in the club of Clichy, and in the public journals, awakened an extreme alarm among that numerous body of men, who, from having been implicated in the crimes of the Revolution, or gainers from its excesses, had the strongest interest in preventing its principles from receding. The Directory became alarmed for their own existence, by reason of the decided majority of their antagonists in both Councils, and the certainty that the approaching election of a third would almost totally ruin the republican party. It had already been ascertained that a hundred and ninety of the deputies were engaged to restore the exiled family, while the Directory could only reckon upon the support of a hundred and thirty; and the Ancients had resolved, by a large majority, to transfer the seat of the legislature to Rouen, on account of its proximity to the western provinces, whose royalist principles had always been so decided. The next election, it was expected, would nearly extinguish the revolutionary party; and the Directory were aware that the transition was easy for regicides, as the greater part of them were, from the Luxembourg to the scaffold.

42. In this extremity, the majority

of the Directory, consisting of Barras, Rewbell, and La Révellière-Lepaux, resolved upon decisive measures. They could reckon with confidence upon the support of the army, which having been raised during the revolutionary fervour of 1793, placed under officers chosen by the privates in a period of extreme excitement, and constantly habituated to the intoxication of republican triumphs, was strongly imbued with democratic principles. This, in the existing state of affairs, was an assistance of immense importance. They therefore drew towards Paris a number of regiments, twelve thousand strong, from the army of the Sambre and Meuse, which were known to be most republican in their feelings; and these troops were brought within the circle of twelve leagues round the legislative body, which the constitution forbade the armed force to cross. Barras wrote to Hoche, who was in Holland superintending the preparations for the invasion of Ireland, informing him of the dangers of the government; and he readily undertook to support them with all his authority. The ministers were changed: Bénézech, minister of the interior; Cochon, minister of police; Petiet, minister of war; Lacroix, minister of foreign affairs; and Truguet, of marine—who were all suspected of inclining to the party of the Councils, were suddenly dismissed. In their place were substituted, François de Neufchâteau in the ministry of the interior; Hoche in that of war; Lenoir-Laroche in that of the police; and Talleyrand in that of foreign affairs. The clear sagacity of this last politician led him to incline, in all the changes of the Revolution, to what was about to prove the victorious side; and his accepting office under the Directory at this crisis, was strongly symptomatic of the chances which were accumulating in their favour. Carnot, from this moment, became convinced that his ruin had been determined on by his colleagues. Barras and La Révellière had long borne him a secret grudge, which sprang from his having signed the warrant, during the Reign of Terror, for the arrest of Danton, who was the leader of their party.

43. Barras and Hoche kept up an active correspondence with Napoleon, whose co-operation was of so much importance to secure the success of their enterprise. He was strongly urged by the Directory to come to Paris and support the government; while, on the other hand, his intimate friends advised him to proceed there, and proclaim himself dictator, as he afterwards did on his return from Egypt. That he hesitated whether he should not, even at that period, follow the footsteps of Cæsar, is avowed by himself; but he judged, probably wisely, that the period had not arrived for putting such a design in execution, and that the miseries of a republic had not yet been sufficiently experienced to insure the success of an enterprise destined for its overthrow. He was resolved, however, to support the Directory, both because he was aware that the opposite party had determined upon his dismissal, from an apprehension of the dangers which he might occasion to public freedom, and because their principles, being those of moderation and peace, were little likely to favour his ambitious projects. Early, therefore, in spring 1797, he sent his aide-de-camp, Lavalette, who afterwards acquired a painful celebrity in the history of the Restoration, to Paris, to observe the motions of the parties, and communicate to him the earliest intelligence; and afterwards despatched Augereau, a general of decided character, and of known revolutionary principles, to that city to support the government. He declined coming to the capital himself, being unwilling to sully his hands, and risk his reputation, by a second victory over its inhabitants. But he had made his arrangements so that, in the event of the Directory being defeated, he should, five days after receiving intelligence of the disaster, make his entry into Lyons at the head of twenty thousand men, and, rallying the republicans everywhere to his standard, advance to Paris—passing thus, like another Cæsar, the Rubicon at the head of the popular party.

44. But though Napoleon kept aloof

himself, he was not the less determined to support the Directory and republican government. To awaken the republican ardour of the soldiers, and strike terror into the royalists in the capital, he celebrated the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille on 14th July, by a fête, on which occasion he addressed the following order of the day to his troops:—"Soldiers! This is the anniversary of the 14th July. You see before you the names of your companions in arms, who have died on the field of battle for the liberty of their country: they have given you an example; you owe yourselves to your country; you are devoted to the prosperity of thirty millions of Frenchmen, to the glory of that name which has received such additional lustre from your victories. I know that you are profoundly affected at the misfortunes which threaten your country; but it is not in any real danger. The same men who have caused it to triumph over Europe in arms, are ready. Mountains separate us from France. You will cross them with the rapidity of the eagle, if it be necessary, to maintain the constitution, to defend liberty, to protect the government of the republicans. Soldiers! the government watches over the sacred deposit of the laws which it has received. From the instant that the royalists show themselves, they have ceased to exist. Have no fears of the result—and swear by the manes of the heroes who have died amongst us in defence of freedom, swear on our standards, eternal war to the enemies of the Republic and of the constitution."

45. This proclamation proved extremely serviceable to the Directory. The flame spread from rank to rank through the whole army; addresses, breathing the most vehement republican spirit, were voted by all the regiments and squadrons of the army, and transmitted to the government and the Councils, with the signatures attached to them. Many of these productions breathed the extreme rancour of the Jacobin spirit. That of the 29th demi-brigade commenced with these words:—"Of all the animals produced by the caprice of nature, the vilest is a king, the most

cowardly is a courtier, the worst is a priest. If the scoundrels who disturb France are not crushed by the forces you possess, call to your aid the 29th demi-brigade; it will soon discomfit all your enemies; Chouans, English, all will take to flight. We will pursue our unworthy citizens even into the chambers of their worthy patron George III., and the club of Clichy will undergo the fate of that of Rency." Augereau brought with him the addresses of the soldiers of the Italian army. "Tremble, royalists!" said they; "from the Adige to the Seine is but a step—tremble! Your iniquities are numbered, and their reward is at the point of our bayonets." "It is with indignation," said the staff of the Italian army, "that we have seen the intrigues of royalty menace the fabric of liberty. We have sworn, by the names of the heroes who died for their country, implacable war against royalty and royalists. These are our sentiments; these are yours; these are those of the country. Let the royalists show themselves; they have ceased to live." Other addresses, in a similar strain, flowed in from the armies of the Rhine and the Moselle; it was soon evident that the people had chosen for themselves their masters, and that, under the name of freedom, a military despotism was about to be established. The Directory encouraged and published all the addresses, which produced a powerful impression on the public mind. The Councils loudly exclaimed against these menacing declarations by armed men; but government, as their only reply, drew still nearer to Paris the twelve thousand men who had been brought from Hoche's army, and placed them at Versailles, Meudon, and Vincennes.

46. The party against whom these formidable preparations were directed, was strong in numbers and powerful in eloquence, but totally destitute of that reckless hardihood and fearless vigour which, in civil convulsions, is usually found to command success. Tronçon-Ducoudray, in the Council of the Ancients, drew, in strong and sombre colours, a picture of the consequences which would ensue to the Di-

rectory themselves, their friends, and the people of France, from this blind stifling of the public voice by the threats of the armies. In prophetic strains he announced the commencement of a reign of blood, which would be closed by the despotism of the sword. This discourse, pronounced in an intrepid accent, recalled to mind those periods of feudal tyranny, when the victims of oppression appealed from the kings or pontiffs, who were about to stifle their voices, to the justice of God, and summoned their accusers to answer at His dread tribunal for their earthly injustice. At the club of Clichy, Jourdan, Vaublanc, and Willot, strongly urged the necessity of adopting decisive measures. They proposed to decree the arrest of Barras, Rewbell, and La Révellière; to summon Carnot and Barthélemy to the legislative body; and if they refused to obey, to sound the tocsin, march at the head of the old sectionaries against the Directory, and appoint Pichegru the commander of the "legal insurrection." That great general supported this energetic course by his weight and authority; but the majority, overborne, as the friends of order and freedom often are in revolutionary convulsions, by their scruples of conscience, or their inherent timidity, decided against taking the lead in acts of violence, and resolved only to decree the immediate organisation of the national guard under the command of Pichegru. "Let us leave to the Directory," said they, "all the odium of beginning violence." Sage advice, if they had been combating an enemy, or lived in an age, capable of being swayed by considerations of justice; but fatal in the presence of enterprising ambition, supported by the weight of military power.

47. The actual force at the command of the Councils was extremely small. Their body-guard consisted only of fifteen hundred grenadiers, who could not be relied on, as the event soon proved, in a contest with their brethren in arms; the national guard was disbanded, and without a rallying point; the royalists were scattered, and destitute of organisation. They had placed

their little guard under the orders of their own officers; and on the 17th Fructidor, when both Councils had decreed the organisation of the national guard under Pichegru, this was to have been followed, on the next day, by a decree, directing the removal of the troops from the neighbourhood of Paris. But a sense of their weakness in such a strife filled every breast with gloomy presentiments. Pichegru alone retained his wonted firmness and serenity of mind. The Directory, on the other hand, had recourse to immediate violence. They appointed Augereau, notorious for his democratic principles, decision of character, and rudeness of manners, to the command of the 17th military division, comprehending the environs of Paris, and that city. In the night of the 17th Fructidor (September 3) they moved all the troops in the neighbourhood into the capital, and the inhabitants at midnight beheld, with breathless anxiety, twelve thousand armed men defile in silence over the bridges, with forty pieces of cannon, and occupy all the avenues to the Tuileries. Not a sound was to be heard but the marching of the men, and the rolling of the artillery, till the Tuileries were surrounded, when a signal gun was discharged, which made every heart that heard it throb with agitation.

48. Instantly the troops approached the gates, and commanded them to be thrown open. Murmurs arose among the guard of the Councils; "We are not Swiss," exclaimed some. "We were wounded by the Royalists on the 13th Vendémiaire," rejoined others. Ramel, their faithful commander, who had received intelligence of the *coup d'état* which was approaching, had eight hundred men stationed at the entrances of the palace, and the remainder drawn up in order of battle in the court; the railings were closed, and every preparation was made for resistance. But no sooner did the staff of Augereau appear at the gates, than the soldiers of Ramel exclaimed, "Vive Augereau! Vive le Directoire!" and, seizing their commander, delivered him over to the assailants. Augereau now traversed the

garden of the Tuileries, surrounded the hall of the Councils, arrested Pichegru, Willot, and twelve other leaders of the Assemblies, and conducted them to the Temple. The members of the Councils, who hurried in confusion to the spot, were seized and imprisoned by the soldiers. Those who were previously aware of the plot, met by appointment in the Odéon and the School of Medicine, near the Luxembourg, where they gave themselves out, though a small minority, for the Legislative Assemblies of France. Barthélemy was at the same time arrested by a body of troops despatched by Augereau, and Carnot only avoided the same fate by making his escape, almost without clothing, by a back door. By six o'clock in the morning all was concluded. Several hundred of the most powerful of the party of the Councils were in prison; and the people, waking from their sleep, found the streets filled with troops, the walls covered with proclamations, and military despotism established.

49. The first object of the Directory was, to produce an impression on the public mind unfavourable to the majority of the Councils whom they had overturned. For this purpose, they covered the streets of Paris early in the morning with proclamations, in which they announced the discovery and defeat of a Royalist plot, the treason of Pichegru, and many members of the Councils, and that the Luxembourg had been attacked by them during the night. At the same time, they published a letter of General Moreau, in which the correspondence of Pichegru with the emigrant princes was proclaimed, and a letter from the Prince of Condé to Imbert, one of the Ancients. The streets were filled with crowds, who read in silence the placards. Mere spectators of a strife in which they had taken no part, they testified neither joy nor sorrow at the event. A few detached groups, issuing from the faubourgs, traversed the streets, exclaiming, "Vive la République! A bas les aristocrates!" But the people in general were as passive as in a despotic state. The minority of the Councils, who were in the interest of the Directory, continued their

meetings in the Odéon and the School of Medicine; but their inconsiderable numbers demonstrated so clearly the violence done to the constitution, that they did not venture on any resolution at their first sitting, except one authorising the continuance of the troops in Paris.

50. On the following day the Directory sent them a message in these terms:—"The 18th Fructidor should have saved the Republic and its real representatives. Have you not observed yesterday the tranquillity of the people, and their joy? This is the 19th, and the people ask, Where is the Republic; and what have the legislative body done to consolidate it? The eyes of the country are fixed upon you; the decisive moment has come. If you hesitate in the measures you are to adopt, if you delay a minute in declaring yourselves, it is all over both with yourselves and the Republic. The conspirators have watched while you were slumbering; your silence restored their audacity; they misled public opinion by infamous libels, while the journalists of the Bourbons and London never ceased to distribute their poisons. The conspirators already speak of punishing the Republicans for the triumph which they have commenced; and can you hesitate to purge the soil of France of that small body of Royalists, who are only waiting for the moment to tear in pieces the Republic, and to devour yourselves? You are on the edge of a volcano; it is about to swallow you up; you have it in your power to close it, and yet you deliberate! To-morrow it will be too late; the slightest indecision would now ruin the Republic. You will be told of principles, of delays, of the pity due to individuals; but how false would be the principles, how ruinous the delays, how misplaced the pity, which should mislead the legislative body from its duty to the Republic! The Directory have devoted themselves to put in your hands the means of saving France; but it was entitled to expect that you would not hesitate to seize them. They believed that you were sincerely attached to freedom and the Republic, and that you would not be afraid of the consequences

of that first step. If the friends of kings find in you their protectors—if slaves excite your sympathy—if you delay an instant—it is all over with the liberty of France; the constitution is overturned, and you may at once proclaim to the friends of their country that the hour of royalty has struck. But if, as they believe, you recoil with horror from that idea, seize the passing moment, become the liberators of your country, and secure for ever its prosperity and glory." This pressing message sufficiently demonstrates the need which the Directory felt of some legislative authority to sanction their dictatorial proceedings. The remnant of the Councils yielded to necessity; a council of five was appointed, with instructions to prepare a law of *public safety*; and that proved a decree of ostracism, which condemned to transportation many of the noblest citizens of France.

51. Following the recommendation of that committee, the Councils, by a stretch of arbitrary power, annulled the elections of forty-eight departments, which formed a majority of the legislative bodies, and condemned to transportation to Guiana, Carnot, Barthélemy, Pichegru, Camille-Jourdan, Tronçon-Ducoudray, Henry Larivière, Imbert, Boissy d'Anglas, Willot, Cochon, Ramel, Murinais, and fifty other members of the legislative body. Merlin and François de Neufchâteau were named Directors, in lieu of those who were exiled. The Directory carried on the government thereafter by the mere force of military power, without even the shadow of legal authority; the places of the expelled deputies were not filled up, but the assemblies left in their mutilated state, without either consideration or independence. Three men, without the aid of historical recollections, without the lustre of victory, took upon themselves to govern France on their own account, without either the support of the law or the co-operation of legal assemblies. Their public acts soon became as violent as the origin of their power had been illegal. The revolutionary laws against the priests and the emigrants were revived; and ere long the whole of those persons who had



ruled in the departments since the fall of Robespierre, were either banished or dispossessed of their authority. The Revolution of the 18th Fructidor was not, like the victory of the 13th Vendémiaire, confined to the capital; it extended to the whole departments, revived everywhere the Jacobin ascendancy, and subjected the people over all France to the rule of the army and the revolutionary leaders.

52. The next step of the Dictators was to extinguish the liberty of the press. For this purpose a second proscription was published, which included the authors, editors, printers, and contributors to forty-two journals. As eight or ten persons were included in the devoted number for each journal, this act of despotism embraced nearly four hundred individuals, among whom was to be found all the literary genius of France. Laharpe, Fontanes, and Sicard, though spared by the assassins of the 2d September, were struck by this despotic act, as were Michaud and Lacretelle, the latter of whom composed, during a captivity of two years, his admirable history of the religious wars in France. At the same time the press was subjected to the censorship of the police; while the punishment of exiled priests, found in the territory of France, was extended to transportation to Guiana—a penalty worse than death itself. From the multitude of their captives, the Directory selected fifteen, upon whom the full rigour of transportation should be inflicted. These were Barthélemy, Pichegru, Willot, Rovère, Aubry, Bourdon de l'Oise, Murinais, de la Rue, Ramel, d'Osseville, Tronçon-Ducoudray, Barbé-Marbois, Lafond-Ladebat, (though the three last were sincere Republicans), Brottier, and Laville-Heurnois. Their number was augmented to sixteen by the devotion of Letellier, servant of Barthélemy, who insisted upon following his master. Carnot was only saved from the same fate by having escaped to Geneva. "In the Directory," says he, "I had contributed to save the Republic from many dangers; the proscription of the 18th Fructidor was my reward. I knew well that republics were ungrateful; but I did not know, till I

learned it from my own experience, that republicans were so much so as they proved to me."

53. The transported victims were conveyed, amidst the execrations of the Jacobin mob, to Rochefort, from whence they were sent to Guiana. Before embarking, they received a touching proof of sympathy in the gift of 80,000 francs, by the widow of an illustrious scientific character, who had been one of the earliest victims of the Revolution. On the road they were lodged in the jails as common felons. During the voyage they underwent every species of horror; cooped up in the hold of a small vessel, under a tropical sun, they were subjected to all the sufferings of a slave-ship. No sooner were they landed, than they were almost all seized with the fevers of the climate, and owed their lives to the heroic devotion of the Sisters of Charity, who, on that pestilential shore, exercised the never-failing beneficence of their religion. Murinais, one of the Council of the Ancients, died, shortly after arriving at the place of their settlement, at Sinamari. Tronçon-Ducoudray pronounced a funeral oration over his remains, which his fellow-exiles intoned with their own hands, from the words, "By the waters of Babylon we sat down and wept." Soon after, the eloquent panegyrist himself expired. He calmly breathed his last, rejoicing on that distant shore that he had been faithful in his duty to the royal family. "It is nothing new to me," said he, "to see suffering and learn how it can be borne. I have seen the Queen at the Conciergerie." The hardships of the life to which they were there subjected, the diseases of that pestilential climate, and the heats of a tropical sun, speedily proved fatal to the greater number of the unhappy exiles. Pichegru survived the dangers, and was placed in a hut adjoining that of Billaud Varennes and Collot d'Herbois, whom, after the fall of Robespierre, he had arrested by orders of the Convention; a singular instance of the instability of fortune amidst revolutionary changes.

54. Pichegru, Willot, Barthélemy, Aubry, Ramel, and d'Osseville, with the faithful Letellier, their voluntary

companion in exile, contrived, some months after, to make their escape; and after undergoing extreme hardships, and traversing almost impervious forests, succeeded in reaching the beach, from whence they were conveyed to Surinam in an open canoe. Aubry and Letellier perished, but the remainder reached England in safety. The Abbé Brettier, Bourdon de l'Oise, and Rovère, the two latter illustrious from their services on the 9th Thermidor, sank under their sufferings at Sinamari. The wife of Rovère, a young and beautiful woman, who had signalled herself, like Madame Tallien, by her generous efforts at the fall of Robespierre on behalf of humanity, solicited, and obtained from the Directory, permission to join her husband in exile; but before she landed in that pestilential region, he had breathed his last. Several hundreds of the clergy, victims of their fidelity to the faith of their fathers, arrived in these regions of death; but they almost all perished within a few months after their landing, exhibiting the constancy of martyrs on that distant shore, while the hymns of the new worship were sung in France by crowds of abandoned women, and the satellites of Jacobin ferocity. The strong minds and robust frames of Barbé-Marbois, and Lafond-Ladebat, alone survived the sufferings of two years; and these, with eight of the transported priests, were all who were recalled to France by the humane interposition of Napoleon when he assumed the reins of power.

55. Meanwhile the Directory pursued with vigour its despotic course in France. A large proportion of the judges in the supreme courts were dismissed; the institution of juries was abolished; and a new and more rigorous law provided for the banishment of the nobles and priests. It was proposed that those who disobeyed or evaded its enactment, should become liable to transportation to Guiana; the wives and daughters of the nobles who were married were not exempted from this enactment, unless they divorced their husbands, and married citizens of plebeian birth. But a more lenient law, which only subjected them to additional

penalties if they remained, was adopted by the Councils. Two hundred thousand persons at once fell under the lash of these severe enactments; their effect upon France was to the last degree disastrous. Then came "that memorable and awful emigration," says Sir James Mackintosh, "when all the proprietors and magistrates of the greatest civilised country of Europe were driven from their homes by the daggers of assassins; when our shores were covered, as with the wreck of a great tempest, with old men, women, and children, and ministers of religion, who fled before the ferocity of their countrymen as before an army of invading barbarians."\* The miserable emigrants fled a second time in crowds from the country, of which they were beginning to taste the sweets; and society, which was reviving from the horrors of the Jacobin sway, was again prostrated under its fury. They carried with them to foreign lands that strong and inextinguishable hatred at republican cruelty which their own wrongs had excited, and mingling in society everywhere, both on the Continent and in the British Isles, counteracted in the most powerful manner the enthusiasm in favour of democratic principles, and contributed not a little to the formation of that powerful league which ultimately led to the overthrow of the Republican power. Finally, the Councils openly avowed a national bankruptcy; they cut off for ever, as will soon appear, two-thirds of the national debt of France, closing thus a sanguinary revolution by the extinction of freedom, the banishment of virtue, and the violation of public faith.

56. The revolution of the 18th Fructidor had been concerted between Napoleon and Barras long before it took place; the former was the real author of this catastrophe, and this is admitted even by his warmest admirers. Augereau informed him, a month before, that he had opened to the Directory the designs of the revolutionary party; that he had been named governor of Paris; and that the dismissal of all the civil and military authorities was fixed on.

\* Mackintosh's Works, iii. 242.

Lavalette made him acquainted daily with the progress of the intrigue in the capital. The former was sent by him to aid in carrying it into execution.\* Napoleon was accordingly transported with joy when he received intelligence of the success of the enterprise. But these feelings were speedily changed into discontent at the accounts of the use which the government was making of its victory. He easily perceived that the excessive severity which they employed, and the indulgence of private

spleen which appeared in the choice of their victims, would alienate public opinion, and run an imminent risk of bringing back the odious Jacobin rule.

57. He has expressed in his *Memoirs* the strongest opinion on this subject. "It might have been right," says he, "to deprive Carnot, Barthélemy, and the fifty deputies, of their appointments, and put them under surveillance in some cities in the interior; Pichegru, Willot, Imbert, Cooche, and one or two others, might justly have expiated

\* On the 24th June 1797, the majority of the Directory wrote to Napoleon, unknown to Barthélemy and Carnot:—"We have received, citizen-general, with extreme satisfaction, the marked proofs of devotion to the cause of freedom which you have recently given. You may rely on the most entire reciprocity on our parts. We accept with pleasure the offers you have made to fly to the support of the Republic." On the 22d July, Lavalette wrote to Napoleon:—"This morning I have seen Barras. He appeared strongly excited at what had passed. He made no attempt to conceal the division in the Directory. 'We shall hold firm,' said he to me; 'and, if we are denounced by the Councils, then we shall mount on horseback.' He frequently repeated that, in their present crisis, money would be of incalculable importance. I made to him your proposition, which he accepted with transport." Barras, on his part, on the 28d July, wrote to Napoleon:—"No delay. Consider well, that it is by the aid of money alone that I can accomplish your generous intentions." Lavalette wrote on the same day to Napoleon—"Your proposition has been brought on the tapis between Barras, Rewbell, and La Révellière. All are agreed that without money we cannot surmount the crisis. They confidently hope that you will send large sums." On the 28th July, Lavalette again wrote to him—"The minority of the Directory still cling to hopes of an accommodation: the majority will perish rather than make any further concessions. It sees clearly the abyss which is opening beneath its feet. Such, however, is the fatal destiny of Carnot, or the weakness of his character, that he has now become one of the pillars of the monarchical party, as he was of the Jacobins. He wishes to temporise." On the 3d August—"Everything here remains in the same state: great preparations for an attack by the Council of Five Hundred; corresponding measures of defence by the Directory. Barras says openly, 'I am only waiting for the decree of accusation to mount on horseback, and speedily their heads will roll in the gutter.'" On the 16th August, Lavalette wrote to Napoleon these remarkable words—"At last I have torn away the veil this morning from the Directory. Only attend to what Barras told me yesterday evening. The subject was the negotiations in Italy.

Carnot pretended that Napoleon was in too advantageous a situation, when he signed the preliminaries, to be obliged to agree to conditions by which he could not abide in the end. Barras defended Buonaparte, and said to Carnot—"You are nothing but a vile miscreant; you have sold the Republic, and you wish to murder those who defend it, infamous scoundrel!" Carnot answered, with an embarrassed air—"I despise your insinuations; but one day I shall answer them!"

Augereau wrote on the 12th August to Napoleon:—"Things remain much in the same state; the Clichés have resumed their vacillating and uncertain policy; they do not count so much as heretofore on Carnot, and openly complain of the weakness of Pichegru. The agitation of these gentlemen is extreme; for my part, I observe them, and keep incessantly stimulating the Directory, for the decisive moment has evidently arrived, and they see that as well as I do. Nothing is more certain than that, if the public mind is not essentially changed before the approaching elections, everything is lost, and a civil war remains our only resource." On the 31st August, Lavalette informed him, "At length the movement so long expected is about to take place. To-morrow night the Directory will arrest fifteen or twenty deputies; I presume there will be no resistance." And on the 3d September, Augereau wrote to him—"At last, general, my mission is accomplished! the promises of the Army of Italy have been kept last night. The Directory was at length induced to act with vigour. At midnight I put all the troops in motion; before daybreak all the bridges and principal points in the city were occupied, the legislature surrounded, and the members, whose names are enclosed, arrested and sent to the Temple. Carnot has disappeared. Paris regards the crisis only as a fête; the robust patriotic workmen of the faubourgs loudly proclaim the salvation of the Republic." Finally, on the 23d September 1797, Napoleon wrote in the following terms to Augereau:—"The whole army applauds the wisdom and energy which you have displayed in this crisis, and has rejoiced sincerely at the success of the patriots. It is only to be hoped now that moderation and wisdom will guide your steps; that is the most ardent wish of my heart."—*BONAPARTE*, 1. 285, 286; *HAUD.* iv. 508, 518.

their treason on the scaffold; but to see men of great talent, such as Portalis, Tronçon-Ducoudray, Fontanes; tried patriots, such as Boissy d'Anglas, Dumolard, Murinais; supreme magistrates, such as Carnot and Barthélemy, condemned, without either trial or accusation, to perish in the marshes of Sinamari, was frightful. What! to punish with transportation a number of writers of pamphlets, who deserved only contempt and a trifling correction, was to renew the proscriptions of the Roman triumvirs; it was to act more cruelly than Fouquier-Tinville, since he at least put the accused on their trial, and condemned them only to death. All the armies, all the people, were for a republic; state necessity could not be alleged in favour of so revolting an injustice, so flagrant a violation of the laws and rights of the citizens."

58. Independently of the instability of any government which succeeds to so stormy a period as that of the Revolution, the constitution of France under the Directory contained an inherent defect, which must sooner or later have occasioned its fall. This was ably pointed out from its very commencement by Necker, and arose from the complete separation of the executive from the legislative power. In constitutional monarchies, when a difference of opinion on any vital subject arises between the executive and the legislature, the obvious mode of arranging it is by a dissolution of the latter, and a new appeal to the people; and whichever party the electors incline to, becomes victorious in the strife. But the French Councils, being altogether independent of the Directory, and undergoing a change every two years of a third of their members, became shortly at variance with the executive; and the latter, being composed of ambitious men, unwilling to resign the power they had acquired, had no alternative but to invoke military violence for its support. This is a matter of vital importance, and lying at the very foundation of a mixed government: unless the executive possesses the power of dissolving, by legal means, the legislature, the time must inevitably come when it will dis-

perse them by force. Such a catastrophe is, in an especial manner, to be looked for when a nation is emerging from revolutionary convulsions; as so many individuals are there implicated by their crimes in supporting the revolutionary regime, and a return to moderate or legal measures is so much the more dreaded, from the retribution which they may occasion to past delinquents.

59. Though France suffered extremely from the usurpation which overthrew its electoral government, and substituted the empire of force for the chimeras of democracy, there seems no reason to believe that a more just or equitable government could at that period have been substituted in its room. The party of the Councils, though formidable from its union and its abilities, was composed of such heterogeneous materials, that it could not by possibility have held together if the external danger of the Directory had been removed. Pichegru, Imbert, Brotier, and others, were in constant correspondence with the exiled princes, and aimed at the restoration of a constitutional throne. Carnot, Rovère, Bourdon de l'Oise, and the majority of the Club of Clichy, were sincerely attached to republican institutions. Dissension was inevitable between parties of such opposite principles, when they had once prevailed over their immediate enemies. The nation was not then in the state to settle down under a constitutional monarchy; it required to be drained of its fiery spirits by bloody wars, and humbled in its pride by national disaster, before it could submit even for a brief period to the coercion of passion, and follow the regular occupations essential to the duration of real freedom.

60. The 18th Fructidor is the true era of the commencement of military despotism in France, and, as such, it is singularly instructive as to the natural tendency and just punishment of revolutionary passions. The subsequent government of the country was but a succession of illegal usurpations on the part of the depositaries of power, in which the people had no share, and by which their rights were equally invaded, until tranquillity was restored by the

vigorous hand of Napoleon. The French have not the excuse, in the loss even of the name of freedom to their country, that they yielded to the ascendancy of an extraordinary man, and bent beneath the car which banded Europe was unable to arrest. They were subjected to tyranny in its worst and most degrading form; they yielded, not to the genius of Napoleon, but to the brutality of Augereau; they submitted in silence to proscriptions as odious and arbitrary as those of the Roman triumvirate; they bowed for years to the despotism of men so ignoble, that history has hardly preserved their names. Such is the consequence, and the never-failing consequence, of the undue ascendancy of democratic power. The French people did not fall under this penalty from any peculiar fickleness or inconsistency of their own; all other nations who have adopted the same principles have suffered the same penalties. They incurred it in consequence of the general law of Providence, that guilty passion brings upon itself its own punishment. They fell under the edge of the sword, from the same cause which subjected Rome to the arms of Cæsar, and England to those of Cromwell. "Constitutional government," says the republican historian, "is a chimera, at the conclusion of a revolution such as that of France. It is not under shelter of legal authority that parties whose passions have been so violently excited

can arrange themselves and repose; a more vigorous power is required to restrain them, to fuse their still burning elements, and protect them against foreign violence. That power is the empire of the sword."

61. A long and terrible retribution awaited the sins of this great and guilty country. Its own passions were made the ministers of the justice of Heaven; its own desires the means of bringing upon itself a righteous punishment. Contemporaneous with the military despotism established by the victory of Augereau, began the foreign conquests of Napoleon. His triumphant car rolled over the world, crushing generations beneath its wheels; ploughing, like the chariot of Juggernaut, through human flesh; exhausting, in the pursuit of glory, the energies of republican ambition. France was decimated for its cruelty; the snows of Russia, and the hospitals of Germany, became the winding-sheet and the grave of its blood-stained Revolution. Infidelity may discern in this terrific progress the march of fatalism and the inevitable course of human affairs; let us discover in it the government of an overruling Providence, punishing the sins of a guilty age, extending to nations, with severe but merciful hand, the consequences of their transgression, and preparing, in the chastisement of present iniquity, the future repentance and amelioration of the species.

## CHAPTER XXV.

FROM THE PEACE OF CAMPO FORMIO TO THE RENEWAL OF THE WAR.  
OCTOBER 1797—MARCH 1799.

1. THE two great parties into which the civilised world had been divided by the French Revolution, entertained different sentiments in regard to the necessity of the war which had so long been waged by the monarchies of Eu-

rope against its unruly authority. The partisans of democracy alleged that the whole misfortunes of Europe, and all the crimes of France, had arisen from the iniquitous coalition of kings to overturn its infant freedom; that, if

its government had been let alone, it would neither have stained its hands with innocent blood at home, nor pursued plans of aggrandisement abroad; and that the Republic, relieved from the pressure of external danger, and no longer roused by the call of patriotic duty, would have quietly turned its swords into pruning-hooks, and, renouncing the allurements of foreign conquest, thought only of promoting the internal felicity of its citizens. The aristocratic party, on the other hand, maintained that democracy is in its very essence, and from necessity, ambitious; that its first effect is to ruin private enterprise by the spread of monied insecurity, and thus extend, in a frightful degree, the misery of the people, at the very time that it paralyses the resources of government; that the turbulent activity which it calls forth, the energetic courage which it awakens, the latent talent which it develops, can find vent only in the enterprise of foreign warfare; that, being founded on popular passion, and supported by the most vehement and enthusiastic classes in the state, it is driven into external aggression as the only means of allaying internal discontent; that it advances before a devouring flame, which, the instant it stops, threatens to consume itself; and that, in the domestic suffering which it engenders, and the stoppage of pacific industry which necessarily results from its convulsions, is to be found both a more cogent inducement to foreign conquest, and more formidable means for carrying it on, than either in the ambition of kings or the rivalry of their ministers.

2. Had the revolutionary war continued without interruption from its commencement in 1792 till its conclusion in 1815, it might have been difficult to have determined which of these opinions was the better founded. The ideas of men would probably have been divided upon them till the end of time; and to whichever side the philosophic observer of human events, who traced the history of democratic societies in time past, had inclined, the great body of mankind, who judged merely from

the event, would have leaned to the one or the other, according as their interests or their affections led them to espouse the conservative or the innovating order of things. It is fortunate, therefore, for the cause of historic truth, and the lessons to be drawn from past calamity in future times, that two years of Continental peace followed the first six years of this bloody contest, and that the Republican government, relieved of all grounds of apprehension from foreign powers, and placed with uncontrolled authority at the head of the vast population of France, had so fair an opportunity presented of carrying into effect its alleged pacific inclinations.

3. The coalition was broken down and destroyed. Spain had not only given up the contest, but had engaged in a disastrous maritime war to support the interests of the revolutionary state; Flanders was incorporated with its territory, which had no boundaries but the Alps, the Rhine, and the Pyrenees; Holland was converted into an affiliated republic; Piedmont was crushed; Lombardy revolutionised, and its frontier secured by Mantua and the fortified line of the Adige. The Italian powers were overawed, and had purchased peace by the most disgraceful submissions; and the Emperor himself had retired from the strife, and gained the temporary safety of his capital by the cession of a large portion of his dominions. Great Britain alone, firm and unsubdued, continued the war, but without either any definite military object, now that the Continent was pacified, or the means of shaking the military supremacy which the arms of France had there acquired, and rather from the determination of the Directory to break off the recent negotiations, than from any inclination on the part of the British government to prolong, at an enormous expense, an apparently hopeless contest. To complete the means of restoring a lasting peace which were at the disposal of the French cabinet, the military spirit in France itself had signally declined with the vast consumption of human life in the rural departments during the war; the armies

were everywhere weakened by desertion; and the most ambitious general of the Republic, with its finest army, was engaged in a doubtful contest in Africa, without any means, to all appearance, of ever returning with his troops to the scene of European ambition. Now, therefore, was the time when the alleged pacific tendency of the revolutionary system was to be put to the test, and it was to be demonstrated, by actual experiment, whether its existence was consistent with the independence of the adjoining states.

4. The estimates and preparations of Great Britain for the year 1798 were suited to the defensive nature of the war in which she was now to be engaged, the cessation of all foreign subsidies, and the approach of an apparently interminable struggle to her own shores. The regular army was fixed at one hundred and nine thousand men, besides sixty-three thousand militia—a force amply sufficient to insure the safety of her extensive dominions, considering the great protection she received from her innumerable fleets which guarded the seas. One hundred and four ships of the line, and three hundred frigates and smaller vessels, were put in commission, manned by one hundred thousand seamen. Supplies to the amount of £25,500,000 were voted, which, with a supplementary budget brought forward on 25th April 1798, in consequence of the expenses occasioned by the threatened invasion from France, amounted to £28,450,000—exclusive, of course, of the charges of the debt and sinking fund. But, in providing for these great expenses, Mr Pitt unfolded an important change in his financial policy, and made the first step towards a system of taxation which, although more burdensome at the moment, is incomparably less oppressive in the end than that on which he had previously proceeded.

5. He stated, that the time had now arrived when the policy hitherto pursued, of providing for all extraordinary expenses by loan, could not be carried farther without evident danger to public credit; that such a system, however applicable to a period when an extra-

ordinary and forced effort was to be made to bring the war at once to a conclusion by means of foreign alliances, was unsuitable to the lengthened single-handed contest in which the nation was at last, to all appearance, engaged; that the great object now should be, to make the sum raised within the year as nearly as possible equal its expenditure, so as to entail no burden upon posterity. In pursuance of these principles, he proposed, instead of making the loan, as in former years, £19,000,000, to make it only £12,000,000, and raise the additional £7,000,000 by means of trebling the assessed taxes on house-windows, carriages, and horses. By this means an addition of only £8,000,000 would be made to the national debt, because £4,000,000 would be paid off in the course of the year by the sinking fund; and, to pay off this £8,000,000, he proposed to keep on the treble assessed taxes a year longer; so that, at the expiration of that short period, no part of the debt then contracted would remain a burden on the nation—an admirable plan, and a near approach to the only safe system of finance—that of making the taxes raised within the year equal its expenditure—but one which was speedily abandoned amidst the necessities and improvidence of succeeding years.\*

6. The same period gave birth to another great change in the military policy of Great Britain, fraught in its ultimate results with most important effects, both upon the turn of the public mind, and the final issue of the war. This was the *Volunteer System*, and the general arming of the people. During the uncertainty which prevailed as to the destination of the great armaments preparing both in the harbours of the Channel and the Mediterranean, the British government naturally felt the

\* Even in that very year it was, to a certain degree, broken in upon. The assessed taxes produced only £4,500,000, instead of £9,000,000, as was expected; and the expenses having increased to £8,000,000 beyond the estimates, the loan was augmented to £15,000,000, exclusive of £2,000,000 for Ireland, besides £8,000,000 raised by means of exchequer bills.

greatest anxiety as to the means of providing for the national defence, without incurring a ruinous expense by the augmentation of the regular army. The discipline of that force was admirable, and its courage unquestionable; but its numbers were limited, and it appeared highly desirable to provide some subsidiary body which might furnish supplies of men to fill the chasms which might be expected to occur in the troops of the line, in the event of a campaign taking place on the British shores. For this purpose the militia, which, in fact, was part of the regular force, was obviously insufficient. Its officers were drawn from a class from whom the most effective military service was not to be expected; and, under the pressure of the danger which was anticipated, government, with the cordial approbation of the king, ventured upon the bold, but, as it turned out, wise and fortunate step, of allowing regiments of volunteers to be raised in every part of the kingdom. On the 11th April it was determined by the cabinet, in consequence chiefly of the energetic efforts of Mr Dundas, to take this decisive step; and soon after a bill was brought into parliament by that statesman, as secretary at war, to permit the regular militia to volunteer to go to Ireland, and to provide for the raising of volunteer corps in every part of the kingdom.

7. The speech which he made on this occasion was worthy of a British minister. Not attempting to conceal the danger which menaced the country, he sought only to rouse the determined spirit which might resist it. "The truth," said he, "is undeniable, that the crisis which is approaching must determine whether we are any longer to be ranked as an independent nation. We must take the steps which are best calculated to meet it; let us provide for the safety of the infirm, the aged, the women, the children, and put arms into the hands of the people. We must fortify the menaced points, accumulate forces round the capital, affix on the church doors the names of those who have come forward as volunteers, and authorise members of parliament to

hold commissions in the army without vacating their seats. I am well aware of the danger of intrusting arms to the whole people without distinction. I am no stranger to the disaffection, albeit much diminished, which still lingers amongst us; I know well that, under the mask of pursuing only salutary reforms, many are still intent upon bringing about a revolution, and for that purpose are willing to enter into the closest correspondence with the avowed enemies of their country. But, serious as is the danger of intrusting arms to a people embracing a considerable portion of such characters, it is nothing to the risk which we should run if, when invaded by the enemy, we were unprepared with any adequate means of defence. I trust to the good sense of the great body of the people to resist the factious designs of such enemies to their country. I trust that the patriotism by which the immense majority of them are animated will preclude them from ever using their arms but for worthy purposes: I trust to the melancholy example which has been afforded in the neighbouring kingdom of the consequences of engaging in popular insurrection, for a warning to all Britons who shall take up arms, never to use them but in defence of their country, or the support of our venerable constitution."

8. So obvious was the danger to national independence from the foreign invasion which was threatened, that the bill passed the House without opposition; and in a few weeks a hundred and fifty thousand volunteers were in arms in Great Britain. Mr Sheridan, as he always did on similar occasions, made a noble speech in support of government. Another bill, which at the same time received the sanction of parliament, authorised the king, in the event of an invasion, to call out the levy *en masse* of the population, conferred extraordinary powers upon lords-lieutenant and generals in command, for the seizure, on such a crisis, of horses and carriages, and provided for the indemnification, at the public expense, of such persons as might suffer in their properties in consequence



of these measures. At the same time, to guard against the insidious system of French propagandism, the Alien Bill was re-enacted, and the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act continued for another year. The volunteer system met with perfect success in England, and brought on none of the evils which had been so sorely felt from the corresponding institution of the national guards in France. The reason is obvious;—the crisis in England at this period was national, in France in 1789 it was social. It is in general safe to intrust arms to the people when their *national* feelings are roused: it is always perilous to do so when their *social* passions are excited, and they see their real or supposed enemies in a particular class in their own country. The unanimity of Great Britain, during the latter period of the war with Napoleon, is an instance of the first: the convulsions of France and Germany, after the dethronement of Louis Philippe in 1848, an example of the second.

9. The adoption of these measures indicates an important crisis in the war—that in which popular energy was first appealed to, in order to *combat* the Revolution; and governments resting on the stubborn evidence of facts, confidently called upon their subjects to join with them in resisting a power which threatened to be equally destructive to the cottage and the throne. It was a step worthy of England, the first-born of modern freedom, to put arms into the hands of her people, to take the lead in the great contest of general liberty against democratic tyranny; and the event proved that the confidence of government had not been misplaced. In no instance did the volunteer corps deviate from their duty; in none did they swerve from the principles of patriotism and loyalty which first brought them round the standard of their country. With the uniform which they put on, they cast off all the vacillating or ambiguous feelings of former years: with the arms which they received, they imbibed the firm resolution to defend the cause of England. Even in the great manufacturing towns, and the quarters where

sedition had once been most prevalent, the newly raised corps formed so many centres of loyalty, which gradually expelled the former disaffection from their neighbourhood; and to nothing more than this well-timed and judicious step, was the subsequent unanimity of the British empire in the prosecution of the war to be ascribed. Had it been earlier adopted, it might have shaken the foundations of society, and engendered all the horrors of civil war; subsequently it would probably have come too late to develop the military energy requisite for success in the contest. Nor were the effects of this great change confined only to the British Isles; it extended to foreign nations and distant times. It gave the first example of that touching development of patriotic ardour which afterwards burned so strongly in Spain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia; and in the British volunteers of 1798 was found the model of those dauntless bands by which, fifteen years afterwards, the resurrection of the Fatherland was accomplished.

10. While England was thus reaping the fruits, in the comparatively prosperous state of its finances and the united patriotism of its inhabitants, of the good faith and stability of its government, the French tasted, in a ruinous and disgraceful national bankruptcy, the natural consequences of undue democratic influence and revolutionary convulsion. When the new government, established by the revolution of the 18th Fructidor, began to attend to the administration of the finances,\* they

\* The most favourable view of the public revenue, which in the end proved to be greatly overcharged, only exhibited an income of—

	France.
But the expenses of the war were	616,000,000
estimated at . . . . .	288,000,000
Other services, . . . . .	247,000,000
Interest of debt, . . . . .	258,000,000
	<hr/> 788,000,000
Annual deficit, . . . . .	172,000,000
	<hr/> Or, £7,000,000

Being just about the same deficit which, in 1789, was made the pretext to justify the Revolution.—BUCCHER and ROUX, *Hist. Parl. de France*, xxxvii. 431, 432.

speedily found that, without some great change, and the sacrifice of a large class of existing interests, it was impossible to carry on the affairs of the state. The resources of assignats and mandates were exhausted, and nothing remained but to reduce still further the most helpless class, the public creditors, and by their ruin extricate the government from its embarrassments. As the income was calculated at the very highest possible rate, and the expenditure obviously within its probable amount, it was evident that some decisive measure was necessary to make the one square with the other. For this purpose, they at once struck off *two-thirds* of the debt, and thereby reduced its annual charge from 258 millions to 86. To cover, indeed, the gross injustice of this proceeding, the public creditors received a paper, secured over the national domains, to the extent of the remaining two-thirds, calculated at twenty years' purchase: but it was at the time foreseen, what immediately happened, that, from the total impossibility of these miserable fundholders turning to any account the national domains which were thus tendered in payment of their claims, the paper fell to a tenth part of the value at which it was forced on their acceptance, and soon became altogether unsaleable: so that the measure was, to all intents and purposes, a public bankruptcy. Notwithstanding the enfeebled state of the legislature by the mutilations which followed the 18th Fructidor, this measure excited warm opposition; but at length the revolutionary party prevailed, and it passed both Councils by a large majority. Yet such had been the abject destitution of the fundholders for many years, in consequence of the unparalleled depreciation of the paper circulation in which they were paid, that this destruction of two-thirds of their capital, when accompanied by the payment of the interest of the remainder in specie, was felt rather as a relief than a misfortune. Such were the consequences, to the monied interest, of the Revolution which they had so strongly supported, and which they fondly imagined was to raise an invin-

cible rampart between them and national bankruptcy.

11. The external policy of the Directory soon evinced that passion for foreign conquest which is the unhappy characteristic of democratic states, especially in periods of unusual fervour, and forms the true vindication of the obstinate war which was maintained against France by the European monarchs. "The coalition," they contended, "was less formed against France than against the principles of the Revolution. Peace, it is true, is signed; but the hatred which the sovereigns have vowed against it is not, on that account, the less active; and the chicanery which the Emperor and England oppose in the way of a general pacification, by showing that they are only waiting an opportunity for a rupture, demonstrates the necessity of establishing a just equilibrium between the monarchical and the democratic states. Switzerland, that ancient asylum of liberty, now trampled under foot by an insolent aristocracy, cannot long maintain its present government without depriving France of a part of its resources, and of the support which it would have a right to expect in the event of the contest being renewed." Thus the French nation, having thrown down the gauntlet to all Europe, felt, in the extremities to which they had already proceeded, a motive for still further aggressions, and more insatiable conquests; obeying thus the moral law of nature, which, in nations as well as individuals, renders their career of guilt the certain instrument of its own punishment, by the subsequent and intolerant excesses into which it precipitates its votaries.

12. Holland was the first victim of the Republican ambition. Not content with having revolutionised that ancient commonwealth, expelled the Stadtholder, and compelled its rulers to enter into a costly and ruinous war to support the interests of France, in which they had performed their engagements with exemplary fidelity, they resolved to subject its inhabitants to a convulsion of the same kind as that which had been terminated in the great parent Republic by the 18th Fructidor. Since their

conquest by Pichegru, the Dutch had had ample opportunity to contrast the ancient and temperate government of the house of Orange, under which they had risen to an unexampled height of prosperity and glory, with the democratic rule which had been substituted in its stead. Their trade was ruined, their navy defeated, their flag swept from the ocean, and their numerous merchant vessels lay rotting in their harbours. A reaction, in consequence, had become very general in favour of former institutions; and so strong and fervent was this feeling that the National Assembly, which had met on the first triumph of the Republicans, had never ventured to interfere with the separate rights and privileges of the provinces, as settled by prescription and the old constitution. The French Directory beheld with secret disquietude this leaning to the ancient order of things, and could not endure that the old patrician families should, by their influence in the provincial diets, temper in any degree the vigour of their central democratic government. To arrest this tendency, they recalled their minister from the Hague, supplied his place by Delacroix, a man of noted democratic principles, and gave Joubert the command of the armed force. Their instructions were to accomplish the overthrow of the ancient federal constitution, overturn the aristocracy, and vest the government in a Directory of democratic principles entirely devoted to the interests of France.

13. The Dutch Assembly was occupied at this juncture with the formation of a constitution, all previous attempts of that description having proved miserable failures. The adherents of the old institutions, who still formed a majority of the inhabitants, and embraced all the wealth and almost all the respectability of the United Provinces, had hitherto contrived to baffle the designs of the vehement and indefatigable minority, who, as in all similar contests, represented themselves as the only real representatives of the people, and stigmatised their opponents as a mere faction, obstinately opposed to every species of improvement. A majority of

the Assembly had passed some decrees, which the democratic party strenuously resisted, and forty-three of its members, all of the most violent character, had protested against their adoption. It was to this minority that the French minister addressed himself to procure the overthrow of the constitution.

14. At a public dinner, Delacroix, after a number of popular toasts, exclaimed, with a glass in his hand, "Is there no Batavian who will plunge a poniard into the constitution, on the altar of his country?" Amidst the fumes of wine, and the riot of intoxication, the plan for its overthrow was soon adopted; and its execution was fixed for the 22d. January. On that night, the forty-three deputies who had signed the protest assembled at the Hotel of Haarlem, and ordered the arrest of twenty-two of the leading deputies of the Orange party, and the six commissioners of foreign relations. At the same time the barriers were closed; the national guard called forth; and the French troops, headed by Joubert and Daendels, intrusted with the execution of the order. Resistance was fruitless; before daybreak those arrested were all in prison; and the remainder of the Assembly, early in the morning, met in the hall of their deliberations, where, surrounded by troops, and under the dictation of the bayonet, they passed decrees sanctioning all that had been done in the night, and introducing a new form of government on the model of that already established in France. By this constitution the privileges of the provinces were entirely abolished; the ancient federal union was superseded by a Republic, one and indivisible; the provincial authorities were changed into functionaries wholly dependent on the central government; a Council of Ancients and a Chamber of Deputies established, in imitation of those at Paris; and the executive authority confided to a Directory of five members, all completely in the interest of France. The sitting was terminated by an oath of hatred to the Stadtholder, the federal system, and the aristocracy; and ten deputies who refused to take it, were deprived of their seats on the

spot. So completely was the whole done under the terror of the army, that some months afterwards, when the means of intimidation were removed, a number of deputies who had joined in these acts of usurpation gave in their resignation, and protested against the part they had been compelled to take in the transaction.

15. The inhabitants of Holland soon discovered that, in the pursuit of democratic power, they had lost all their ancient liberties. The first step of the new Directory was to issue a proclamation, strictly forbidding, under severe penalties, all petitions from corporate bodies or assemblages of men, and declaring that none would be received but from insulated individuals; thereby extinguishing the national voice in the only quarter where it could make itself heard in a serious manner. All the public functionaries were changed, and their situations filled by persons of the Jacobin party; numbers were banished or proscribed; and, under the pretext of securing the public tranquillity, domiciliary visits and arrests were multiplied in the most arbitrary manner. The individuals suspected of a leaning to the adverse party were everywhere deprived of their right of voting in the primary assemblies; and, finally, to complete the destruction of all the privileges of the people, the sitting Assembly passed a decree, declaring itself the legislative body, thereby depriving the inhabitants of the election of their representatives. This flagrant usurpation excited the most violent discontents in the whole country, and the Directors soon became as obnoxious as they had formerly been agreeable to the populace. Alarmed at this state of matters, and apprehensive lest it should undermine their influence in Holland, the French Directory enjoined General Daendels to take military possession of the government. He accordingly put himself at the head of two companies of grenadiers, and proceeded to the palace of the Directory, where one member was seized, while two resigned, and the other two escaped. A provisional government was immediately formed, consisting of Daendels and two associates,

all entirely in the interest of France, without the slightest regard to the wishes of, or any pretence even of authority from, the people. Thus was military despotism the result of revolutionary changes in Holland, as it had been in France, within a few years after they had been first commenced amidst the general transports of the lower orders.

16. SWITZERLAND was the next object of the ambition of the Directory. The seclusion of that beautiful country, its retirement from all political contests for above two centuries, the perfect neutrality which it had maintained between all the contending powers since the commencement of the Revolution, the indifference which it had evinced to the massacre of its citizens on the 10th August, could not save its secluded valleys from the devouring ambition of the Parisian enthusiasts. As little, it must be owned with regret, could the wisdom and stability of its institutions, the perfect protection which they afforded to persons and property, the simple character of its inhabitants, or the steady prosperity which they had enjoyed for above five centuries under the influence of the existing order of things, save a large proportion of them from the pernicious contagion of French democracy.

17. Switzerland, as all the world knows, comprises the undulating level surface between the Alps and the Jura, watered by the lakes of Geneva and Neuchâtel, and stretching from the Rhone to the Rhine, as also the great central mass of mountains which separates it from the plain of Lombardy, and is bounded on the east by the Alps of the Tyrol, on the west by the Jura. The great stony girdle of the globe runs through its whole territory from east to west, and branches out beyond it to the Pyrenean range on the one side, and the Tyrol and Styrian Alps, the Carpathian Mountains, the ranges of Epirus and Macedonia, the Caucasus and Taurus, on the other. The average height of this mountain range, where it passes through the Swiss territory, is ten or eleven thousand feet; but in some places it rises to an elevation much

more considerable, and on the snowy summits of Mont Blanc, Mont Rosa, and the Ortler Spitz, reaches above fifteen thousand feet.

18. The level part of Switzerland, which lies between the Alps and the Jura, more closely, perhaps, than any other part of Europe, resembles the English plains. There are the same rich and thickly-peopled fields; the same smooth ever-verdant meadows; the same prevalence of orchards, gardens, and fruit-trees; the same beautiful hedgerow timber; the same spread of the cottages of the poor in fearless security at a distance from the villages. In Spain, Portugal, the greater part of France and Germany, and even in the fertile plains of Lombardy and Belgium, the peasantry all live in the villages. The intermediate country, though parcelled into many different estates or farms, presents only an unvarying cultivated surface; and the wearied swains are to be seen in the evening returning seated on their horses, often four or five miles from the scene of their daily toil. Experienced insecurity, arising from the desolation of foreign wars, or the weight of internal oppression, has introduced this custom, and compelled the cultivators, as the only mode of safety, to take refuge in walled villages and the shelter of mutual protection. But in Switzerland, equally with England, the long-established blessings of freedom and universal security of property have relaxed this inconvenient system, which at once adds so much to the labour of the husbandman and takes away so much from the beauty of his fields.

19. This security has diffused the cottages of the agriculturists over the whole country, in the centre of their little farms or estates. The wants of their families in these separate dwellings, or the markets in the neighbouring towns, have led to the multiplication of cattle, the formation of orchards, the tending of gardens, the enclosing of fields, and the planting of hedgerow timber. The charm which an Englishman feels in the contemplation of such scenery is not derived merely from its inherent amenity; it

is allied to moral influences, it springs from political blessings. It recalls the home of infancy, the paradise of youth, the scene of domestic love, the hearth of filial affection, the first opening of life, when its sunshine was still unclouded. It bespeaks a country in which these blessings, the choicest gifts of Heaven, have been for many ages securely enjoyed by the people; in which the vices and ambitions of cities have not yet corrupted those little nurseries of virtuous feeling; and in which all the changes of time have not been able to affect those fountains of happiness and patriotism which spring at once from the influences of nature.

20. The most ardent imagination, fraught with the richest stores of poetical imagery, can conceive nothing approaching to the beauty of the mountain scenery of Switzerland. Presenting often in a single landscape every gradation of vegetation, from the saxifrages and mosses which nestle in crevices of rocks on the verge of perpetual snow, to the olive, the vine, sometimes even the orange-tree and citron, which flourish amidst the balmy breezes of the Mediterranean, it exhibits the varied features which characterise similar lofty ranges in other parts of the world; but to them it has added a charm which is peculiarly its own. This is found in the number, the industry, and the general wellbeing of the peasantry. Much as this interesting addition to natural beauty appears in Alpine regions in many parts of the world, it is nowhere exhibited in such perfection as among the mountains of Switzerland. The universal possession of landed property by the cultivators has diffused the efforts of industry, and the charm of cultivated scenery, into the wildest recesses of savage nature. The smiling cottage, the shaven green, the flowering orchard, are to be seen on the verge of perpetual desolation; the glacier bounds the cornfield; the meadow is carved out of the rocks—and, by a peculiarity which belongs only to Helvetia, the extremes of sterility and riches, of amenity and grandeur, of beauty and sublimity, are brought into close proximity with each

ether.\* "Nooks and dells, beautiful as fairyland, are embosomed in its most rugged and gigantic elevations. The roses and myrtles bloom unchilled on the verge of the avalanche."†

21. That the inhabitants of Switzerland feel, in its full force, the unequalled charms of the country of their birth, need be told to none who have witnessed the tears which in distant lands any of their beautiful Ranz-des-vaches bring into the eyes of the Swiss; or who know of the *maladie du pays*, which so often in mature life compels those who have strayed from them, in quest of fortune or subsistence, to return to their native valleys. Yet it is remarkable, that these exquisite features have never inspired the soul either of a poet or a painter. No artist has ever transferred to canvass the sun setting on the Jungfrau, as seen from Interlachen; or the glow of evening on Mont Blanc, as it is daily presented to the inhabitants of Geneva; or the awful sublimity of the Lake of Uri, so well known to all who have visited the Forest Cantons. No Swiss Salvator has

sought inspiration amidst the savage grandeur of its rocks and cataracts; no Helvetian Claude has dipped his pencil in the hues of heaven, in portraying its sunsets. What is still more remarkable, these enchanting features have never inspired the soul of poetry, or attracted its powers to their description. Scotland can boast a Scott who has immortalised its mountains; Ireland, a Moore, who has breathed the lyric spirit over its glens; England, a Thomson; and a Cowper, who have portrayed with fervent animation its unobtrusive charms. But though the Swiss soil has not been deficient in the poetic spirit, as the genius of Gessner and Zimmerman can testify, no great works of imagination have been dedicated to the beauty of the Alps. Coleridge's noble Ode to Mont Blanc contains more true poetry on the subject, than the whole German and French literature can boast. Perhaps their unequalled grandeur has overwhelmed the mind even of the most fervent worshippers of wild sublimity; perhaps the peculiar charms of their scenery, in which, as in all the works of nature, the most exquisite finishing in detail is combined with the most perfect generality of effect, has deterred others from a difficulty, to be conquered only by the greatest genius, guiding the most resolute perseverance, and apparently altogether beyond the reach of the wealth-seeking spirit of modern art.

22. One great beauty of Switzerland, as of all countries containing ranges of mountains of a similar elevation, is to be found in the different gradations of vegetable life which are to be met with from their base to their summit; exhibiting thus, in the distance often of a few miles, an epitome of all the varieties of scenery, from the borders of the torrid to those of the frozen zone. "Nature," says Rousseau, "seems there to take a pleasure in appearing in opposition to herself, so different are her features in the same places under different aspects. In the east the flowers of spring, in the south the fruits of autumn, to the north the ices of winter.

† Thomson was a Scotchman by birth, but the scenes he describes are chiefly English in their character.

\* Rousseau has described this striking peculiarity of Swiss scenery with the colours of poetry:—"Tantôt d'immenses roches pendaient en ruines au-dessus de ma tête; tantôt de hautes et bryantes cascades m'inondaient de leur épais brouillard; tantôt un torrent éternel ouvrait, à mes côtés, un abîme dont les yeux n'osaient sonder la profondeur. Quelquefois je me perdis dans l'obscurité d'un bois touffu; quelquefois, en sortant d'un gouffre, une agréable prairie réjouissait tout-à-coup mes regards. Un mélange étonnant de la nature sauvage et de la nature cultivée montrait partout la main des hommes, où l'on eût cru qu'ils n'avaient jamais pénétré; à côté d'une caverne on trouvait des maisons; on voyait des pampres seches où l'on n'eût cherché que des ronces, des vignes dans des terres déboisées, d'excellents fruits sur des rochers, et des champs dans des précipices."—*Nouvelle Heloise*, Letter xxiii. vol. i. p. 113.

† "They saw how from the crags and cliffs below

His proud and stately pleasant top grew out,

And how his sides were clad with frost and snow;

The height was green with herbs and flow'rets stout,

Like hairy locks the trees about him grow,

The rocks of ice keep watch and ward about

The tender roses and the lilies new."

Tasso, *Jerusalem Delivered*, xv. 46.

She unites all seasons in one instant, all climates in one spot. Every kind of earth is there blended together; and they form a compound, unknown elsewhere, of the productions of the plain with those of the Alps.\* On the southern side of the Alps, on the enchanting banks of the Italian lakes, nature appears in her loveliest aspect; the harsher features of the rocky hills are covered with an ever-verdant foliage; the vine and the olive flourish on their smiling shores; numerous white villages, with elegant spires, attest both the number and wellbeing of the inhabitants; and the unruffled waters reflect at once the peopled cliffs and unclouded heaven. Higher up the woody region begins; huge sweet-chestnuts interlace their boughs, amidst detached masses of rock; closely shaven meadows indicate the commencement of the pastoral zone, but rich orchards flourish in sheltered spots, and noble woods of beech, oak, and birch, still clothe the mountain sides. The magnificence and variety of the objects in these elevated regions dispose the mind to contemplation, and renew, even in advanced years, the elasticity and buoyancy of youth.†

23. Above this succeeds the region of the fir and the larch; the lofty cliffs are fringed to their summit with pines, the sombre hue of which contrasts with their lighter tints; wildness and grandeur form the general character of nature; but numerous spires are to be seen amidst the recesses of the forest, and wherever a level spot is to be found, the green meadow and wood-built cottage bespeak the residence of industrious and happy man. Higher still the woody region disappears; a few stunted pines alone cast their roots in a sterile soil; the rocks are interspersed with cold and desolate pastures, where, during a few months of summer only, the herds, driven up from the valleys beneath, find a scanty subsistence; while

in the loftier parts frequent streaks of white indicate, even in the heats of the dog-days, the approach to the region of perpetual snow. Highest of all, a silver mantle of snow is spread over gigantic piles of bare rock, and sharp pinnacles of dazzling brightness shoot up into the deep blue vault of heaven. It never rains in these lofty regions; the frequent clouds descend only in snowy showers, which unceasingly add to the everlasting shroud of the mountain; and when the mists roll away, and the atmosphere becomes serene, a fresh covering of virgin purity ever reflects back the bright but powerless rays of the sun.

24. Another of the chief natural beauties of Switzerland consists in the number, variety, and historical recollections of its lakes. First in interest, though not in romantic beauty, is the Leman Lake, in whose glassy bosom the peaks of Mont Blanc and the rocks of Maillerie are perpetually reflected, but which derives a yet higher interest from the associations with which it is connected; for there Cæsar began his great career, and Rousseau dreamt of ideal innocence, and Voltaire combated in the cause of humanity;‡ and Gibbon concluded his immortal work. The lakes of Neuchâtel and Bienné—of Thun and Brienz—of Zurich and Zug—of Constance and of Wallenstätt, exhibit scenes of varied yet surpassing loveliness, sometimes spreading amidst wide and smiling expanses of woods, villages, and corn-fields, at others contracting into narrow, shut-in scenes, or overhung by lofty pine-clad cliffs. But all must yield in varied beauty, savage grandeur, and historic interest, to the Lake of Luzern; for on its banks are to be found the field of Rütli—the chapel of Tell—the Plain of Morgarten; and at its upper extremity, in the cradle of Swiss independence, is to be seen, in the Lake of Uri, the sublimest specimen of European scenery.

25. Although Mount St Gothard is far from being the highest mountain in Switzerland, yet it is the central point of its vast chains, and several of the greatest rivers of Europe take their rise

‡ Would that he had never combated in any less worthy cause!

\* *Nouvelle Heloise*, Letter xxiii.

† Qui non Palazzi, non teatro o loggia  
Ma 'n lor vece un abete, un faggio, un  
pino  
Tra l'erba verde e'l bel monte vicino  
Levan di terra al ciel nostro intelletto."

PETRARCO.

from its sides.\* To the east, the Rhine descends down the cold pastoral valley below Disentis, and winds its way through the solitudes of the Grisons to the German plains: on the west, the Rhone leaps at once a mighty spring from the huge and glittering glacier which bears its name: on the north, the Reuss descends in a headlong impetuous torrent through the valley of Schollenen to the Lake of Uri, and finds its way at last, mingled with the Rhine, to the German Ocean; while to the south, the Tessino, issuing from the snowy summit of the pass by which the traveller crosses into Italy, is rapidly swelled by the torrents from the adjoining glaciers, forces its way in a raging torrent through the rocks of Faïdo, and is already a noble stream when it swells into the lovely expanse of the Lago Maggiore, ere it rolls its tributary waters to the Po. Thus, in every contest for the possession of Switzerland, the principal efforts of the contending parties have always been directed to get possession of the St Gothard; not only from its containing an important pass over the Alps into Italy, but from its forming the great central mountain mass from which the chief rivers of the country take their rise, and by the possession of which their upper valleys may be turned.

26. To those who, for the first time, come in sight of the Alps, either from the lofty ridge of the Jura,† the level expanse of Lombardy, or the swelling hills of Suabia, they present the appearance of a crowd of rugged and inaccessible peaks, tossed together in such wild confusion, and so closely jammed together, as to render it to appearance equally impossible to attempt to classify, or to find a passage through them. But

\* Its highest summits are only 11,250 feet high, whereas Mont Blanc is 15,780 feet, Mont Rosa 15,585, and the Ortler Spitz, in the Grisons, 15,430. The summit of the Pass of the St Gothard is 6380 feet.—*Essai, Manuel de Voyages en Suisse*, 1. 319, and II. 211, 503. An inch, it is to be observed, is to be added to French feet in turning them into English.

† The view of Mont Blanc and the Alps of Savoy from the Jura, where the road from Dole to Geneva traverses its summit, is by far the finest distant view of the Alps, and, if seen in a clear day, presents the most superb panoramic scene in Europe.

in reality this immense mass of mountains, little less, in the Swiss territories alone, than a hundred and fifty miles long by eighty to a hundred broad, is penetrated over its whole breadth by three great valleys, running from east to west, athwart the range as it were, and which, if the attention is fixed on them, render its geography a matter of very easy apprehension.

27. The first of these valleys is that of the Rhone, which, commencing with the snowy summit of the Furca, the western front of the St Gothard, runs nearly due west between lofty ranges of mountains for seventy miles, in a valley seldom more than two miles broad, and then, meeting at Martigny the eastern ridge of Mont Blanc, turns sharp to the north, and flows down to the lake of Geneva. The second is that of the Rhine, which, descending from its double source in the glacier of the Hinter Rhin and the eastern slope of the St Gothard at Disentis, unites both streams at Reichenau in the Grisons, and flows through a broader valley, sometimes six or seven miles broad, between the Alps of Glarus and those of the Grisons, until, after a mountain course of seventy miles, it spreads out into the broad expanse of the Lake of Constance, beyond the utmost verge of the hills. Thus, these two great valleys, uniting in the lofty plateau of the St Gothard as their common centre, traverse the whole extent of the Swiss territory from east to west. The third great valley of the Alps is that of the Inn, which, taking its rise in the lofty and desolate mountains of the Upper Engadine, in the Grisons, a little to the south-east of the source of the Hinter Rhin, runs in a north-eastern direction, in a valley varying from one to six miles in breadth, for a distance of nearly two hundred miles through the mountains, till, after washing the ramparts of Innspruck, it issues into the Bavarian plains under the towers of Kuffstein.

28. Generally speaking, the range of Alps which separates the valleys of the Rhone from the Italian plains, is higher than that which intervenes between them and the level country in the north



of Switzerland; and, accordingly, all the passes by which the Alps are crossed—the St Bernard, the Simplon, the St Gothard, the Splügen, the Bernhardin, the Albula, the Monte Selvio, and the Brenner—lie to the south of these valleys. This prodigious snowy range, comprising Mont Blanc, the Great St Bernard, Monte Rosa, the St Gothard, the Ortler Spitz, and the Alps of the Grisons, is pierced on either side of its crest by a series of lateral valleys, the waters of which, to the north, descend through pine-clad ravines till they are intercepted by the course of the Rhine and the Rhone, into which they fall at right angles; while those to the south, after traversing narrow vales, overshadowed by rich walnuts and umbrageous chestnuts, all swell the waters of the Po. But although this is the great geographical division of the country, yet, to the north of the Rhine and Rhone, some of the most stupendous and interesting of the Alps, embracing the Jungfrauhorn, Wetterhorn, Eiger, and Titlis, are situated; and it is among their recesses that the cradles of Swiss independence, and the most interesting specimens of Swiss civilisation, are to be found.

29. The noble *chaussées*, first projected and executed by Napoleon, and since imitated with such success by the Swiss and Austrian governments, which now traverse the Alps by seven different passes, all easy for carriages,\* were at the period of the French invasion unknown. One road alone, from Germany into Italy, viz., that by the Brenner, the height of which was 4300 feet, was practicable at all seasons of the year for artillery carriages; the whole roads from France into Italy crossed the Alps by mere mountain-paths, altogether impracticable for artillery, and in great part sufficiently difficult for horsemen or foot-soldiers. Carriages were taken down before commencing the ascent of Mont Cenis on the French side, and put together again at Susa on the Italian; the passages of the Great and Little St Bernards were the same rude bridle-

roads which they had been since the days of Hannibal; the Simplon could be passed only by a break-neck path, ascending the ravine on the northern side, barely accessible even to active travellers; the St Gothard was crossed by a rude mountain-road, impracticable for artillery; the roads over the Bernhardin, the Splügen, the Albula, the Monte Selvio, were only difficult paths which horsemen could scarcely surmount, and carriages never thought of attempting. Thus, although the level part of Switzerland, lying between the Jura and the Alps, was wholly defenceless, and it had no fortresses worthy of the name to arrest the invader's progress; yet, when the plain was passed and the mountains reached, a most formidable warfare awaited him; for there were to be found rugged dells, accessible only by narrow straits impracticable for artillery, and a numerous sturdy population of freemen to defend the homes of simple virtue.

30. In ancient times Helvetia was inhabited by fierce and savage tribes, whom all the might of the legions for long had failed in subduing. Like the Caucasians or Affghans in modern days, the inhabitants of the Alps maintained a rude and savage independence, unmolested in their inaccessible rocks and thickets, and acknowledging little more than a nominal subjection to the government of the Capitol. In the neighbourhood, indeed, of the highways over the Great St Bernard, Mont Cenis, and the Brenner, order, as in the vicinity of the Russian stations on the Caucasus, was tolerably preserved; but in the remoter valleys the people were still independent. It was not till the time of Augustus, that Drusus, by the aid of two powerful armies, effected the subjugation of the savage mountaineers of the Rætian and Julian Alps, and the son of the emperor was proud of the trophy on which the names of four-and-twenty tribes, subjugated by his arms, were enumerated. Even under the Emperors the interior of the mountains was almost unexplored; the source of the Rhine was unknown; and in the prevailing fable that the Rhone took its rise in the most hidden parts of the earth, be-

\* Viz., the Mont Cenis, the Simplon, the St Gothard, the Splügen, Bernhardin, the Brenner, and the Monte Selvio.

between the pillars of the sun, the modern traveller recognises with interest reference to the glittering pile of the glacier of the Rhone, which, when seen through the dark pine forests, by which alone it can be approached from the lower part of the Valais, might with little effort of imagination have given rise to that popular belief.

31. It is to the industry and perseverance of the Gothic race, who, on the overthrow of the Roman empire, penetrated into the Alpine recesses, that the first effectual cultivation of the Swiss valleys is to be ascribed. The castles of the nobles were generally situated at the entrance of the hills, and they held large portions of the level country under their sway; but it was the indulgent rule and beneficent activity of the monks and bishops which penetrated the mountain straits, and settled in the narrow glens of Helvetia a strenuous, peaceable, and industrious population. It was Religion which spread its aegis over these savage wilds, and first converted the fierce shepherds and huntsmen of the Alps into industrious and peaceable citizens. At Sion and St Maurice in the Valais, St Gall, the Abbey of Einsiedeln, Zurich, Luzern, the Abbey of Engelberg, at the foot of the Titlis, and indeed in every part of the Alps, it was on the ecclesiastical estates that the first symptoms of agricultural improvement were to be seen, and the first habits of regular industry were acquired. So widely had these habits spread, and so considerable was the number of strenuous cultivators, who had carved out small estates for themselves out of the forests and rugged slopes of the interior of the mountains, that Switzerland was already a country of little proprietors, when the authority of the house of Austria was thrown off by the efforts of William Tell; and revolution there, as afterwards in America, was deprived of its most dangerous qualities by taking place among a simple uncorrupted people, already for the most part proprietors of the land which they cultivated.

32. If it be true, as has been beautifully said (and few who know mankind

will doubt it), that wherever you see a bird-cage in a window, or a flower in a garden, you are sure the inmates are wiser and better than their neighbours, there are few countries in which there are so many wise and good men as in Switzerland. In truth, of all the many charms of that delightful country, there is none so universal and interesting as the general wellbeing and comfort of the people. To assert, indeed, that poverty is unknown in that land of freedom, is to assert what never has obtained, and never will obtain, among mankind. Doubtless vice, folly, and misfortune produce the same effects there as elsewhere in the world; and an indigent population, in a territory so contracted, has in some places arisen from the occupation of all the land susceptible of cultivation, and the fluctuations of the manufactures on which a part of the population has come to depend. But generally speaking, the condition of the people is comfortable; in many places, as the Forest Cantons and the borders of the Lake of Zurich, in Appenzell and the Pays de Vaud, they are affluent beyond any other peasantry in Europe. The white-washed cottages, with their green doors and window-shutters, their smiling gardens and flowering orchards, the well-clad figures of the inhabitants, their frequent herds and flocks, bespeak, in language not to be misunderstood, that general wellbeing which can exist only where land has been honestly acquired, and virtuous habits are generally diffused. So dense is the population in some districts, that in five parishes and two villages on the Lake of Zurich there are only 10,400 acres under cultivation of every kind, and 8498 souls — being scarcely an acre and a quarter to each individual. Yet in no part of the world is such general comfort conspicuous among the people — an example, among the many others which history affords, of the great truth, that it is vice or oppression which induces a miserable population, and that no danger is to be apprehended from the greatest increase in the numbers of mankind, if they are justly governed and influenced by virtuous habits.

33. Of all the European governments, Switzerland was the one the weight of which was least felt by the people. Economy, justice, and moderation, were the bases of its administration, and the federal union by which the different cantons of which it was composed were held together, seemed to have no other object than to secure their common independence. Taxes were almost unknown, property was perfectly secure, and the expenses of government were incredibly small. The military strength of the state consisted in the militia of the different cantons, which, though formidable, if united and led by chiefs well skilled in the difficult art of mountain warfare, was little qualified to maintain a protracted struggle with the vast forces which the neighbouring powers had now brought into the field. The constitutions of the cantons were various. In some, as the Forest Cantons, they were highly democratic; in others, as in Berne, essentially aristocratic: but in all, the great objects of government—security to persons and property, freedom in life and religion—were attained, and the aspect of the population exhibited a degree of well-being unparalleled in any other part of the world. The traveller was never weary of admiring—on the sunny margin of the lake of Zurich, on the vine-clad hills of the Leman sea, in the smiling fields of Appenzell, in the romantic valleys of Berne, and the lovely recesses of Underwalden—the beautiful cottages, the property of their inhabitants, where industry had accumulated its fruits, and art often spread its elegancies, and virtue ever diffused its contentment; and where, amidst the savage magnificence of nature, a nearer approach appeared to have been made to the simplicity of the golden age than in any other quarter of the civilised globe.

34. The physical resources of Switzerland, at this period, were far from being considerable. The thirteen cantons into which the confederacy was then divided, contained in all but 1,347,000 inhabitants; and the contingents fixed in 1668, of soldiers to be furnished by each canton, amounted in all to only

9600 men. Now, since nine more cantons have been added by the treaties of 1814, the population is 2,188,000, and the contingents of armed men amount to 33,758 men. Even the largest of these numbers must appear Lilliputian beside the colossal armies of France and Germany, with which they were environed on all sides; and such as they were, they were not regular troops, but militia, which the state was bound only to make forthcoming in the event of a war. A reserve existed, however, of equal strength; and if invaded, Switzerland could even at that time bring 100,000 militia into the field. The public revenues of the whole confederacy now amount only to 14,000,000 francs, or £470,000 a-year, and in 1798 the thirteen cantons could not boast of more than £260,000. It was neither in its regular army nor its national income that the strength of the Swiss Confederacy was to be found, but in the strength of the country, the courage and hardihood of the people, their universal acquaintance with the use of arms, their unchangeable public spirit, and the halo of glory which centuries of victory had bequeathed to their arms.

35. For many ages the Swiss infantry was universally reckoned the first in Europe. They were, literally speaking, believed to be invincible. The victories of Morgarten, Laupen, and Naefels over the Austrians, and the still more marvellous triumphs of Granson, Morat, Nancy, and Verceil, over Charles the Bold and the chivalry of France, had rendered it evident that they had discovered the secret of resisting with success even the most powerful cavalry of modern Europe, and that their serried columns, like the Macedonian phalanx, were impenetrable even to the steel-clad gendarmerie of the feudal barons. The ultimate success of Francis I. against these terrible bands on the bloody field of Marignan had scarcely weakened their reputation; for that could scarcely be called an overthrow, in which the victors had been brought into nearly as great straits as the vanquished, and which the royal conqueror himself had called a strife of giants,

beside which all other battles were child's play. Subsequently they had been less heard of in the fields of European fame, partly because the Confederacy itself preserved a cautious neutrality, and the exploits of the mercenary bands which they lent out to all belligerent states were lost in the crowd of native soldiers among whom they served; partly because their loud, and often ill-timed, demands for their pay, rendered them an object of disquietude to those governments of Europe, so numerous in the last two centuries, whose thirst for conquest was stronger than their inclination or ability to remunerate the conquerors. But still their warlike spirit and prowess had not declined; they still maintained the character given of them by the Roman annalist—"Helvetii, Gallica gens, olim armis virisque, mox memorie nominis clara."\* When brought into action, they had always evinced the steadiness and valour for which their ancestors had been so famous; and their recent glorious stand for the monarchy of Louis in the Place of the Carrousel, had demonstrated that, in the noblest of military virtues, fidelity to their colours in misfortune, they never had been surpassed by any troops in ancient or modern times.

36. Such, indeed, were the military resources of the Swiss, and the magnitude of their reputation, that it is more than doubtful whether, if they had been united among each other, they could have been subjugated even by the whole military power of France, at least without such a serious and protracted contest as would infallibly have brought the standards of Austria to their aid. But that which the French bayonets probably could not have effected, French propagandism had rendered of comparatively easy acquisition. Though the mountaineers, especially in the eastern parts of Switzerland, where the German language is spoken, were almost unanimously true to their country, and proof alike against the seductions and the

illusions of French democracy, yet the case was different in the towns of the plains, and even in the rural districts, where French was the prevailing tongue, and the ideas which arise in cities had come to influence a large part of the people. They had been, ever since the commencement of the Revolution, the incessant object of French propagandism. Affiliated societies, Jacobin clubs, corresponding with that of the Jacobins at Paris, had been early established in almost all the principal towns of the level country; and as the spirit of the people in all those towns was essentially democratic, they found a ready reception in those heated enthusiasts.†

37. It was not the mere fumes of democracy which led the ardent spirits in the Swiss towns to embrace the cause of French propagandism. They had in view a deeper object, and proposed to themselves political and personal advantages of no small amount, by rendering French principles triumphant in their country. A republic, one and indivisible, on the model of that of France, was the object for which the democratic party in both countries incessantly strove; and they had clear views of personal aggrandisement in this attempt. The demagogues of Berne and Geneva at once perceived, that if this system were established, and the rights of the separate cantons extinguished, the rude mountaineers of the Valais and the Oberland would be no match for them, and that all Switzerland would soon fall into the same subjection to its chief towns, which France had already doneto Paris. The mountaineers were clear-sighted enough to see this danger; and for that reason they steadily resisted French principles, and resolutely held out for the old system of separate government

† The following is the population of the principal towns in Switzerland:—

Geneva, . . .	26,000	Soleure, . . .	4,000
Berne, . . .	18,000	Neuchâtel, . . .	5,000
Bâle, . . .	17,000	Vevay, . . .	4,500
Zurich, . . .	11,500	Coire, . . .	3,200
Lausanne, . . .	10,200	Glarus, . . .	4,000
St Gall, . . .	9,000	Tusis, . . .	3,000
Schaffhausen, . . .	7,500	Lugano, . . .	3,600
Herisau, . . .	7,000	Yverdon, . . .	2,500
Fribourg, . . .	6,000	Sion, . . .	3,000
Lucerne, . . .	6,500	Appenzell, . . .	3,200

\* "The Helvetii, a Gallic race, formerly illustrious from their troops and arms, now from the memory of their exploits."—TACITUS, *Hist.* l. 67.

in the different cantons, and a federal union. So firm was their resistance in many places, that, if the whole rural population had been equally clear upon it and united together, it is doubtful whether the French would ever have succeeded in subjugating the country.

38. But, unhappily the rural cantons themselves laboured under a cause of weakness which paralysed their efforts, and enabled the French effectually to insert the point of the wedge even into many of the most unsophisticated of the mountain districts. This weakness, the sad bequest of the thirst for exclusive power in former times, consisted in the political subjection of some cantons and districts to others. The chief defect in the political constitution of the Helvetic Confederacy was, that, with the usual jealousy of the possessors of power, they had refused to admit the conquered provinces to a participation of the privileges which they themselves enjoyed, and thereby sown the seeds of future dissension and disaffection between the different parts of their dominions. In this way, the Pays de Vaud was politically subject to the canton of Berne, the Italian bailiwicks to that of Uri, and some towns of Argovia, and Thurgovia to other cantons; while the peasants of Zurich, in addition to the absence of political privileges, were galled by a monopoly in the sale of their produce, which was justly complained of as oppressive. Yet the moderation and justice of the government of the senate of Berne were admitted even by its bitterest enemies; the economy of their administration had enabled them, with extremely light burdens, not only to meet all the expenses of the state, but to accumulate a large treasure for future emergencies; and the practical blessings of their rule were unequivocally demonstrated by the wellbeing of the peasantry and the density of the population—features rarely found in union, and which cannot coexist but under a paternal and beneficent system of administration.

39. The uniform system of the French revolutionary government, when they wish to make themselves masters of any country, was to excite a part of

the population, by the prospect of the extension of political power, against the other; to awaken democratic ambition by the offer of fraternal support. Having thus distracted the state by the intestine divisions of its parties, they soon found it an easy matter to triumph over both. The situation of the Swiss cantons, some of which held conquered provinces in subjection, and which varied extremely among each other in the extent to which the elective franchise was diffused through the people, offered a favourable prospect of undermining the patriotism of the inhabitants, and accomplishing the subjection of the whole by the adoption of this insidious system. The treasure of Berne, which really amounted to 20,000,000 francs (£800,000), but of which report had magnified the amount, offered an irresistible bait to the cupidity of the French Directory; and whatever arguments were adduced in favour of respecting the neutrality of that asylum of freedom, they were always met by the consideration of the immense relief which those accumulated savings of three centuries would afford to the finances of the republic.

40. The first spark of the revolutionary flame had been lighted in Switzerland in 1791, when many sincere and enthusiastic men, among whom was Colonel Laharpe, formerly preceptor to the Emperor Alexander, contributed by their publications to the growth of democratic principles. The patricians of Berne were the especial object of their attacks, and numerous had been the efforts made to induce the inhabitants of its territory to shake off the aristocratic yoke. But the success of their endeavours was for many years prevented by the catastrophe of 10th August, and the savage ferocity with which the Swiss guard were treated by the Parisian populace on that occasion, for no other crime than unshaken fidelity to their duty and their oaths. Barthélemy was sent to Berne as ambassador of France in September 1792, to counteract this tendency; and his efforts and address were not without success in allaying the general exasperation, and reviving those feelings of dis-

content which, in an especial manner, existed among the inhabitants of the subject-cantons. The government, however, persisted in a cautious system of neutrality—the wisest course which they could possibly have adopted, if supported by such a force as to cause it to be respected; but the most unfortunate when accompanied, as it was, by no military preparations to meet the coming danger.

41. The Swiss democrats formed a considerable party, formidable chiefly from their influence being concentrated in the great towns, where the powers of thought were more active, and the means of communication greater than in the rural districts. Zurich was the centre of their intrigues; and it was the great object of the revolutionists to counterbalance, by the influence of that city, the authority of Berne, at the head of which was Steiger, the chief magistrate of the confederacy. Ochs, grand tribune of Bale, a turbulent and ambitious demagogue, Pfeffr, son of one of the chief magistrates of Lucerne, and Colonel Weiss at Berne, formed a secret committee, the object of which was, by all possible means to bring about the downfall of the existing constitution, and the ascendancy of French influence in the whole confederacy. Their united efforts occasioned an explosion at Geneva in 1792, and threatened the liberties of all Switzerland; but the firmness of the government of Berne averted the danger: fourteen thousand militia speedily approached the menaced point; and the troops of the Convention retired before a nation determined to assert its independence.

42. The subjugation of Switzerland, however, continued a favourite object of French ambition; it had been resolved on by the Directory long before the treaty of Campo Formio. In July 1797, their envoy, Mengaud, was despatched to Berne to insist upon the dismissal of the English resident Wickham, and at the same time to set on foot intrigues with the democratic party, similar to those which had proved so successful in effecting the overthrow of the Venetian republic. By the prudent resolution of the English govern-

ment, who were desirous not to embroil the Helvetic Confederacy with their formidable neighbours, Wickham was withdrawn. Foiled in this attempt to involve the Swiss in a conflict, the Directory next ordered their troops on the frontier to take possession of that part of the territory of Bale which was subject to the jurisdiction of the cantons; but here, too, they were unsuccessful, for the Swiss government confined themselves to simple negotiations for so glaring a violation of existing treaties. But Napoleon, by his conduct in regard to the Valteline, struck a chord which soon vibrated with fatal effect throughout Switzerland, and, by rousing the spirit of democracy, prepared the subjugation of the country.

43. The country, consisting of five bailiwicks, and containing one hundred and sixty thousand souls, extending from the source of the Adda to its junction with the lake of Como, had been conquered by the Grisons from the dukes of Milan. Francis I. guaranteed to its inhabitants the enjoyment of their liberties; and it had been governed with justice and moderation, by a council of its own, for three centuries. Napoleon, however, perceived in the situation of this sequestered valley the means of beginning the disruption of the Helvetic Confederacy. Its proximity to the Milanese territory, where the revolutionary spirit was then furiously raging, and the common language which they spoke, rendered it probable that its inhabitants would rapidly imbibe the spirit of revolt against their German superiors; and, in order to sound their intentions, and foment the desire of independence, he, early in the summer of 1797, sent his aide-de-camp, Leclerc, to their cottages. The result was, that the inhabitants of the Valteline openly claimed their independence, rose in insurrection, hoisted the tricolor flag, and expelled the Swiss authorities. Napoleon, chosen during the plenitude of his power at Montebello as mediator between the contending parties, pronounced, on 10th October 1797, a decree which, instead of settling the disputed points between them, annexed the whole insurgent ter-

ritory to the Cisalpine Republic, thereby bereaving the ancient allies of France, during a time of profound peace, of a territory to them of great value, which they had enjoyed for three hundred years. This decree was professedly based on the principle of still more general application, "That no one people should be subjected to another people;"\* a principle which sounded somewhat strange in the mouth of the general of the great and ruling Republic.

44. This iniquitous proceeding, which openly encouraged every subject district in the Swiss Confederacy to declare its independence, was not lost upon the Valais, the Pays-de-Vaud, and all the other dependencies of the Republic. To increase the excitement, a large body of troops, under General Menard, was moved forward to the frontiers of these discontented provinces; and Napoleon, in his journey from Milan to Rastadt, took care to pass through those districts, and stop in those towns where the democratic spirit was known to be most violent. At Lausanne he was surrounded by the most ardent of the revolutionary party, and openly proclaimed as the restorer of their independence. A plan of operations was soon concerted with Ochs and Laharpe, the leaders of the new projects in that country. It was agreed that a republic, one and indivisible, should be erected, as that was considered more favourable to the interests of France, and the leading democrats in the towns, than the present federal union: that the Directory should commence by taking possession

\* Napoleon at the same time despatched an agent to negotiate with the republic of the Valais for a communication over the Simplon, through their territory, with the Cisalpine Republic. The Swiss government, however, had influence enough, by means of Barthélemy, who at that period was a member of the Directory, to obtain a negative on that attempt. The French general, upon this, had recourse to the usual engine of revolution; he stirred up, by his secret emissaries, the lower Valaisans to revolt against the upper Valaisans, by whom they were held in subjection; and the inhabitants, assured of his support, and encouraged by the successful result of the revolt of the Valteline, declared their independence.

of Bienne, Erguel, and Munsterthal, which were dependencies of the bishopric of Bâle: that all the Italian bailiwicks should be stimulated to follow the example of the Pays-de-Vaud in throwing off the yoke of the other cantons; that the French Republic should declare itself the protector of all the districts and individuals who were disposed to shake off the authority of the aristocratic cantons, and that Mengaud should encourage the formation of clubs, inundate the country with revolutionary writings, and promise speedy succours in men and money. At Berne, Napoleon asked a question of sinister import, as to the amount of its treasure; and though the senator to whom it was addressed prudently reduced its amount to 10,000,000 francs, or £400,000, this was sufficient to induce that ambitious man, who was intent on procuring funds for his Eastern expedition, to urge the Directory to prosecute their invasion of Switzerland.

45. The first act of open hostility against the Helvetic league was the seizure of the country of Erguel by five battalions, drawn from the army of the Rhine, on the 15th December. This event, accompanied as it was by an alarming fermentation, and soon an open insurrection in the Pays-de-Vaud, produced the utmost consternation in Switzerland; and a diet assembled at Aarau to deliberate concerning the public exigencies. This act of hostility was followed, two days after, by an intimation from Mengaud, the French envoy, "that the members of the governments of Berne and Fribourg should answer personally for the safety of the persons and property of such of the inhabitants of the Pays-de-Vaud as might address themselves to the French Republic to obtain the restitution of their rights." As the senate of Berne seemed resolved to defend their country, Mengaud, early in January, summoned them instantly to declare their intentions. At the same time, General Menard crossed Savoy with ten thousand men, from the Army of Italy, and established his headquarters at Ferney, near Geneva; while Monnier, who commanded the troops in the Cisalpine Republic,

advanced to the frontiers of the Italian bailiwicks, to support the expected insurrection on the southern side of the Alps. These threatening measures brought matters to a crisis in the Pays-de-Vaud; the standard of insurrection was openly hoisted, trees of liberty were planted, the Swiss authorities expelled, and the "*Leman Republic*" was solemnly recognised by the French Directory.

46. These iniquitous measures against the Swiss Confederacy were all adopted by the government, with the concurrence and by the advice of Napoleon. He was the great centre of correspondence with the malcontents of Helvetia; and by his counsel, assistance, and directions, was kept alive that spirit of disaffection which ultimately proved fatal to the independence of the con-

federacy. In concert, at Paris, with Laharpe, Ochs, and the other leaders of the insurrection, he prepared a general plan of a revolt against the Swiss government. So little did the Directory deem it necessary to conceal either their own or his share in these intrigues, that they openly avowed it. In a journal published under their immediate superintendence, it was publicly declared that, with the assistance of Napoleon, they were engaged in a general plan for the remodelling the Helvetic constitution; and that they took under their especial protection the patriots of the Pays-de-Vaud, and all who were engaged in the great struggle for equality of privileges and French fraternisation throughout the whole of Switzerland.\*

47. These violent steps, which threat-

\* In the *Ami des Lois*, a journal entirely under the direction of Barras, there appeared at this period the following article: "Several French travellers have been sent within these few days to Switzerland, with instructions to observe the singular variety in the Helvetic governments, their division into thirteen republics, and their distribution into sovereign and subject states. The same travellers are directed to consider the inconveniences likely to arise from the accumulation, so near the French frontiers, of the leaders of so many parties who have been vanquished in the different crises of the Revolution. They are authorised to declare that France is particularly the ally of all the conquered or subject people, and of all who are in a state of opposition to their governments, all of which are notoriously sold to England. They are directed, in an especial manner, to observe the situation of Geneva, which is eminently republican, and friendly to France. M. Talleyrand is much occupied with the political state of Switzerland; he has frequent conferences with General Buonaparte, Colonel Laharpe, and the Grand Tribune Ochs. The latter distinguished character, who is received at all the public fêtes on the same terms as the foreign ambassadors, is occupied, under the auspices of the Directory, and in concert with the persons whom they have appointed to share their labours, with a general remodelling of the ancient Helvetic constitution. In a word, a revolutionary explosion is hourly expected on the two extremities of Switzerland, in the Grisons and the Pays-de-Vaud."

—*Ami des Lois*, 11th Dec. 1797.

The direction which Napoleon took of these intrigues is abundantly proved by his *Confidential Correspondence*. On December 12, 1797, Ochs addressed the following note to that general: "The material points to consider are, whether we are to continue the federal union which is so agreeable to Austria, or

establish unity, the only means of rendering Switzerland the permanent ally of France. I perceive, with the highest satisfaction, that you agree with the Swiss patriots on this point. But the result of our conferences and correspondence is, that it is indispensable that we should have a convention, supported by a French *corps d'armée* in the immediate neighbourhood. May I therefore be permitted to insinuate to my friends, in guarded phrases, that they will be supported? May I assure the patriots of Zurich that the amnesty demanded will be extended to the inhabitants of Kaiffa; that France will make good its incontestable rights to the Val Moutier, the Val d'Erguel, and the town of Bienne; that she will guarantee the liberties of the Pays-de-Vaud, and that the Italian bailiwicks may present petitions, and fraternise with the Cisalpine republic? Bâle revolutionised might propose to the Italian bailiwicks, the Pays-de-Vaud, and the other subject states, to send deputies to a national convention; if matters were only brought that length, there can be no doubt that the remainder of Switzerland would come into their measures. But it is indispensable that the agents of France should publish revolutionary writings, and declare everywhere that you take under your especial protection all who labour for the regeneration of their country. This declaration, however, may be made either publicly or confidentially; I shall be happy to prepare a sketch of such a confidential letter, if you prefer that method."

It would appear that Napoleon had not at once replied to this letter: for, six days afterwards, Ochs again wrote to him: "I wrote to you on the 12th, and begged to know to which of the alternatives proposed in my letter the patriots are to look. Meanwhile, they are preparing, but I am much afraid they will do more harm than good; they will probably effect a half revolution only, which will be speed-



ened the whole confederacy with dissolution, excited the deepest alarm in the Swiss Diet, assembled at Arau. This was increased by a note addressed by Mengaud, which declared that, if the Austrians entered the Grisons, the French would immediately occupy the canton of Berne. The most violent debates, meantime, took place in the senate of that canton, as to the course which should be adopted. In order to appease the public discontents, they passed a decree by which the principal towns and districts in the canton were empowered to elect fifty deputies to sit in the legislature. This example was immediately followed by the cantons of Zurich, Fribourg, Luzern, Soleure, and Schaffhausen. But this measure met with the usual fate of all concessions yielded under the influence of fear, to revolutionary ambition; it displayed weakness without evincing firmness, and encouraged audacity without awakening gratitude.

48. Convinced at length by the elopement, and leave matters worse than before." On the 2d December, Bacher, the revolutionary agent for the Grisons, wrote to Napoleon: "The explosion which we have so long expected has at length taken place; the chiefs and members of the Grey league have been deposed, and placed in confinement at Coire; the general assembly of the people has been convoked. Their first act has been to send a deputation to express to you, citizen-general, the profound sense which the Congress entertain of your powerful mediation, and to give you all the information which you can desire." On the 21st December, Ochs wrote to Napoleon: "My letters have at length informed me, that the French troops are in possession of the bishopric of Bâle. I am transported with joy on the occasion; the last hour of the aristocracy appears to have struck. Listen to what one of your agents writes to me: 'Have only a little patience, and full justice will be done; war will be waged with the oligarchy and the aristocracy; government established in its primitive simplicity, universal equality will prevail, and then France will indeed live on terms of amity with its Swiss neighbours.'" On the 17th February 1798, the revolutionary deputies of the Pays-de-Vaud presented the following address to Napoleon: "The deputies of the Pays-de-Vaud, whom the generous protection of the Directory has so powerfully aided, desire to lay their homage at your feet. They owe it the more, because it was your passage through their country which electrified the inhabitants, and was the precursor of the thunderbolt which has overwhelmed the oligarchy. The Helveticans

quence of Steiger, that resistance was the only course which remained, the senate of Berne ordered the militia, twenty thousand strong, to be called out, and sent Colonel Weiss, with a small force, to take possession of Lausanne. But this officer had not troops sufficient to accomplish the object; the insurgents instantly invited General Menard to enter the territory of the confederacy, and the French battalions quickly poured down from the Jura. Upon his approach, the revolution broke out at Lausanne; the Swiss from Berne were driven out, and Menard, advancing, summoned Weiss instantly and entirely to evacuate the Pays-de-Vaud. Two soldiers of the escort of the flag of truce were killed; and although the senate of Berne offered to deliver up the men who had committed this aggression, Menard obstinately insisted upon construing it into a declaration of war, and established his headquarters at Lausanne. Meanwhile Ochs and Mengaud, the

swore, when they beheld the Liberator of Italy, to recover their rights." Brune also corresponded with Napoleon during the whole campaign in Switzerland. In one of his letters, on 17th March 1798, he says, "I have studied your political conduct throughout your Italian campaign; I follow your labours to the best of my ability; according to your advice, I spare no methods of conciliation—but at the same time am fully prepared to act with force, and the genius of liberty has seconded my enterprises. I am, like you, surrounded by rascals: I am constantly paring their nails, and taking the public treasures from them." Lastly, Napoleon no sooner heard of the invasion of the Pays-de-Vaud, than he wrote to the Directors of the Cisalpine republic in these terms: "The Pays-de-Vaud and the different cantons of Switzerland are animated with the same spirit of liberty: we know that the Italian bailiwicks share in the same disposition; but we deem it indispensable that at this moment they should declare their sentiments, and manifest a desire to be united to the Cisalpine republic. We desire in consequence that you will avail yourselves of all the means in your power to spread in your neighbourhood the spirit of liberty; circulate liberal writings; and excite a movement which may accelerate the general revolution of Switzerland. We have given orders to General Monnier to approach the frontiers of the Italian bailiwicks with his troops, to support any movements of the insurgents; he has received orders to concert measures with you for the attainment of an object equally important to both republics."

—HARD. v. 230.

leaders of the democratic party, succeeded in revolutionising all the plain or northern part of Switzerland, as far as the foot of the mountains; the territories of Zurich, Bâle, and Argovie, quickly hoisted the tricolor flag, and convulsions took place in the Lower Valais, Fribourg, Soleure, and St-Gall. To such a height of audacity did the insurgents arrive, that they hoisted that emblem of revolution at Arau, without the Diet being able to overawe them by their presence, or prevent them by their authority.

49. Driven to desperation by these insurrections, the senate of Berne tardily, but resolutely, resolved upon resistance. They intimated to the French government the concessions made to the popular party; but the Directory declared that nothing would be deemed satisfactory unless the whole ancient constitution was overturned, and a provisional government of five revolutionists established in its stead. The senate, finding their ruin resolved on, issued a proclamation calling on the shepherds of the Alps to defend their country; Steiger repaired in person to the army to put himself under the orders of d'Erlach, and the most energetic measures to repel the danger were adopted. A minority, unworthy of the name of Swiss, abdicated, and agreed to all the propositions of the French general; not intimidated by the terror of the Republican arms, but deluded by the contagion of its principles. Desirous still, if possible, to avoid proceeding to extremities, the senate addressed a note to the Directory, in which they complained of the irruption of the French into the Pays-de-Vaud, and offered to disband their militia if the invaders were withdrawn. This drew forth from the enemy a full statement of their designs. No longer pretending to confine themselves to the support of the districts in a state of revolution, or the securing for them the privileges of citizens, they insisted on overturning the whole constitution of the country, forming twenty-two cantons instead of thirteen, and creating a republic, one and indivisible, with a Directory, formed in all respects on the model of that of

France. At the same time, Mengaud published at Arau a declaration, that "all Swiss who should refuse to obey the commands, or follow the standards of the senate of Berne, would be taken under the immediate protection of the French Republic."

50. But the Swiss, on their side, were not idle. The glorious example of their ancestors was emulated by the simple inhabitants of the mountain districts. The Oberland *en masse* flew to arms; the shepherds descended from the edges of their glaciers; every valley mustered its little band of men; and the accumulated streams, uniting like the torrents of the Alps, formed a body of nearly twenty thousand combatants on the frontiers of Berne. The small cantons followed the glorious example; Uri, Unterwalden, Schwytz, and Soleure, sent forth their contingents with alacrity; the inmost recesses of the Alps teemed with warlike activity, and the peasants joyfully set out from their cottages, not doubting that the triumphs of Morat, Laupen, and Granson, were about to be renewed in the holy war of independence. The women fanned the generous flame: they not only encouraged their husbands and brothers to swell the bands of their countrymen, but themselves in many instances joined the ranks, resolved to share in the perils and glories of the strife. Almost everywhere the inhabitants of the mountains remained faithful to their country; the citizens of the towns and plains alone were deluded by the fanaticism of revolution.

51. General d'Erlach, who commanded the Swiss troops, had formed his army into three divisions, consisting of about seven thousand men each. The first, under General Andermatt, occupied the space between Fribourg and the classic shores of the Lake of Morat; the second, under Grafenried, was encamped between the town of Buren and the bridge over the river Thiels; the third, under Colonel Watterville, was in communication with the preceding, and covered Soleure. Had the Swiss army instantly attacked, they might possibly have overwhelmed the two divisions of the French troops, which were so far

separated as to be incapable of supporting each other; the multitude of waverers in Switzerland would probably have been decided, by such an event, to join the armies of their country; and thus the confederacy might have been enabled to maintain its ground till the distant armies of Austria advanced to its relief. But, from a dread of precipitating hostilities while yet accommodation was practicable, this opportunity, notwithstanding the most urgent representations of Steiger, was allowed to escape, and General Brune, who at this time replaced Menard in the command, instantly concentrated his forces, and sent forward an envoy to Berne to propose terms of accommodation. By this artifice he both induced the enemy to relax their efforts, and gained time to complete his own preparations. The senate meanwhile fluctuated between the enthusiasm of the peasantry to resist the enemy, and their well-founded apprehensions of engaging in such a contest. At length Brune, having completed his preparations, declared that nothing would satisfy the Directory but the immediate disbanding of the whole army; upon which the senate at length authorised d'Erlach to commence hostilities, and notice was sent to the French commander that the armistice would not be renewed.\*

52. The French general, however, resolved to anticipate the enemy. For this purpose, the troops were moved before daybreak on the 2d March towards Soleure and Fribourg, where they had many partisans among the revolutionary classes. A battalion of

Swiss, after a heroic resistance, was cut to pieces at the advanced posts; the mountaineers everywhere evinced the utmost resolution; but the towns were far from imitating this gallant example. Soleure surrendered at the first summons, and Fribourg, after a show of resistance, did the same. These great successes, gained evidently by concert with the party who distracted Switzerland, not only gave the invaders a secure bridge over the Aar, but, by uncovering the right of the Swiss army, compelled the retreat of the whole. This retrograde movement, immediately following these treacherous surrenders, produced the most fatal effect. The peasants conceived they were betrayed: some disbanded and retired, boiling with rage, to their mountains; others mutinied and murdered their officers; nothing but the efforts of Steiger and d'Erlach brought any part of the troops back to their colours, and then it was discovered that half their number had disappeared during the confusion. This unlooked-for piece of good fortune was ably taken advantage of by the French general. While the Swiss troops, at this critical moment, were undergoing so ruinous a diminution, the French were vigorously following up their successes. Before daybreak on the 5th, a general attack was commenced on the Helvetic position. General Pigeon, with fifteen thousand men, passed the Sarine, and by a sudden assault made himself master of the post of Neueneck, on the left of the army; but the Swiss, though only eight thousand strong, under Graffearied, having returned to the charge, after a desperate conflict drove his veteran bands back, with the loss of eighteen pieces of cannon, and two thousand men, and amidst loud shouts regained the position they had occupied in the morning.

53. But while fortune thus smiled on the arms of freedom on the left, a fatal disaster occurred on the right. After the fall of Soleure, the division of Schwamembourg moved forward on the road to Berne, and, after an obstinate struggle, dislodged the Swiss advanced guard of four thousand men placed in the village of Frauenbrunnen. After

\* The ultimatum of the French general was in these terms:—"The government of Berne is to recall the troops which it has sent into the other cantons, and disband its militia. There shall forthwith be established a provisional government, differing in form and composition from the one which exists; within a month after the establishment of that provisional government, the primary assemblies shall be convoked; the principle of political liberty and equality of rights assumed as the base of the new constitution, and declared the fundamental law of the confederacy; all persons detained for political offences shall be set at liberty. The senate of Berne shall instantly resign its authority into the hands of the provisional government."—HARD. v. 375, 376.

this success, he pushed on till his advance was arrested by the corps commanded by d'Erlach in person, seven thousand strong, posted with its right resting on a ridge of rocks, and its left on marshes and woods. But the strength of this position, where formerly the Swiss had triumphed over the Sire of Coucy, proved inadequate to arrest the immense force which now assailed it. The great superiority of the French, who had no less than sixteen thousand veteran troops in the field, enabled them to scale the rocks and turn his right, while dense battalions, supported by a numerous artillery, pressed upon the centre and left. After a brave resistance, the Swiss were forced to retreat; but they did so in the most leisurely and regular manner. In the course of it, they made a heroic stand at Granholz. The extraordinary nature of the war there appeared in the strongest colours. The mountaineers, though defeated, faced about with the utmost resolution; old men, women, children, joined their ranks; the place of the dead and the wounded was instantly supplied by crowds of every age and sex, who rushed forward with inextinguishable devotion to the scene of danger. At length the numbers and discipline of the French prevailed over the undaunted resolution of their opponents; the motley crowd was borne backwards at the point of the bayonet to the heights in front of Berne. Here d'Erlach renewed the combat for the fifth time that day, and for a while arrested their progress; but the cannon and cavalry of the French having thrown his undisciplined troops into confusion, they were driven into

the town, and the cannon of the ramparts alone prevented the victors from following in their steps. The city capitulated the same night, and the troops dispersed in every direction.\*

54. Deplorable excesses followed the dissolution of the Swiss army. The cry of treachery, so commonly raised by the unfortunate, arose in their ranks. The brave d'Erlach was massacred by his deluded soldiers at Munzingen, as he was endeavouring to reach the small cantons. Steiger, after undergoing incredible hardships, escaped by the mountains of Oberland into Bavaria. Numbers of the bravest officers fell victims to the fury of the troops; and the democratic party, by spreading the belief that they had been betrayed by their leaders, occasioned the destruction of the few men who could have sustained the sinking fortunes of their country. The French, immediately after their entrance into Berne, made themselves masters of its treasure, the chief incentive to the war. Its exact amount was never ascertained, but the most moderate estimate made it 20,000,000 francs, or £800,000 sterling. The arsenal, containing 300 pieces of cannon, and 40,000 muskets, the stores, the archives, all became the prey of the victors. The tree of liberty was planted, the democratic constitution promulgated, and a Directory appointed. Several senators put themselves to death at beholding the destruction of their country; many died of grief at the sight.†

55. The fall of Berne was soon followed by an explosion of the revolutionary volcano over great part of Switzerland. The people of Zurich and Lu-

\* During all these negotiations and combats with the republic of Berne, Brune corresponded confidentially with, and took directions from Napoleon. On the 8th February he wrote from Lausanne to him:—"Berne has made some flourishes before my arrival, but since that period it has been chiefly occupied with remodelling its constitution; anticipating thus the stroke which the Directory had prepared for it. To-morrow I shall advance to Morat, and from thence make you acquainted, my general, with our military and political situation." Three days afterwards he again wrote:—"The letter of citizen Mengaud, affixed to the coffee-houses of Berne, has awakened the oligarchs; their battalions are on foot; nothing less than the

12,000 men which you have demanded from the army of the Rhine for this expedition can insure its success. The presence of an armed force is indispensable."—*Corresp. Conf. de Nap.* iv. 511, 512; and *HARD.* v. 355, 356.

† Brune announced the capture of Berne to Napoleon in these terms:—"From the moment that I found myself in a situation to act, I assembled all my strength to strike like lightning; for Switzerland is a vast barrack, and I had everything to fear from a war of posts. I avoided it by negotiations, which I knew were not sincere on the part of the Bernese, and since that I have followed the plan which I traced out to you. I think always that I am still under your command."—*Corresp. Conf.* iv. 531.

zern rose in open insurrection, dispossessed the authorities, and hoisted the tricolor flag; the Lower Valaisans revolted against the Upper, and, by the aid of the French, made themselves masters of the castellated cliffs of Sion. Almost all the level parts of Switzerland joined the innovating party. They were not long in tasting the bitter fruits of such conduct. Enormous contributions, pillage of every sort, attended the steps of the French armies; even the altar of Notre-Dame des Ermites, in the abbey of Einsiedeln, the object of peculiar veneration, was despoiled. The generals received prodigious gifts out of the plunder;\* the troops were clothed at the expense of their democratic allies; and the scourge of commissaries, as in Belgium and Italy, following in the rear of the armies, exhibited, by the severity and enormity of their exactions, a painful contrast to the lenity and indulgence of their former government.† The Swiss revolutionists were horror-struck at these exactions, and all persons of respectable character, who had been misled by the frenzy of democracy, seeing that the independence of Switzerland was destroyed, threw up their employments in the service of the invaders, and lamented in silence the despotic yoke they had brought on their country.‡

56. A new constitution was speedily framed for the confederacy, formed on the basis of that established in France in 1795, which was proclaimed at Arau on 12th April. The barriers of nature, the divisions formed by mountains, lakes, and torrents; the varieties of

character, occupation, language, and descent, were disregarded, and the republic, one and indivisible, was proclaimed. Five directors, entirely in the interest of France, were appointed, with the absolute disposal of the executive and military power of the state; and by a law, worthy of Tiberius, whoever spoke even in a disrespectful manner of the new authorities was punishable with death. Geneva at the same time fell a prey to the ambition of the all-engrossing Republic. This celebrated city had long been an object of their desire; and the divisions by which it was now distracted afforded a favourable opportunity for accomplishing the object. The democratic party loudly demanded a union with that power, and a commission was appointed by the senate to report upon the subject. Their report, however, was unfavourable; upon which General Gerard, who commanded a small corps in the neighbourhood, took possession of the town and the senate, with the bayonet at their throats, formally agreed to a union with the conquering Republic.

57. But while the rich and populous part of Switzerland was thus falling a prey to the revolutionary fervour of the times, a more generous spirit animated the shepherds of the small cantons. The people in the mountain districts of Schwytz, Uri, Unterwalden, Glarus, Sargans, Turgovie, and St-Gall, rejected the new constitution. The inhabitants of these romantic and sequestered regions, communicating little with the rest of the world, ardently attached to their liberties, proud of their heroic struggles in defence of ancient freedom,

\* That of General Brune amounted to 800,000 francs, or £32,000 sterling.—LACRETELLE, xiv. 210.

† The French imposed a tax of 15,000,000 francs, or £600,000, on their democratic "allies" in Berne, Fribourg, Soleure, Luzern, and Zurich—a sum far greater than ever had been raised before in those simple countries in ten years. This was independent of 19,000,000 francs, or £760,000, already paid by those cantons in bills of exchange and cash, and of 5,000,000 francs, or £200,000 worth of articles taken from the arsenals. Such were the first fruits of republican fraternisation.

‡ The total plunder exacted from the canton of Berne alone by the French, in 1798,

amounted to the enormous sum of 42,280,000 francs, or nearly £1,700,000. The particulars are given by Hardenberg as follows:—

	Francs.
Treasure, . . . . .	7,000,000
Ingots, . . . . .	3,700,000
Contributions, . . . . .	4,000,000
Sale of tithes, . . . . .	2,000,000
Wheat seized, . . . . .	17,140,000
Wine, . . . . .	1,440,000
Artillery and stores in arsenal, . . . . .	7,000,000

Total, 42,280,000

or £1,688,000.—JOMINI, *Histoire des Guerres de la Révolution*, x. 336-339: and HARDENBERG, *Mémoires d'un Homme d'Etat*, vi. 130, 131.

and inheriting all the dauntless intrepidity of their forefathers, were not to be seduced by the glittering but deceitful offers which had deluded their richer and more civilised brethren. They clearly perceived that, when once they were merged in the Helvetic Union, their influence would be destroyed by the multitude who would share their privileges; that they themselves, rude and simple, would soon fall under the dominion of the cities, with whose wealth and ambition they were wholly disqualified to contend; and that, in the wreck of all their ancient institutions, the independence of their common country could not long be maintained. They saw that the insidious promises of the French envoys had terminated only in ruinous exactions and tyrannical rule, and that irreligion, sacrilege, and infidelity, universally marked the invaders' steps. Every day they had proofs of the repentance, when too late, of the cantons who had invited the enemy into their bosom; and multitudes, escaping from the theatre of French exactions, fled into their secluded valleys, stimulating their inhabitants to resistance by the recital of their oppressions, and offering to aid them with their arms. Animated by these feelings, the small cantons unanimously rejected the new constitution. "We have lived," said they, "for several centuries, under a republic based on liberty and equality; possessing no other goods in the world but our religion and our independence, no other riches but our herds, our first duty is to defend them."

58. The clergy in these valleys had unbounded influence over their flocks. They were justly horror-struck at the total irreligion which was manifested by the French armies in every part of the world, and the savage war which they waged in an especial manner against the Catholic faith. The priests traversed the ranks, with the crucifix in their hands, to exhort the peasants to die as martyrs, if they could not preserve the independence and religion of their country. "It is for you," they exclaimed, "to be faithful to the cause of God; you have received from Him gifts a thousand times more precious than gold

or riches—the freedom and faith of your ancestors. A peril far more terrible than heresy now assails you; impiety itself is at your gates; the enemy marches covered with the spoils of your churches; you will no longer be the sons of William Tell if you abandon the faith of your fathers; you are now called on not only to combat as heroes, but to die as martyrs." The women showed the same ardour as at Berne; numbers joined the ranks with their husbands; others carried provisions and ammunition for the combatants; all were engaged in the holy cause. The tricolor flag became the object of equal hatred with the Austrian standard five centuries before; the tree of liberty recalled the pole of Geleer; all the recollections of William Tell mingled with the new-born enthusiasm of the moment. "We do not fear," said the shepherds of Uri, with touching simplicity, "the armies of France; we are four hundred, and if that is not sufficient, four hundred more in our valley are ready to march to the defence of their country." Animated by such feelings, the peasants confidently hoped for victory; the spots on which the triumphs of Näfels, Laupen, and Morgarten were to be renewed, were already pointed out with exulting anticipations of success; and the shepherds of a few cantons, who could not bring ten thousand men into the field, fearlessly entered the lists with a power beneath which the Austrian monarchy had sunk to the ground.

59. Aloys Reding was the soul of the confederacy. Brave, active, and energetic, he inherited all the ardent spirit, and devoted enthusiasm, which in its best days had laid the foundation of Helvetic independence. Descended from the ancient founders of the republic, related to numbers who had perished on the Place du Carrousel on the 10th August, an old antagonist of the French in the Spanish war, he was filled with the strongest enmity at that grasping tyranny which, under the name of freedom, threatened to extinguish all the liberties of the civilised world. But he was not a mere enthusiast in the cause of freedom; he brought to its support military talents of a very high order,

and a thorough practical acquaintance with modern warfare. His military knowledge and long experience made him fully aware of the perilous nature of the contest in which his countrymen were engaged, but he flattered himself that, amidst the precipices and woods of the Alps, a Vendean war might be maintained till the German nations were roused to their relief; forgetting that a few valleys, whose whole population was not eighty thousand, could hardly hope for success in a contest in which three millions of Bretons and Vendeans had failed.

60. The peasants were justly apprehensive of the war being carried into their own territories, as the ravages of the soldiers or the torch of the incendiary might destroy in a moment the work of centuries of labour. Reding, too, was in hopes that, by assailing the French troops when dispersed over a long line, he might gain a decisive success in the outset of the campaign; and accordingly it was determined to make an immediate attack on Luzern and Zurich. A body of four thousand men marched upon the former town, which surrendered by capitulation; and at it the Swiss got possession of a few pieces of cannon, which they made a good use of in the mountain warfare to which they were soon reduced. No sooner had they made themselves masters of the city, than, like the Vendeans, they flocked to the churches to return thanks to Heaven for their success. Meanwhile two other columns threatened Zurich, the one from Rapperswyl, the other from Richtenswyl; but here they found that the French, now thoroughly alarmed, were advancing in great force; and that, abandoning all thoughts of offensive warfare, it was necessary to concentrate all their forces for the defence of their own valleys. In effect, Schawembourg, with one brigade, surprised three thousand peasants at Zug, and made them all prisoners; while General Nouvion, after a bloody conflict, won the passage of the Reuss at Mellingen. He then divided his men into two divisions, one of which, after an obstinate battle, drove the peasants back into Richtenswyl; while the other, after a de-

perate struggle, forced the column from Rapperswyl into the defile of Kusnacht.

61. After these disasters, the canton of Zug, which was now overrun by French troops, accepted the new constitution. But Schwytz was still unsubdued; its little army of three thousand men resolved to defend their country, or perish in the attempt. They took post, under Reding, at MORGARTEN, already immortalised in the wars of Helvetic independence. At daybreak the French appeared, more than double their force, descending the hills to the attack. They instantly advanced to meet them, and, running across the plain, encountered their adversaries before they had come to the bottom of the slope. The shock was irresistible; the French were borne backwards to the summit of the ridge, and after a furious conflict, which lasted the whole day, the peasants remained masters of the contested ground. Fresh reinforcements came up on both sides during the night, and the struggle was renewed next day with doubtful success. The coolness and skill of the Swiss marksmen counterbalanced the immense superiority of force, and the greater experience and rapidity of movement, on the part of their adversaries; but, in spite of all their efforts, they were unable to gain a decisive success over the invaders. The rocks, the woods, the thickets, were bristling with armed men; every cottage became a post of defence, every meadow a scene of carnage, every stream was dyed with blood. Darkness put an end to the contest, while the mountaineers were still unsubdued; but they received intelligence during the night which rendered a longer continuance of the struggle hopeless.

62. The inhabitants of Uri and Unterwalden had been driven into their valleys; a French corps was rapidly marching in their rear upon Schwytz, where none but women remained to defend the passes; the auxiliaries of Sargans and Glarus had submitted to the invaders. Slowly and reluctantly the men of Schwytz were brought to yield to inexorable necessity; a resolution not to submit till two-thirds of the canton had fallen was at first carried by

acclamation; but at length they yielded to the persuasions of an enlightened ecclesiastic and the brave Reding, who represented the hopelessness of any further contest, and agreed to a convention, by which they were to accept the constitution, and be allowed to enjoy the use of their arms, their religion, and their property, and the French troops were to be withdrawn from their frontier. The other small cantons soon followed their example, and peace was for a time restored to that part of Switzerland.

63. The same checkered fortune attended the arms of the Swiss in the Valais. The brave inhabitants of the rocky, pine-clad mountains which guard the sources of the Rhone, descended from Leuk to Sion, whence they expelled the French garrison, and pursued them as far as St Maurice, near the Lake of Geneva. Here, however, they were assailed by a column of the Republicans, on their march to Italy, and driven back towards the Upper Valais. An obstinate conflict ensued at the bridge of La Marge, in front of Sion; twice the Republicans were repulsed; even the Cretins, seeming to have recovered their intellect amidst the animation of the affray, behaved with devoted courage. At length, however, the post was forced, and the town carried by escalade; the peasants, despairing of success, retired to their mountains, and the new constitution was proclaimed without opposition, amidst deserted and smoking ruins. A temporary breathing-time from hostilities followed these bloody defeats; but it was a period of bitter suffering and humiliation to Switzerland. Forty thousand men lived at free quarters upon the inhabitants; the requisitions for the pay, clothing, and equipment of these hard taskmasters proved a sad contrast to the illusions of hope which had seduced the patriotism of its urban population. The rapacity and exactions of the commissaries, and inferior authorities, exceeded even the cruel spoliation of the Directory; and the warmest supporters of the democratic party sighed when they beheld the treasures, the accumulation of ages, and the warlike stores, the provident

savings of unsubdued generations, sent off, under a powerful guard, to France, never to return. In vain the revolutionary authorities of Switzerland, now alive to the tyranny they had brought on their country, protested against the spoliation, and affixed their seals to the treasures which were to be carried off; they were instantly broken by the French commissaries; and a proclamation of the Directory informed the inhabitants that they were a conquered nation, and must submit to the lot of the vanquished.\*

64. All the public property, stores, and treasures of the cantons were soon declared prize by the French authorities, the liberty of the press was extinguished, a vexatious system of police introduced, and those magistrates who showed the slightest regard for the liberties of their country were dismissed without trial or investigation. The ardent democrats, who had joined the French party in the commencement of the troubles, were now the foremost to exclaim against their rapacity, and lament their own weakness in having ever lent an ear to their promises. But it was all in vain. More subservient Directors were placed by the French authorities at the head of affairs, in lieu of those who had resigned in disgust; and an alliance offensive and defensive was concluded at Paris between the two republics, which bound Switzerland to furnish a contingent of troops, and to submit to the formation of two military roads through the Alps, one to Italy, and one to Suabia—conditions which, as Jomini justly observes, were worse for Switzerland than an annexation to

\* The rapacity of the French commissaries, who followed in the rear of the armies, soon made the Swiss regret even the spoliations of Brune and their first conquerors. Lecarlier levied 100,000 crowns in Fribourg, and 800,000 francs in Berne; and as the public treasure was exhausted, the effects of 800 of the richest families were taken in payment, and the principal senators sent as prisoners to the citadel of Besançon till the contribution was paid. He was succeeded by Rappinat, whose exactions were still more intolerable. He levied a fresh contribution of 6,000,000 francs on Berne; on Zurich, Fribourg, and Soleure, of 7,000,000; 750,000 francs were taken from six abbeys alone. — HARD. VI. 180, 181.



France, as they imposed upon it all the burdens and dangers of war, without either its advantages or its glories.

65. The discontents arising from these circumstances were accumulating on all sides, when the imposition of an oath to the new constitution brought matters to a crisis in the small cantons. All took it with the utmost reluctance; but the shepherds of Unterwalden unanimously declared they would rather perish; and thither the most determined of the men of Schwytz and Uri flocked, to sell their lives dearly in defence of their country. But resistance was hopeless. Eight thousand French embarked at Luzern, and landed at Stanz, on the eastern side; while the like number crossed the beech-clad ridge of the Brunig, and descended by the lovely lakes of Lungern and Sarnen, at the western extremity of the valley. Oppressed by such overwhelming forces, the peasants no longer hoped for success; an honourable death was the only object of their wishes. In their despair they observed little design, and preserved hardly any discipline; yet such is the force of mere native valour, that for several days it enabled three thousand shepherds to keep at bay above sixteen thousand of the bravest troops of France. Every hedge, every thicket, every cottage, was obstinately contested; the dying crawled into the hottest of the fire; the women and children threw themselves upon the enemy's bayonets; the grey-haired raised their feeble hands against the invaders; but what could heroism and devotion achieve against such desperate odds? Slowly, but steadily, the French columns forced their way through the valley, the flames of the houses, the massacre of the inhabitants, marking their steps. The beautiful village of Stanz, entirely built of wood, was soon consumed; seventy peasants, with their curate at their head, perished in the flames of the church. Two hundred auxiliaries from Schwytz, arriving too late to prevent the massacre, rushed into the thickest of the fight; and, after slaying double their own number of the enemy, perished to the last man. Night at length drew its veil over these scenes

of horror; but the fires from the burning villages still threw a lurid light over the cliffs of the Engelberg; and long after the rosy tint of evening had ceased to tinge the glaciers of the Titlis, the glare of the conflagration illuminated the summit of the mountain.

66. These tragical events were little calculated to induce other states to follow the example of the Swiss in calling in the aid of the French democracy. The inhabitants of the Grisons, who had felt the shocks of the revolutionary earthquake, took counsel from the disasters of their brethren in the Forest Cantons, and invoking the aid of Austria, guaranteed by ancient treaties, succeeded in preserving their independence and ancient institutions. Seven thousand Imperialists entered Coire in the middle of October; and spreading through the valley of the Rhine, already occupied those posts which were destined to be the scene of such sanguinary conflicts in the succeeding campaign. The French, on their part, augmented rather than diminished the force with which they occupied Switzerland; and it was already apparent that, in the next conflict between these gigantic powers, the Alps would become the principal theatre of their strife.

67. In this unprovoked attack upon Switzerland, the Directory committed as great a fault in political wisdom as in moral duty. The neutrality of that country was a better defence to France, on its south-eastern frontier, than either the Rhine or the iron barrier on its north-western. The Allies could never venture to violate the neutrality of the Helvetic Confederacy, lest they should throw its warlike population into the arms of France; no armies were required for that frontier, and the whole disposable forces of the state could be turned to the Rhine and the Maritime Alps. In offensive operations, the advantage was equally apparent. The French, possessing the line of the Rhine, with its numerous fortifications, had the best possible base for their operations in Germany; the fortresses of Piedmont gave them the same advantage in Italy; while the great mass of the Alps, occupied by a neutral power,

rendered their conquests, pushed forward in either of these directions, secure from an attack in flank, and preserved the invading army from all risk of being cut off from its resources. But when the Alps themselves became the theatre of conflict, these advantages were all lost to the Republic; the bulwark of the Rhine was liable to be rendered valueless at any time by a reverse in Switzerland, and France exposed to an invasion in the only quarter where her frontier is totally defenceless; while the fortifications of Mantua and the line of the Adige were of comparatively little importance, when they were liable to be turned by any inconsiderable success in the Grisons or the Italian bailiwicks. The Tyrol, besides, with its numerous, warlike, and enthusiastic population, afforded a base for mountain warfare, and a secure asylum in case of disaster, which the French could never expect to find amidst the foreign language and hostile feelings of German Switzerland; while, by extending the line of operations from the Adriatic to the Channel, the Republic was forced to defend an extent of frontier, for which even its resources, ample as they were, might be expected to prove insufficient.

68. Nothing ever done by the revolutionary government of France had so powerful an effect in cooling the ardour of its partisans in Europe, and opening the eyes of the intelligent and respectable classes in every other country as to their ultimate designs,\* as the attack

\* Its effect on the friends of freedom in England may be judged of from the following indignant lines by Coleridge, once an ardent supporter of the Revolution, in his noble Ode to France, written in 1797:—

"Forgive me, Freedom, oh, forgive those dreams!  
I hear thy voice, I hear thy loud lament,  
From bleak Helvetia's icy caverns sent—  
I hear thy groans upon her blood-stain'd streams!  
Heroes, that for your peaceful country perish'd,  
And ye that, seeing, spot your mountain snows  
With bleeding wounds, forgive me that I cherish'd  
One thought that ever bless'd your cruel foes!  
To scatter rage and traitorous guilt,  
Where peace her jealous home had built;  
A patriot race to disinher't  
Of all that made their stormy wilds so dear.

\* France! that moonest heaven, adulterous, blind,  
And patriot only in pernicious toils,  
Are these thy boasts, champion of human kind,

To insult the shrine of Liberty with spoils  
From freemen torn: to tempt and to betray?"

on Switzerland. As long as the Republic was contending with the armies of kings, or resisting the efforts of the aristocracy, it was alleged that it was only defending its own liberties, and that the whole monarchies of Europe were leagued together for its destruction. But when, in a moment of general peace, its rulers commenced an unprovoked attack on the Swiss Confederacy; when the loud declaimers in favour of popular rights forced an obnoxious constitution on the mountaineers of the Alps, and desolated with fire and sword the beautiful recesses of the democratic cantons; the sympathies of Europe were awakened in favour of a gallant and suffering people, and the native atrocity of the invasion called forth the wishes of freedom on the other side. The Whig leaders of England, with Mr Fox and Sir James Mackintosh at their head, who had palliated the atrocities of the Revolution longer than was consistent either with their own character or their interest as a political party, confessed that "the mask had fallen from the face of revolutionary France, if indeed it ever had worn it." "Where," it was asked over all Europe, "will the Revolution stop? What country could be imagined less alluring to their cupidity than that, where, notwithstanding the industry of the inhabitants, the churlish soil will barely yield its children bread? What government can pretend to favour in the eyes of the Directory, when it visits with fire and sword those fields where the whole inhabitants of a canton assemble under the vault of heaven, to deliberate, like the Spartans of old, on their common concerns? What fidelity and proof of confidence does it expect more complete than that which leaves a whole frontier without defence, or rather which has hitherto considered it as better defended by the unalterable neutrality of its faithful allies, than by the triple line of fortresses which elsewhere guards the entrance to its soil?"†

† "The invasion and destruction of Switzerland," says Sir James Mackintosh, "is an act in comparison with which all the deeds of rapine and blood perpetrated in the world are innocence itself. It was an unprovoked aggression against an innocent country,

69. The Ecclesiastical States were the next object of attack. It had long been an avowed object of ambition with the Republican government to revolutionise Rome, and plant the tricolor flag in the city of Brutus. The resolution of Napoleon and the Directory to effect the overthrow of the Papal government, was adopted long before the treaty of Campo Formio. On the 12th February 1797, the Directory wrote to Napoleon,—"The possession of the Tyrol and Trieste, and the conquest of Rome, will be the glorious fruits of the fall of Mantua." On the 19th May 1797, Napoleon wrote to the Directory,—"The Pope is dangerously ill, and is eighty-three years old. The moment I received this intelligence, I assembled all my Poles at Bologna, from whence I shall push them forward to Ancona. What shall I do if the Pope dies?" The Directory answered,—"The minister of foreign affairs will inform General Buonaparte, that they trust to his accustomed prudence to bring about a democratic revolution in the Roman states, with as little convulsion as possible." The scheme, however, failed at that time, as the Pope recovered. Meanwhile the pillage of the Ecclesiastical

which had been the sanctuary of peace and liberty for three centuries; respected as a sacred territory by the fiercest ambition, raised like its own mountains beyond the reach of the storms which raged on every side; the only government that ever accumulated wealth without imposing taxes. An innocent treasure sustained by the tears of the poor, but which attested the virtue of a long series of magistrates, at length caught the eye of the spoiler, and became their ruin."—Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH'S *Works*, iii. 298.

\* "The Pope," said Cacault, the French ambassador at Rome, to Napoleon, "gives us full satisfaction in everything regarding any errors in accounting, weight, &c., that may occur in the payment of the 30,000,000 francs. The payments in diamonds amount to 11,271,000 francs (£450,000). He has paid 4,000,000 in francs, of contributions levied since the treaty of Tolentino. But it is with the utmost difficulty that these payments are raised; the country is exhausted; let us not drive it to bankruptcy. My agent, citizen Haller, wrote to me the other day, 'Do not forget, citizen minister, that the immense and unceasing demands of the army oblige us to play the corsair a little, and that we must not enter into discussions, as it would sometimes turn out that we are in the wrong.' I always sup-

ported a mortal war against the Pope, as long as the Papal government resisted; but now that it is prostrated at our feet, I am become exceedingly pacific: I think such a system is both for your interest and for that of the Directory." On the 25th May 1797, the same ambassador wrote to Napoleon:—"I am occupied in collecting and transporting from hence to Milan all the diamonds and jewels I can collect; I send there also whatever is made the subject of dispute in the payments of the contributions. You will keep in view that the people here are exhausted, and that it is in vain to expect the destitute to pay. I take advantage of these circumstances to prostrate at your feet Rome and the Papal government." On the 6th August 1797, he again wrote to Napoleon,—"Discontent is at its height in the Papal States; the government will fall to pieces of itself, as I have repeatedly predicted to you. But it is not at Rome that the explosion will take place; too many persons are here dependent upon the expenditure of the great. The payment of 3,000,000, stipulated by the treaty of Tolentino, at the close of so many previous losses, has totally exhausted this old carcass. We are making it expire by a slow fire; it will soon crumble to the dust. The revolutionists, by accelerating matters, would only hasten a dissolution certain and inevitable."

tical States continued without intermission; and having exhausted the public treasury, and drained the country of all its specie, the French agents laid their rapacious hands upon all the jewels and precious stones they could find. The value of the plunder thus got was astonishing.\*

70. The situation of the Pope had thus become, since the French conquests in Italy, in the highest degree precarious. Cut off, by the Cisalpine republic, from any support from Austria; left by the treaty of Campo Formio entirely at the mercy of the French Republic; threatened by the heavings of the democratic spirit within his own dominions, and exposed to all the contagion arising from the complete establishment, and close vicinity, of republican governments in the north of Italy, he was almost destitute of the means of resisting so many seen and unseen enemies. The pontifical treasury was exhausted by the immense payments stipulated by the treaty of Tolentino, and the enormous subsequent contributions levied by the French generals; while the activity and zeal of the revolutionary clubs in all the principal towns of the Ecclesi-

astical States, was daily increasing with the prospect of success. To enable the government to meet the insatiable demands of the French army, the principal Roman families, like the Pope, had sold their gold, their silver, their jewels, their horses, their carriages, their finest pictures, in a word, all their valuable effects; but the exactions of the Republican agents were still unabated. In despair, they had recourse to the fatal expedient of issuing a paper circulation, bearing a forced value; but that, in a country destitute of credit, soon fell to an inconsiderable value, and augmented rather than relieved the public distress.

71. Joseph Buonaparte, brother to Napoleon, had been appointed ambassador at the court of Rome; but as his character was deemed too honourable for political intrigue, Generals Duphot and Sherlock were sent along with him, to do that at which it was feared he might spurn. The former had become known from his success in effecting the overthrow of the Genoese aristocracy. The French embassy, under their direction, soon became the centre of the

revolutionary action, and those numerous ardent characters with which the Italian cities abound, flocked there as to a common focus, from whence the next great explosion of democratic fervour was to be expected.\* In this extremity, Pius VI., who was above eighty years of age, and sinking into the grave, called to his counsels the Austrian General Provera, already distinguished in the Italian campaigns; but Napoleon and the Directory soon compelled the humiliated Pontiff to dismiss that intrepid counsellor.† As his recovery then seemed hopeless, the instructions of government to their ambassador were to delay the proclamation of a republic till his death, when the vacant chair of St Peter might be overturned with little difficulty; but such was the activity of the revolutionary agents, that the train was ready to take fire before that event took place, and the ears of the Romans were assailed by incessant abuse of the ecclesiastical government, and vehement declamations in favour of republican freedom.

72. The resolution to overturn the

\* It would appear, however, that the French ambassador was by no means satisfied with the first efforts of the Roman patriots. "They have manifested," said Joseph Buonaparte to Napoleon, "all the disposition to overturn the government, but none of the resolution. If they have thought and felt like Brutus, and the great men of antiquity, they have spoken like women, and acted like children. The government has caused them all to be arrested." — *Letter, Joseph to Napoleon, 10th September 1797; Corresp. Confid.*

† "You must forthwith intimate to the Court of Rome," said Napoleon to his brother Joseph, ambassador there, "that if General Provera is not immediately sent away from Rome, the Republic will regard it as a declaration of war. I attach the utmost importance to the removal of an Austrian commander from the Roman troops. You will insist not only that he be deprived of the command of the Roman troops, but that within twenty-four hours he depart from Rome. Assume a high tone; it is only by evincing the greatest firmness, and making use of the most energetic expressions, that you will succeed in overawing the Papal authority. Timid when you show your teeth, they rapidly become overbearing if you treat them with any respect. I know the Court of Rome well. That single step, if properly taken, will complete its ruin." At the same time, you will hold out to the Papal secretary of state, 'that the French Republic, continu-

ing its feelings of regard for the Papal government, is on the point of restoring Ancona. You are ruining all your affairs; the whole responsibility rests on your head. The French troops will give you no assistance in quelling the revolts with which you are menaced, if you continue your present course.' Should the Pope die, you must do your utmost to prevent the nomination of a successor, and bring about a revolution. Depend upon it, the King of Naples will not stir. Should he do so, you will inform him that the Roman people are under the protection of the French Republic; but at the same time you must hold out to him secretly that the French government is desirous to renew its negotiations with him. In a word, you must be as haughty in public as you are pliant in private;—the object of the first being to deter him from entering Rome; of the last, to make him believe that it is for his interest not to do so. Should no revolutionary movement break out at Rome, so that there is no pretence for preventing the nomination of a Pope, at least take care that the Cardinal Albani is not put in nomination. Declare, that the moment that is done, I will march upon Rome." — *Secret Desp. Napoleon to Joseph Buonaparte, dated Passeriano, 20th Sept. 1797.* These instructions, it is to be recollected, were sent to the French ambassador at Rome, when France was still and completely at peace with the Holy See, and when the latter had honourably discharged the burdensome conditions of the treaty of Tolentino.

Papal government, like all the other ambitious projects of the Directory, received a very great impulse from the reascendancy of Jacobin influence at Paris, by the results of the revolution of 18th Fructidor. One of the first measures of the new government was to despatch an order to Joseph Buonaparte at Rome, to promote, by all the means in his power, the approaching revolution in the Papal States; and above all things to take care that, at the Pope's death, no successor should be elected to the chair of St Peter.\* Napoleon's language to the Roman pontiff became daily more menacing. Immediately before setting out for Rastadt, he ordered his brother†

\* Talleyrand, on 10th October, wrote to Joseph Buonaparte at Rome.—“You have two things, citizen-general, to do: 1. To prevent, by all possible means, the King of Naples from entering the Papal territory. 2. To increase, rather than restrain, the good dispositions of those who think that it is high time the reign of the popes should finish; in a word, to encourage the aspirations of the Roman people towards liberty. At all events, take care that we get hold of Ancona and a large portion of the coast of Italy.” Eleven days afterwards La Révellière-Lépaux—the President of the Directory, wrote to Napoleon.—“In regard to Rome, the Directory cordially approve of the instructions you have given to your brother, to prevent a successor being appointed to Pius VI. We must lay hold of the present favourable circumstances to deliver Europe from the pretended Papal supremacy. Tuscany will next attract your attention. You will, therefore, if hostilities are resumed, give the Grand-duke his *congé*, and facilitate by every means the establishment of a free and representative government in Tuscany.—*Corresp. Confid.* iv. 244, (October 21, 1797).†

“I cannot tell you, citizen-ambassador,” said Napoleon, “what indignation I felt when I heard that Provera was still in the service of the Pope. Let him know instantly, that, though the French Republic is at peace with the Holy See, it will not for an instant suffer any officer or agent of the Imperialists to hold any situation under the Papal government. You will, therefore, insist on the dismissal of M. Provera within twenty-four hours, on pain of instantly demanding your passports. You will let him know that I have moved three thousand additional soldiers to Ancona, not one of whom will recede till Provera is dismissed. Let him know further, that if one of the prisoners for political offences is executed, Cardinal Rusca and the other cardinals shall answer for it with their heads. Finally, make him aware that, the moment you quit the Papal territory, Ancona will be incorporated with the Cisalpine Republic. You will easily understand that the last phrase must be *spoken, not written*.”—NAPOLEON to JOSEPH BUONAPARTE, Nov. 14, 1797.

Joseph to intimate to the Pope that three thousand additional troops had been forwarded to Ancona; that if the Austrian general Provera was not dismissed within twenty-four hours, war would be declared; that if any of the revolutionists who had been arrested were executed, reprisals would forthwith be exercised on the cardinals; and that, if the Cisalpine republic was not recognised, it would be the signal for immediate hostilities. At the same time, ten thousand troops of the Cisalpine Republic advanced to St Leon, in the Papal Duchy of Urbino, and made themselves masters of that fortress; while at Ancona, which was still garrisoned by French troops, notwithstanding its stipulated restoration by the treaty of Tolentino to the Holy See, the democratic party openly proclaimed “the Anconite republic.” Similar revolutionary movements took place at Corneto, Civita Vecchia, Pesaro, and Sinigaglia; while at Rome itself, Joseph Buonaparte, by compelling the Papal government to liberate all persons confined for political offences, suddenly threw forth upon the capital several hundreds of the most heated republicans in Italy. After this great addition to the strength of the revolutionists, measures were no longer kept with the government. Seditious meetings were constantly held in every part of the city; immense collections of tricolor cockades were made to distinguish the insurgents, and deputations of the citizens openly waited upon the French ambassador, to invite him to support the insurrection, to which he replied in ambiguous terms—“The fate of nations, as of individuals, being buried in the womb of futurity, it is not given to me to penetrate its mysteries.”

73. In this temper of men's minds, a spark was sufficient to occasion an explosion. On the 27th December 1797, an immense crowd assembled, with seditious cries, and moved to the palace of the French ambassador, where they exclaimed, “Vive la République Romaine!” and loudly invoked the aid of the French to enable them to plant the tricolor flag on the Capitol. The insurgents displayed the tricolor cockade,

and evinced the most menacing disposition; the danger was extreme; from similar beginnings the overthrow of the governments of Venice and Genoa had rapidly followed. The Papal ministers sent a regiment of dragoons to prevent any sortie of the revolutionists from the palace of the French ambassador; and they repeatedly warned the insurgents, that their orders were to allow no one to leave its precincts. Duphot, however, indignant at being restrained by the pontifical troops, drew his sword, rushed down the staircase, and put himself at the head of one hundred and fifty armed Roman democrats, who were now contending with the dragoons in the court-yard of the palace; he was immediately killed by a discharge ordered by the sergeant commanding the patrol of the Papal troops; and the ambassador himself, who had followed to appease the tumult, narrowly escaped the same fate. A violent scuffle ensued, several persons were slain and wounded on both sides; and, after remaining several hours in the greatest alarm, Joseph Buonaparte with his suite retired to Florence.

74. This catastrophe, however obviously occasioned by the revolutionary schemes which were in agitation at the residence of the French ambassador, having taken place within the precincts of his palace, was unhappily a violation of the law of nations, and gave the Directory too fair a ground to demand satisfaction. They instantly resolved to make it the pretext for the immediate occupation of Rome, and overthrow of the Papal government. The march of troops out of Italy was countermanded, and Berthier, the commander-in-chief, received orders to advance rapidly into the Ecclesiastical States. Meanwhile, the democratic spirit burst forth more violently than ever at Ancona and the neighbouring towns; and the Papal authority was soon lost in all the provinces on the eastern slope of the Apennines. To these accumulated disasters, the Pontiff could only oppose the fasts and prayers of an aged conclave—weapons of spiritual warfare little calculated to arrest the conquerors of Arcola and Lodi. Berthier, without

an instant's delay, carried into execution the orders of the Directory. Six thousand Poles, who on the wreck of their country had entered the French service, were stationed at Rimini to cover the Cisalpine Republic; a reserve was established at Tolentino, while the commander-in-chief, at the head of eighteen thousand veteran troops, entered Ancona. Having completed the work of revolution in that turbulent district, and secured the fortress, he crossed the Apennines; and advancing by Foligno and Narni, appeared on the 10th February before the Eternal City. The Pope, in the utmost consternation, shut himself up in the Vatican, and spent night and day at the foot of the altar in imploring the Divine protection.\*

\* The Directory, in their orders to Berthier, prescribed to him a course as perfidious as it was hostile. Their words were as follows:—"The intention of the Directory is, that you march *as secretly and rapidly as possible* on Rome with 18,000 men. Celerity is of the utmost importance: that alone can insure success. The King of Naples will probably send an envoy to your headquarters, to whom you will declare that the French government *is actuated by no ambitious designs*; and that, if it was generous enough to restrain its indignation at Tolentino, when it had much more serious causes of complaint against the Holy See, it is still more probable that it will do the same now. While holding out these assurances, you will at the same time advance as rapidly as possible towards Rome: the great object is to keep your design secret, till you are so near that city that the King of Naples cannot prevent it. When within two days' march of Rome, menace the Pope and all the members of the government, in order to terrify them, and make them take to flight. Arrived in Rome, employ your *whole influence to establish a Roman republic*."—HARD, v. 222.

Berthier, however, was too much a man of honour to enter cordially into the revolutionary projects of the Directory. On 1st January 1798, he wrote to Napoleon:—"I always told you the command in Italy was not suited to me. I wish to *extricate myself from revolutions*. Four years' service in them in America, ten in France, is enough, general. I shall ever be ready to combat as a soldier for my country, but have no desire to be mixed up with revolutionary politics." It would appear that the Roman people generally had no greater desire than he had to be involved in a revolution; for, on the morning of his arrival at that city, he wrote to Napoleon:—"I have been in Rome since this morning; but I have found nothing but the utmost consternation among the inhabitants. One soli-

75. Rome, almost defenceless, would have offered no obstacle to the entrance of the French troops; but it was part of the policy of the Directory to make it appear that their aid was invoked by the spontaneous will of the inhabitants. Contenting himself, therefore, with occupying the castle of St Angelo, from which the feeble guards of the Pope were soon expelled, Berthier kept his troops for five days encamped without the walls. At length the revolutionists having completed their preparations, a noisy crowd assembled in the Campo Vaccino, the ancient Forum; the old foundations of the Capitol were made again to resound with the cries—if these were not dictated by the spirit—of freedom, and the venerable ensigns, bearing the S. P. Q. R., after the lapse of fourteen hundred years, floated in the winds. The multitude tumultuously demanded the overthrow of the Papal authority; the French troops were invited to enter; the conquerors of Italy, with a haughty air, passed the gates of Aurelian, defiled through the Piazza del Popolo, gazed on the indestructible monuments of Roman grandeur, and, amidst the shouts of the inhabitants, the tricolor flag was displayed from the summit of the Capitol.

76. But while part of the Roman populace, mistaking their recollections for prophecies, were surrendering themselves to a pardonable intoxication upon the fancied recovery of their liberties, the agents of the Directory were preparing for them the sad realities of slavery. The Pope, who had been guarded by five hundred soldiers ever since the entry of the Republicans, was directed to retire into Tuscany; his Swiss guard relieved by a French one, and he himself ordered to dispossess himself of all his temporal authority. He replied, with the firmness of a martyr, "I am prepared for every species of disgrace. As supreme Pontiff, I am

resolved to die in the exercise of all my powers. You may employ force—you have the power to do so; but know that though you may be masters of my body, you are not so of my soul. Free in the region where it is placed, it fears neither the events nor the sufferings of this life. I stand on the threshold of another world; there I shall be sheltered alike from the violence and impiety of this." Force was soon employed to dispossess him of his authority; he was dragged from the altar in his palace, his repositories were all ransacked and plundered, the rings even torn from his fingers, the whole effects in the Vatican and Quirinal inventoried and seized, and the aged pontiff conducted, with only a few domestics, amidst the brutal jests and sacrilegious songs of the French dragons, into Tuscany, where the generous hospitality of the Grand-duke strove to soften the hardships of his exile. But though a captive in the hands of his enemies, the venerable old man still retained the supreme authority in the church. From his retreat in the convent of the Chartreuse, he yet guided the councils of the faithful; multitudes fell on their knees wherever he passed, and sought that benediction from a captive which they would, perhaps, have disregarded from a ruling pontiff.

77. The subsequent treatment of this venerable man was as disgraceful to the Republican government as it was honourable to his piety and constancy as the head of the church. Fearful that, from his virtues and sufferings, he might have too much influence on the continent of Italy, he was removed by their orders to Leghorn, in March 1799, with the design of transferring him to Cagliari in Sardinia; and the English cruisers in the Mediterranean redoubled their vigilance, in the generous hope of rescuing the father of an opposite church from the persecution of his enemies. Apprehensive of losing their prisoner, the French altered his destination, and forcing him to traverse, often during the night, the Apennines and the Alps, in a rigorous season, he at length reached Valence, where, after an illness of ten days, he expired in the eighty-

*tary patriot* has appeared at headquarters; he offered to put at my disposal two thousand galley-slaves; you may believe how I received that proposition. My further presence here is useless. I beseech you to recall me; it is the greatest boon you can possibly confer upon me."—*Berthier to Napoleon*, 10th Feb. 1798; *Corresp. Confid.* iv. 510.

second year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his pontificate. The cruelty of the Directory increased as he approached their dominions; all his old attendants were compelled to leave him, and the Father of the Faithful was allowed to expire, attended only by his confessor. Yet even in this disconsolate state, he derived the highest satisfaction from the devotion and reverence of the people in the provinces of France through which he passed. Multitudes from Gap, Vizelle, and Grenoble, flocked to the road to receive his benediction; and he frequently repeated, with tears in his eyes, the words of Scripture: "Verily, I say unto you, I have not seen such faith, no, not in Israel."

78. But long before the Pope had sunk under the persecution of his oppressors, Rome had experienced the bitter fruits of republican fraternisation. Immediately after the entry of the French troops, commenced the regular and systematic pillage of the city. Not only the churches and the convents, but the palaces of the cardinals and of the nobility, were laid waste. The agents of the Directory, insatiable in the pursuit of plunder, and merciless in the means of exacting it, ransacked every quarter within its walls, seized the most valuable works of art, and stripped the Eternal City of those treasures which had survived the Gothic fire and escaped the rapacious hands of the Spanish soldiers in the reign of Charles V. The bloodshed was much less, but the spoil collected incomparably greater, than at the disastrous sack which followed the storm of the city and death of the Constable Bourbon. Almost all the great works of art which have since that time been collected throughout Europe, were then scattered abroad. The spoliation exceeded all that the Goths or Vandals had effected. Not only the palaces of the Vatican and the Monte Cavallo, and the chief nobility of Rome, but those of Castel Gandolfo, on the margin of the Alban lake, of Terracina, the Villa Albani, and others in the environs of Rome, were plundered of every article of value which they possessed. The whole sacerdotal habits of the Pope and

cardinals were burnt, in order to collect from the flames the gold with which they were adorned. The Vatican was stripped to its naked walls; the immortal frescoes of Raphael and Michael Angelo, which could not be removed, alone remained in solitary beauty amidst the general desolation. A contribution of four millions of francs in money, two millions in provisions, and three thousand horses, was imposed on a city already exhausted by the enormous exactions it had previously undergone. Under the directions of the infamous commissary Haller, the domestic library, museum, furniture, jewels, and even the private clothes of the Pope, were sold. Nor did the palaces of the Roman nobility escape devastation. The noble galleries of the Cardinal Braschi, and the Cardinal York, the last relic of the Stuart line, underwent the same fate. Others, as those of the Chigi, Borghese, and Doria palaces, were rescued from destruction only by enormous ransoms. Everything of value that the treaty of Tolentino had left in Rome became the prey of republican cupidity; and the very name of freedom soon became odious from the sordid and infamous crimes which were committed under its shelter.

79. Nor was the oppression of the French confined to the plunder of palaces and churches. Eight cardinals were arrested and sent to Civita, Castellana; while enormous contributions were levied on the Papal territory, and brought home the bitterness of conquest to every poor man's door. At the same time, the ample territorial possessions of the church and the monasteries were confiscated, and declared national property; a measure which, by drying up at once the whole resources of the affluent classes, precipitated into the extreme of misery the numerous poor, who were maintained by their expenditure, or fed by their bounty. All the respectable citizens and clergy were in fetters; and a base and despicable faction alone, among whom, to their disgrace be it told, were found fourteen cardinals, followed in the train of their oppressors; and at a public festival, returned thanks to God for the



miseries they had brought upon their country.

80. To such a height did the disorders rise, that they excited the indignation of the army itself, albeit little scrupulous in general about the means by which plunder was acquired. While the agents of the Directory were thus enriching themselves and sullyng the name of France by unheard-of spoliation, the inferior officers and soldiers were suffering the greatest privations. For several months they had been without pay, their clothes were worn out, their feet bare, their knapsacks empty. Indignant at the painful contrast which their condition offered to that of the civil agents, who were daily becoming richer from the spoils of the city, and comparing their penury with the luxurious condition of the corps stationed in the Cisalpine republic, the officers and soldiers in and around Rome gave vent to open and unmeasured terms of vituperation. On the 24th February a general meeting of all the officers, from the rank of captain

downwards, was held in the Pantheon, at which an address was agreed on to General Berthier, in which they declared their detestation of the extortions which had been practised in Rome, protested that they would no longer be the instruments of the ignominious wretches who had made such a use of their valour, and insisted for immediate payment of their large arrears. The discontents soon wore so alarming an aspect, that Massena, who had assumed the command, ordered all the troops, excepting three thousand, to leave the capital. But they refused to obey; and another meeting, at which still more menacing language was used, having shortly after been held, which his soldiers refused to disperse, he was compelled to abandon the command, and retire to Ancona, leaving the direction of the army to General d'Allemagne. At the same time the troops in Mantua raised the standard of revolt, and, resolving to abandon Italy, had already fixed all their days' march to Lyons and the banks of the Rhone.\*

\* The remonstrances framed by the French army at this great meeting in the Pantheon bears:—"The first cause of our discontent is regret that a horde of robbers, who have insinuated themselves into the confidence of the nation, should deprive us of our honour. These men enter the chief houses of Rome, give themselves out for persons authorised to receive contributions, carry off all the gold, jewels, and horses; in a word, every article of value they can find, without giving any receipts. This conduct, if it remains unpunished, is calculated to bring eternal disgrace on the French nation in the eyes of the whole universe. We could furnish a thousand proofs of these assertions. The second cause is the misery in which both officers and men are involved; destitute of pay for five months; in want of everything. The excessive luxury of the officers of the staff affords a painful contrast to the naked condition of the general body of the army. The third cause of the general discontent is the arrival of General Massena. The soldiers have not forgotten the extortions and robberies he has committed wherever he has been invested with the command. The Venetian territory, and above all Padua, is a district teeming with proofs of his immorality." In an address to Berthier from the officers of the army, the expressions are still more strong:—"The soldiers are in the utmost misery for want of pay. Many millions are in the public chest; three would discharge their arrears. We disavow in the sight of Heaven, in whose temple we are assembled, the crimes committed in the city of

Rome and the Ecclesiastical States; we swear that we will no longer be the instruments of the wretches who have perpetrated them. We insist that the effects seized from various individuals, belonging to states with whom we are still at peace, be restored; and, independent of our pay, we persist in demanding justice upon the official and elevated monsters, plunged night and day in luxury and debauchery, who have committed the robberies and spoliation in Rome."—*St Cyr, Hist. Mil.* l. 232.

A singular occurrence took place at the revolt in Mantua, highly characteristic of the composition of the French army in Italy at this period. The chief of the twelfth demi-brigade, when endeavouring, sword in hand, to defend the standard with which he was intrusted, killed one of the grenadiers. His fellow-soldiers immediately exclaimed, "We will not revenge our comrade; you are only doing your duty." The chief of the fourteenth wishing, for the same reason, to resist the mutineers, they unscrewed their bayonets from their guns, to prevent his being injured in the strife which ensued for its seizure. Not a single officer was insulted or maltreated; the battalions answered by unanimous refusals all exhortations to return to their duty, but the sentinels saluted the officers when they passed, as if in a state of the most perfect subordination. No acts of pillage followed the raising of the standard of revolt, though the shops where it broke out were all open and unguarded. The soldiers there, equally as their brethren at Rome, were loud in their condemnation of the officers and

81. The Roman populace, encouraged by these dissensions among their oppressors, deemed the opportunity favourable to shake off the yoke, and recover their independence. But they soon found that it is easier to invite an enemy within your walls than expel him when the gates are placed in his hands. The assemblages in Rome were soon dispersed with great slaughter by General d'Allemagne; and, collecting a few troops, he moved rapidly to Velletri and Castel Gandolfo, routed the insurgents who had occupied these posts, and struck such a terror into the inhabitants, that they quickly threw aside their arms, and abandoned all thoughts of further resistance.

82. Meanwhile the work of revolution proceeded rapidly in the Roman states. The whole ancient institutions were subverted; the executive was made to consist of five consuls, after the model of the French Directory; heavy contributions and forced loans were exacted from the wealthier classes; the legislative power was vested in two chambers, chosen by the lowest ranks, and the state divided into eight departments. But, to preserve the entire dependence of this government on the French Directory, it was specially provided that an alliance, offensive and defensive, should immediately be concluded between the French and Roman republics; that no laws made by the Roman legislative bodies should either be promulgated or have force without the approval of the French general stationed at Rome; and that he might, of his own authority, enact such laws as might appear necessary, or were ordered by the French Directory. At the same time edicts were published, prohibiting the nobles, under severe penalties, from dismissing any of their domestics, or discontinuing any of their charitable donations, on account of the diminished or ruined state of their fortunes.

civil authorities who had "embezzled all the funds which should have gone to the payment of their arrears." In the midst of so much revolutionary profligacy and corruption, it is pleasing to have to record traits so honourable to the French army.—BARAGUAY D'HILLIERS' Report, 19th Feb. 1798; *Corresp. Confid.* iv. 517, 525.

83. While the Roman states were thus undergoing fusion in the revolutionary crucible, the constitution of the Cisalpine republic disappeared as rapidly as it had been formed. Towards the end of March, a treaty was concluded at Paris between the French republic and its infant offspring, by which it was stipulated that the latter should receive a French garrison of twenty-two thousand infantry, and two thousand five hundred cavalry, to be paid and clothed while there by it; and that, in case of war, they should mutually assist each other with all their forces. This treaty, which placed its resources entirely at the disposal of France, was highly unpopular in the whole Cisalpine republic; and it was not without the utmost difficulty, and by the aid, both of threats of arresting a large portion of their members, and unbounded promises in case of compliance, that the councils could be brought to ratify it. The democratic spirit extended greatly in the country. Those chosen to the principal offices of government were all men of the most violent temperament, and a conspiracy was generally formed to emancipate themselves from French thralldom, and establish, instead of a Gallic yoke, real freedom. To curb this dangerous disposition, the Directory sent Trouvé, a man of a determined character, to Milan; and his first care was to suppress, by measures of severity, the spirit of freedom which threatened to thwart the ambitious projects of the French government. With this view the constitution of the republic was violently changed by the Transalpine forces; the number of deputies was reduced from 240 to 120, and those only retained who were known to be devoted to the French government. After this violent revolution, Trouvé, who was detested throughout all Lombardy, was recalled, and Brune and Fouché were successively sent in his stead; but all their efforts proved ineffectual to stem the torrent. The discontents went on continually increasing, and at length recourse was openly had to military force. On the morning of the 6th December, the legislative body was surrounded with foreign bayonets; the

senators opposed to the French interest were expelled; several members of the Directory were changed, and the government was prostrated, as in France and Holland, by a military despotism. The democratic constitution, established by Napoleon, was immediately annulled, and a new one established under the dictation of the French ambassador, in the formation of which no attention was paid to the liberties or wishes of the people.

84. These violent changes, introduced by the mere force of military power, occasioned the utmost discontent in the Cisalpine republic, and contributed, more than anything that had yet occurred, to cool the ardour of the Italian revolutionists. "This, then," it was said, "is the faith, the fraternity, and the friendship which you have brought to us from France! This is the liberty, the prosperity, which you boast of having established in Italy! What vast materials for eloquence do you afford to those who have never trusted to your promises! They will say, that you only promised liberty to the Italians, in order that you might be the better enabled to plunder and oppress them; that under every project of reform were concealed new and still more grievous chains; that gold, not freedom, is your idol; that that fountain of everything noble or generous is not made for you, nor you for it; finally, that the liberty of France consists entirely in words and speeches; in the howling of a frantic tribune, and the declamations of impudent sophists. These changes which, with despotic power and so much unconcern, you have effected in the Cisalpine governments, will assuredly prove the forerunner of the fall of your own republic." \*

85. While Lombardy was thus with-

ing under the withering grasp of the French republic, the King of Sardinia was undergoing the last acts of humiliation from his merelless allies. The early peace which this monarch had concluded with their victorious general, the fidelity with which he had discharged his engagements, the firm support which the possession of his fortresses had given to their arms, were unable to save him from spoliation. The Directory persisted in believing that a rickety republic, torn by intestine divisions, would be a more solid support to their power than a king who had devoted his last soldier and his last gun to their service. They soon found an excuse for subjecting him finally to their power, and rewarding him for his faithful adherence to their cause by the forfeiture of all his continental dominions. After the unworthy descendant of Emmanuel Victor had opened the gates of Italy to France by the fatal cession of the Piedmontese fortresses,† his life had been a continual scene of mortification and humiliations. His territories were traversed in every direction by French columns, of whose approach he received no notification except a statement of the supplies required by them, which he was obliged to furnish gratuitously to the Republican commissaries. He was compelled to banish all the emigrants from his dominions, and oppress his subjects by enormous contributions for the use of his insatiable allies; while the language of the revolutionary clubs, openly patronised by the French ambassador and agents, daily became more menacing to the regal government.

86. At length they threw off the mask. The insurgents of the valleys of the Tanaro and the Bormida assembled to the number of six thousand in the neigh-

ears, and with the constitutions given to them one day, only to be taken away the next, will finally conceive a well-founded detestation of the Republic, and prefer their former submission to a sovereign."—Botta, ii. 53.

† The magnitude of the obligation thus conferred by Piedmont on France, was fully admitted by the Directory. "Never," said they, on congratulating Charles Emmanuel on his accession to the throne—"Never will France forget the obligations which she owes to the Prince of Piedmont."—HARD. vii. 72.

\* Lucien Buonaparte did not hesitate, at Milan, to give vent to the same sentiments. "Nothing," said he, "can excuse the bad faith which has characterised these transactions. The innovations in the Cisalpine republic, tending as they do to abridge popular freedom by the excessive power they confer upon the Directory, especially the exclusive right of proposing laws, are worthy of eternal condemnation. Nations, disgusted at last with the vain and empty name of liberty which France is continually sounding in their

bourhood of Carrosio, supported by two thousand troops of the Ligurian republic, who left Genoa at mid-day, with drums beating and the tricolor flag flying. Ginguené, the French ambassador, endeavoured to persuade the king, in the usual language of revolutionists, that there was no danger in conceding all the demands of the insurgents, but great in opposing any resistance to their wishes; and strongly urged the necessity, as a measure of security, of his placing the citadel of Turin in the hands of a French garrison; while the Ligurian republic resolutely refused any passage for the Piedmontese troops through that part of their territories which required to be passed before the insulated district of Carrosio could be reached. This was soon followed by a menacing proclamation, in which they declared their resolution to support the insurgents to the utmost of their power; while the French ambassador continued to insist for a complete pardon of these rebels, on condition of their laying down their arms; and, above all, for the immediate surrender of the citadel of Turin. When the troops of Piedmont approached the Ligurian territory to attack the rebels in Carrosio, the French ambassador forbade them to pass the frontier, lest they should violate the neutrality of the allied republic. Notwithstanding this, they came up with the united forces of the insurgents and Genoese, and defeated them in two engagements, with such loss, that it was evident their total overthrow was at hand.

87. The Directory now made no show of preserving moderation. They pretended that a conspiracy had been discovered for renewing the Sicilian Vespers with all the French in Piedmont, and, as a test of the king not being involved in the design, insisted on the immediate cession of the citadel of Turin. Pressed on all sides, threatened with insurrection in his own dominions, and menaced with the whole weight of republican vengeance, the king at length submitted to their demands; and that admirable fortress, the masterpiece of Vauban, which had stood, a century before, the famous siege which enabled the Austrian forces,

under Eugene, to advance to its relief, and terminated in the expulsion of the French from Italy, was yielded without a struggle to their arms. The surrender of this impregnable stronghold put the King of Sardinia entirely at the mercy of the French troops. He was no longer permitted even the semblance of regal authority. French guards attended him on all occasions, and, under the guise of respect, kept him a state prisoner in his own palace; while the ambassadors of the other powers, deeming Piedmont now a French province, wrote to their respective sovereigns, requesting to be recalled from Turin, where the French ambassador was now the real monarch. The Republican generals improved the time to reduce the unhappy monarch to despair. They loaded all his ministers, civil and military, with accusations, and insisted on their dismissal from his court and capital; forced him to abandon all proceedings against the insurgents of every description; new-modelled the government according to their republican ideas, and compelled him to deliver up all the places he had taken from the Genoese republic.

88. For a few months this shadow of authority was left to the king; but at length his complete dethronement was effected. He was charged with having, in his secret correspondence with Vienna, allowed a wish to escape him, that he might soon be delivered from his imperious allies; and only made his peace with the Directory by the immediate payment of 8,000,000 francs, or £320,000. When the Roman republic was invaded by the Neapolitans, he was ordered to furnish the stipulated contingent of eight thousand men; and this was agreed to. The surrender of all the royal arsenals was next demanded; and during the discussion of that demand, the French under Joubert treacherously commenced hostilities.\* No-

\* Recovering, in the last extremity, a portion of the courage which, if earlier exerted, might have averted their fate, the Piedmontese cabinet at this crisis prepared a manifesto, which the Directory instantly and carefully suppressed. It bore:—"The Piedmontese government, in the anxious wish of sparing its subjects the misfortunes which threatened it, has acceded to all the demands of the French republic, both in contributions,

varra, Suza, Coni, and Alessandria, were surprised; a few battalions who attempted to resist were driven into Turin, where the king, having drained the cup of misery to the dregs, was compelled to resign all his continental dominions, which were immediately taken possession of by the French authorities. A fugitive from his capital, the ill-fated monarch left his palace by torch-light during the night, and owed his safe retreat to the island of Sardinia to the generous efforts of Talleyrand, then ambassador at Turin, who protected him from the dangers which threatened his life. A provisional government was immediately established in Turin, composed of twenty-five of the most violent of the democratic party; while Grouchy took possession of the treasury, arsenals, and fortresses of the kingdom, and published a proclamation, denouncing the pain of death against whoever had a pound of powder or a gun in his possession, and declaring that any of the nobles who might engage in an insurrection should be arrested, sent to France, and have half their goods confiscated.

clothing, and supplies for the Army of Italy, though greatly exceeding the engagements which it had contracted, and which were so burdensome as entirely to exhaust the royal treasury. His majesty has even gone so far as to agree to place in their hands the citadel of Turin; and the very day on which it was demanded, he gave orders for the furnishing of the contingent stipulated by the treaty. At the same moment he despatched a messenger to Paris to negotiate concerning other demands which were inadmissible, in particular the surrender of all the arsenals. But in the midst of these measures, the commander of the French garrison in the citadel of Turin violently seized possession of the towns of Novarra, Alessandria, Chivasso, and Suza. His majesty, profoundly afflicted at these events, feels it his duty to declare thus publicly, that he has faithfully performed all his engagements to France, and given no provocation whatever to the disastrous events which threaten his kingdom." Grouchy, the French general, forced the king to suppress this proclamation, threatening to bombard him in his own palace in case of refusal.

The unworthy intrigues, falsehoods, and menaces by which the resignation of the throne was forced upon the king, are thus detailed by the same general in his secret report to the Directory:—"The moment had now arrived, when all the springs which I had prepared were to be put in motion. At

89. While these events were in progress in the north of Italy, war had arisen and a kingdom been overthrown in the south of the peninsula. Naples, placed on the edge of the revolutionary volcano since the erection of the States of the Church into a separate republic, had viewed with the utmost alarm the progress of the democratic spirit in its dominions; and on the occupation of Rome by the French troops, thirty thousand men were stationed in the mountain passes on the frontier, in the belief that an immediate invasion was intended. These apprehensions were not diminished by the appearance of the expedition to Egypt in the Mediterranean, the capture of Malta, and the vicinity of so large a force to the coasts of Naples. Rightly judging, from the fate of the other states in Italy, that their destruction was unavoidable, either from internal revolution or external violence, if measures were not taken to avert the danger, the Neapolitan cabinet augmented their military establishment, and secretly entered into negotiations with Austria,—whose disposition to put a stop to the further encroach-

this crisis an envoy came to me from the king; he was a man to be gained, and was so; other persons were also corrupted: but the great difficulty was, that these propositions all emanated from the king, and that no writing reached me, so that in no event could I be disavowed. Circumspection was the more necessary, as *war was not yet declared against the King of Sardinia*, and it was necessary to act so that his resignation might appear to be voluntary. I confined myself to threatening the envoy, and sent him out of the citadel. Meanwhile, my secret agents were incessantly at work; the envoy returned to me; I announced the arrival of columns which had not yet come up; and informed him that the hour of vengeance had arrived; that Turin was surrounded on all sides, that escape was impossible, and that unqualified submission alone remained. The Council of State had sat all the morning; my hidden emissaries there had carried their point. The conditions I exacted were agreed to. I insisted, as an indispensable preliminary, that all the Piedmontese troops which had been assembled in Turin for a month past should be dismissed; in presence of Clausef, the king signed the order; and after eight hours of further altercation, the same officer compelled him to sign the whole articles which I had required."—HARD. vii. 118, 120. See also *The Resignation*, correctly given in HARD. vii. 122, *et seq.*

ments of France was obvious from her occupation of the Grisons,—for the purpose of concerting measures for their common defence. The French ambassador, Garat, a well-known republican, in vain endeavoured to allay their apprehensions; but, at the same time, smiled at the feeble military force with which they hoped to arrest the conquerors of Arcola and Rivoli.

90. Considered merely with reference to the number and equipment of its forces, the Neapolitan monarchy was by no means to be despised, and was capable, apparently, of interfering with decisive effect in the approaching struggle between France and Austria in the Italian peninsula. Its infantry consisted of thirty thousand regular soldiers and fifteen thousand militia; the artillery, organised by French officers, was on the best possible footing; and the cavalry had given proof of its efficiency in the actions on the Po, in the commencement of the campaign of 1796. Forty thousand men were ordered to be added to the army, to raise it to the war establishment, and the militia to be quadrupled. But these energetic measures were never carried into full execution; notwithstanding the imposition of heavy taxes, and liberal donations from the nobility and clergy, insurmountable difficulties were experienced in the levying and equipping so large a body of troops; and the effective forces of the monarchy never exceeded sixty thousand men, of which one-third were required to garrison the fortresses on the frontier. These troops, such as they were, proved utterly deficient in military spirit; the officers, appointed by court intrigue, had lost all the confidence of the soldiers; and the discipline, alternately carried on upon the German and Spanish systems, was in the most deplorable state. To crown the whole, the common men, especially in the infantry, were destitute of courage—a singular circumstance in the descendants of the Samnites, but which has invariably been the disgrace of the Neapolitan army since the fall of the Roman empire.

91. The French commenced their revolutionary measures in Naples, accord-

ing to their usual practice, by requiring the immediate liberation of all those of the democratic party who were confined for political offences; and though this demand was highly obnoxious to the court, yet such was the terror inspired by the republican arms, that they were obliged to comply. Meanwhile, intrigues of every kind were set on foot by their agents in the Neapolitan territories; the insolence of their ambassador knew no bounds; the grossest libels against the queen and the royal family were daily published in the Roman papers, under the direction of the French generals; and a general military survey was made of the Neapolitan frontiers, and transmitted to the Directory at Paris. During these revolutionary measures, however, the French were daily augmenting their forces at Rome, and making preparations for offensive operations; and the cabinet of Naples was warned not to put any reliance on so distant a power as Austria, as the republican troops in the Ecclesiastical States would be adequate to the conquest of Naples before the Imperial forces could pass the Po. But the court was firm; the military preparations were continued with unabated vigour, and a treaty, offensive and defensive, was concluded with the Emperor, by which the King of Naples was to be assisted, in the event of an invasion, by a powerful army of Austrians. It was no part of the first design of the Neapolitans to commence hostilities, but to wait till the Republicans were fully engaged with the Imperialists on the Adige, when it was thought their forces might act with effect in the centre of the peninsula.

92. Matters were in this inflammable state in the kingdom of Naples, when intelligence arrived of the glorious victory of the Nile, and the total destruction of the French fleet on the shores of Egypt, which will be recounted in the succeeding chapter. The effect produced over all Europe, but especially in Italy, by this great event, was truly electrical. It was the greatest defeat which the French had experienced since the rise of the Republic; it annihilated their naval power in the Mediterranean,

left Malta to its fate, and, above all, seemed to banish Napoleon and his victorious troops for ever from the scene of European warfare. The language of humiliation and despondency was forthwith laid aside; loud complaints of the perfidy and extortion of the French armies became universal; and the giddy multitude, who had recently hailed their approach with tumultuous shouts of joy, taught by bitter experience, now prepared to salute, with still louder acclamations, those who should deliver them from their yoke. The enthusiasm at Naples was already very great, when the arrival of Nelson with his victorious fleet at that port raised it to the highest possible pitch. He was received with more than regal honours; the king and the queen went out to meet him in the bay; the immense and ardent population of the capital rent the air with their acclamations; and the shores of Posilippo were thronged with crowds anxious to catch a glance of the conqueror of the Nile. The remonstrances of the French ambassador were unable to restrain the universal joy; the presence of the British admiral was deemed a security against every danger—a signal for the resurrection of the world against its oppressors. In vain Ariola, and the more prudent counsellors of the king, represented the extreme peril of attacking, with their inexperienced forces, the veterans of France before the Austrians were ready to support them on the Adige. These wise remonstrances were disregarded; and the war party, at the head of which were the queen and Lady Hamilton, the wife of the British ambassador, succeeded in securing a decision in favour of the immediate commencement of hostilities.

93. Though irritated to the last degree at the determined stand which the King of Naples had made against their revolutionary designs, and the open joy his subjects had testified at their disasters, the French were by no means desirous at this time to engage in immediate warfare with a new opponent. The battle of the Nile, and consequent isolation of their bravest army and best general, had greatly damped the arro-

gance of their former presumption; their finances were in a state of inextricable confusion; the soldiers, both at Rome and Mantua, had lately mutinied from want of pay; and the forces of Austria, supported, as it was foreseen they would be, by those of Russia, were rapidly increasing both in numbers and efficiency. In these circumstances, it was their obvious policy to temporise, and delay the overthrow of the Neapolitan monarchy till the great levies they were making in France were ready to take the field, and keep in check the Imperial forces on the Adige till the work of revolution in the south of Italy was completed. Meanwhile, the affiliated republics were called on to take their full share of the burdens consequent upon their alliance with France. Every man in Switzerland capable of bearing arms, from sixteen to forty-five years of age, was put in requisition; the King of Sardinia compelled to advance 8,000,000 francs; the Cisalpine republic assessed at a loan of 24,000,000 francs, or £1,000,000 sterling, and required to put its whole contingent at the disposal of France; and a fresh contribution of 12,000,000 francs imposed on the Roman territory, besides assignats being issued on the security of its ecclesiastical estates.

94. Previous to the commencement of hostilities, the Neapolitan government had requested the Austrians to send them some general capable of directing the movements of the large force which they had in readiness to take the field. The Aulic Council sent General Mack, an officer who stood high at Vienna in the estimation of military men, but who, though skilled in sketching out plans of a campaign on paper, and possessed of considerable talent in strategetical design, was totally destitute of the penetration and decision requisite for success in the field. Nelson at once saw through his character. "Mack," said he, "cannot travel without five carriages. I have formed my opinion of him; would to God that I may be mistaken!"—an opinion which, to the disgrace of Austria, was too fully verified in the events at Ulm, which

have given a mournful notoriety to his name.

95. For long the Directory persisted in the belief that the Neapolitans would never venture to take the field till the Austrian forces were ready to support them, which it was known would not be the case till the following spring. They had done nothing, accordingly, towards concentrating their troops; and when there could no longer be any doubt that war was about to commence, their only resource was to send Championnet to take the command of the army in the environs of Rome. He found them dispersed over a surface of sixty leagues. Macdonald, with six thousand, lay at Terracina, and guarded the narrow defile betwixt its rocks and the Mediterranean Sea; Casa-Bianca, with the left wing, five thousand strong, occupied the reverse of the Apennines towards Ancona; in the centre, General Lemoine, with four thousand men, was stationed at Terni, and watched the central defiles of the same mountain-chain; while five thousand were in the neighbourhood of Rome. Thus twenty thousand men were stretched across the peninsula from sea to sea, while double that number of Neapolitans were concentrated in the environs of Capua, ready to separate and overwhelm them. This was rendered the more feasible, as the bulk of the forces of the cabinet of Naples, advanced in the Abruzzi, had passed, by a considerable distance, the Republicans at Rome and Terracina. Circumstances never occurred more favourable for a decisive stroke, had the Neapolitan generals possessed capacity to undertake, or their soldiers courage to execute it.

96. Mack began his operations on the 23d of November; but, instead of profiting by the dispersion of the French force, to throw an overwhelming mass upon their centre, and detach and surround the right wing and troops at Rome, which were so far advanced as almost to invite his seizure, he divided his forces into five columns to enter the Roman territory by as many different points of attack. A corps of seven thousand infantry and six hundred horse was destined to advance

along the shore of the Adriatic, towards Ancona; two thousand men were directed against Terni and Foligno; the main body, under Mack in person, consisting of twenty thousand infantry and four thousand cavalry, was moved forward, through the centre of the peninsula, by Valmontone, on Frascati; while eight thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry advanced by Terracina and the Pontine marshes on Albano and Rome, and five thousand men were embarked on board some of Lord Nelson's ships, to be landed at Leghorn, and effect a diversion in the rear of the enemy. The overwhelming force which was directed against Frascati, and which threatened to separate the Republicans stationed there from the remainder of the army, obliged Championnet to evacuate Rome and concentrate his forces at Terni; and the King of Naples made his triumphal entry into the Eternal City on the 29th. So wretched, however, was the state of discipline of his troops, that they soon fell into confusion merely from the fatigues of the march and the severity of the rains, and arrived in as great disorder, at the termination of a few days' advance, as if they had sustained a disastrous defeat. While Mack was reorganising his shaken battalions at Rome, General Lemoine succeeded in surrounding and making prisoners the corps of two thousand men which advanced against Terni; while Giustini, who commanded another little column in the centre, was driven over the mountains to the main body on the banks of the Tiber. The corps which advanced against Ancona, after some trifling success, was thrown back about the same time within the Neapolitan frontier.

97. These successes, and the accounts he received of the disordered state of the main body of the enemy's forces at Rome, encouraged Championnet to keep his ground on the western slope of the Apennines. Stationing, therefore, Macdonald, with a large force, at Civita Castellana, perhaps the ancient Veii, a city surrounded by inaccessible precipices, and impassable ravines, crossed only by two lofty bridges, he hastened himself to Ancona, to accelerate the



formation of the parks of artillery, and the organisation of the reserves of the army. This distribution of his forces exposed the troops at Civita Castellana to the risk of being cut off by an irruption, in force, of the enemy upon the line of their retreat at Terni; but the Republicans had not to contend either with the genius or the troops of Napoleon. Mack, persisting in the system of dividing his forces, exposed them to defeat from the veterans of France at every point of attack, and, in truth, their character was such that by no possible exertions could they be brought to face the enemy. One of his columns, commanded by the Chevalier Saxe, destined to turn Civita Castellana on the left, was attacked, at the bridge of Borghetto over the Tiber, by Kniazwitz, at the head of three thousand of the Polish legion, and totally defeated, all its artillery being taken. The other, intended to turn it on the right, encountered the advanced guard of Macdonald near Nepi, and was speedily routed, with the loss of two thousand prisoners, all its baggage, and fifteen guns. In the centre, Marshal Bourcard in vain endeavoured to force the bridge of Rome, thrown over the chasm on the southern side of Civita Castellana; and at length Mack, finding both his wings defeated, withdrew his forces, and began to meditate a new design for dislodging his antagonists from their formidable position.

98. Instructed by this disaster, both in regard to the miserable quality of his own troops and the ruinous selection he had made of the point of attack, Mack resolved upon a different disposition of his forces. Leaving, therefore, Marshal Bourcard, with four thousand men, in front of Civita Castellana, he transported the main body of his army to the left bank of the Tiber, with the design of overwhelming Lemoine in the central and important position of Terni. This movement, which, if rapidly executed with steady troops, might have been attended with decisive success, became, from the slowness with which it was performed, and the wretched quality of the soldiers to whom it was intrusted, the source of irreparable dis-

asters. General Metch, who commanded his advanced guard, five thousand strong, having descended from the mountains and surprised Otricoli on the road to Terni, was soon assailed there by General Mathieu, and driven back to Calvi, where he was thrown into such consternation by the arrival of Kniazwitz on his flank with fifteen hundred men, that he laid down his arms, with four thousand men, though both the attacking columns did not exceed three thousand five hundred. After this check, accompanied with such disgraceful conduct on the part of the troops, Mack despaired of success, and instantly commenced his retreat towards the Neapolitan frontier. The King of Naples hastily left Rome in the night, and fled in the utmost alarm to his own capital, while Mack retired with all his forces, abandoning the Ecclesiastical States to their fate. Championnet vigorously pursued the retreating columns; the French troops entered Rome; and General Damas, cut off with three thousand men from the main body, and driven northward to Orbitello, concluded a convention with Kellermann, by which it was agreed that they should evacuate the Tuscan States without being considered as prisoners of war. Seventeen days after the opening of the campaign, the Neapolitan troops were expelled at all points from the Ecclesiastical territory; Rome was again in the hands of the Republicans; eighteen thousand veterans had driven before them forty thousand men, splendidly dressed and abundantly equipped, but utterly destitute of the discipline and courage requisite to obtain success in war.

99. Such was the terror inspired by these disasters, that the court of Naples did not conceive themselves in safety even in their own capital. On the 21st December, the royal family, during the night, withdrew on board Nelson's fleet, and embarked for Sicily, taking with them the most valuable effects in the palaces at Naples and Caserta, the chief curiosities in the museum of Portici, and above a million in specie from the public treasury. The inhabitants of the capital were thrown into the utmost

consternation when they learned in the morning that the royal family and ministers had all fled, leaving to them the burden of maintaining a disastrous and ruinous contest with France. Nothing, of course, could be expected from the citizens, when the leaders of the state had been the first to show the example of desertion. The revolutionary spirit immediately broke out in the democratic part of the community; rival authorities were constituted, the dissensions of party paralysed the efforts of the few who were attached to their country, and everything seemed to promise an easy victory to the invaders.

100. Meanwhile Championnet was engaged in preparations for the conquest of Naples—an object which, considered in a military point of view, required little more than vigour and capacity, but which, politically, could not fail to be highly injurious to the interests of France, by the demonstration it would afford of the insatiable nature of the spirit of propagandism by which its government was actuated, and the dispersion of its military force over the whole extent of the peninsula which it would produce. The sagacity of Napoleon was never more clearly evinced than in the resistance which he made to the tempting offers made to him in his first campaign for the conquest of Rome; and the wisdom of his resolution was soon manifested by the disastrous effects which followed the extension of the French forces into the extremity of Naples, when they had the whole weight of Austria to expect on the Adige. Untaught by the ruinous consequences of an undue dispersion of force by the Austrian commander, Championnet fell into precisely the same error in the invasion of the Neapolitan dominions. He had at his disposal, after deducting the garrisons of Rome and Ancona, twenty-one thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry, having received considerable reinforcements from the north of Italy since the contest commenced. This force he divided into five columns: on the extreme right, Rey, with two thousand five hundred infantry and eight hundred cavalry, was ordered to advance by the Pon-

tine marshes to Terracina, while Macdonald, with seven thousand foot and three hundred horse, pushed forward to Ciprano; Lemoine, with four thousand infantry and two hundred cavalry, was directed to move upon Sulmona; while seven thousand infantry and two hundred horse, under Duhesme, ascended the course of the Pescara to Popoli, where they were to effect their junction with the division of Lemoine. The object of these complicated movements was to assemble a formidable force in front of Capua and along the stream of the Volturnus; but the difficulty of uniting the different columns, after a long march in a mountainous and rugged country, was so great that, had they been opposed by an enemy of skill and resolution, they would have experienced the fate of Wurmser, when he divided his army in presence of Napoleon on the opposite sides of the lake of Garda.

101. Notwithstanding their perilous dispersion of force, the invading army at all points met with surprising success. The divisions under Rey and Macdonald found Mack posted with twenty-five thousand men in a strong position behind the Volturnus, stretching from Castella Mare to Scaffa di Cajazzo, having Capua, with its formidable ramparts, in the centre, and both its wings covered by a numerous artillery. But nothing could induce the Neapolitan troops to face the enemy. After a sharp skirmish, their advanced guard abandoned the wooded cliffs of Itri, and fled through their almost impregnable thickets to Gaeta, the strongest place in the Neapolitan dominions, but which surrendered with its garrison, three thousand six hundred strong, on the first summons of General Rey, with an inferior force. The troops in the rear, behind the Volturnus, seized with an unaccountable panic, at the same time abandoned their position and artillery, and sought refuge under the cannon of Capua. Thither they were pursued in haste by Macdonald's division; but the guns of the ramparts opened upon his troops so terrible a fire of grape-shot, that they were repulsed with great slaughter; and had the Nea-

politan cavalry obeyed Mack's order to charge at that critical moment, that division of the French army might have been totally destroyed.

102. But though the junction of the divisions of Rey and Macdonald, and the capture of Gaeta, gave Championnet a solid footing on the great road from Rome to Naples, in front of the Volturnus, his situation was daily becoming more critical. For more than a week no intelligence had been received from the other divisions of the army; the detachments sent out to gain intelligence, found all the mountain-passes in the interior of the Abruzzi choked up with snow, and the villages in a state of insurrection; Itri, Fondi, and all the posts in the rear of the army, soon fell into the hands of the peasants, who evinced a courage which afforded a striking contrast to the pusillanimity of the regular forces. The victorious division was insulated in the midst of its conquests. At the same time, the insurrection of the rural districts, in support of the monarchy, spread with the utmost rapidity in the whole level fields of the Terra di Lavoro; a large assemblage of armed peasants collected at Sessa, the bridge over the Volturnus was broken down, and all the insulated detachments of the army were assailed with a fury very different from the languid operations of the regular forces. Had Mack profited by his advantages, and made a vigorous attack with his whole centre upon Macdonald's division, there is reason to think that, notwithstanding the pusillanimity of his troops, he might have forced them to a disastrous retreat.

103. But the Austrian general had now lost all confidence in the forces under his command; and the vacillation of the provisional government at Naples gave him no hopes of receiving support from the rear in the event of disaster. An attempt against the mountains of Cajazzo with a few battalions failed; Damas had not yet arrived with the troops from Tuscany; of nine battalions, routed at the passage of the Volturnus, none but the officers had entered Naples, the common men having all disappeared; and he was aware

that a powerful party, having ramifications in his own camp, was disposed to take advantage of the vicinity of the French army to overturn the royal authority. Rendered desperate by these untoward circumstances, he resolved to make the most of the critical situation of the invaders, by proposing an armistice. The situation of Championnet had become so hazardous, from the failure of provisions and the increasing boldness of the insurgents, that the proposal was accepted with joy, and an armistice for two months was agreed to, on condition that 2,500,000 francs should be paid in fifteen days, and the fortresses of Capua, Acerra, and Benevento, delivered up to the French forces. Thus, by the extraordinary pusillanimity of the Italian troops, was the French general delivered from a situation all but hopeless, and an army, which ran the most imminent danger of passing through the Caudine forks, enabled to dictate a glorious peace to its enemies. Shortly after the conclusion of the convention, Mack, disgusted with the conduct of his soldiers, and finding that they were rapidly melting away by desertion, resigned the command and retired to Naples.

104. NAPLES—a city so celebrated in poetry and romance, that every one must have formed some idea of it, though none can probably equal the reality—is situated, like Algiers and Genoa, on a steep declivity, rising in some places abruptly from the water's edge. The largest city in Italy, it contains 364,000 inhabitants, besides 20,000 strangers who are always within its walls; but, great as this number is, the impression produced by the concourse of persons in the streets is still greater, from the indolent habits of a large proportion of the lower orders, and the benignity of the climate, which enables them to spend the most of their time in the open air. No city in the world, except perhaps Rio Janeiro, is placed on so enchanting a situation. It stands on the coast of a region so richly endowed by the gifts of nature, that in every age it has inspired the imagination of poetry, and formed the

fabled Elysium of ancient genius.\* Built on a succession of hills rising from the water's edge, to the height of two hundred and fifty feet, in the centre of a deep bay, fifty miles round, it both commands the most beautiful marine views in the world, and is placed on so commanding an elevation as to afford every facility for enjoying them. On the right hand, looking from Naples, are to be seen the hills of Baia, the abode of Roman opulence; the point of Mycenum, the principal station of their fleet; the wooded slopes surrounding the Lake of Avernus; the bold rocks of Pozzuoli; the lofty peaks of Ischia. On the left, Vesuvius rises in solitary majesty from amidst the plain which its ashes have fertilised, and the cities which its eruptions have overthrown. In front, the noble mountains of Sorrento form a romantic background to the scene, at the extremity of which the rocks of Capri, the retreat of Tiberius, gradually dip down, till they are lost in the level expanse of the ocean.

105. Varied and romantic, however, as is this background of the scene, it is not on it that the eye of the traveller is chiefly riveted. The Bay itself, reflecting, as it almost always does, the unclouded blue of heaven, and traversed by hundreds of barks and feluccas, with snowy sails, of the lightest and most elegant forms, is still more attractive. The aspect of the massy structures of the capital, which crowd down to the water's edge; their flat roofs, which give an Oriental character to the scene; the huge ramparts of the Castel del Uovo, resting on rocky islands at the mouth of the harbour;

\* "And grapes, that swell with sweet and precious wine,  
There, without pruning, yields the fertile vine;  
The olive fat there ever buds and flows,  
The honey drops from hollow oaks distill,  
The falling brook her silver streams down pours,  
With gentle murmur from their native hill:  
The western blast temp'eth with dews and shows  
The sunny rays, lest heat the blossoms kill:  
The Fields Elysian (as fond heathens feign)  
Were there, where souls of men in bliss remain."

Tasso, *Jerusalem Delivered*, xv. 36.

the bold battlements of the Fort St Elmo, which occupies the highest part of the ridge, and surmounts all the other buildings in the city: the beautiful terrace of the Chiaja, stretching out on the seacoast towards Baia, the abode of wealth and rank, form a succession of objects so lovely, and yet so varied, as altogether to entrance the spectator. It is more romantic than Constantinople, from the superior elevation and more rugged summits of the mountains which form the background of the landscape; and more varied and perfect than Genoa, from the adjoining heights and ranges enclosing the bay more completely, and giving it more the character of an inland lake. Whoever has had the good fortune to see this enchanting spectacle, with the glow of sunset gilding the waves, and illuminating the palaces, will cease to wonder at the enthusiasm of the Italians, which has given rise to the proverb, "Vedi Napoli, e poi muori!"† Nor are the associations of genius wanting to this matchless scene. In those rocks, on the right, is to be found the tomb of Virgil; at the foot of that mountain, on the left, Pliny perished; on those cliffs, in front, Salvator studied; on the reverse of those blue hills Tasso was born.

106. Indolent, poor, and half savage in their habits, the lower orders of Naples, who are called Lazzaroni, form a peculiar class, unlike those who are to be met with in any other city. They are exceedingly numerous, and embrace not less than sixty thousand persons capable of bearing arms. Almost the whole of this vast population are in a state of extreme poverty; they can hardly be said to have a home in the wretched hired rooms, destitute of furniture, in which they find shelter during the night; all day long they lounge about the quays, the streets, the harbour, seeking a scanty subsistence as boatmen, porters, common labourers, or beggars; and when none of these modes of earning a livelihood occur, they enjoy, what to the Italians is so dear, the "dolce fare niente." Hardy, patient, and enduring, they

† "See Naples, and then die."

can, when excited to exertion, endure alike the extremes of heat and cold; they are equally proof against the burning sirocco of Africa and the frozen winter of Russia.\* Enjoying a delicious climate, they are strangers to the vice of intoxication: a glass of iced water is the luxury they most highly prize; reposing in the shade and gazing on the bay, the pleasure to which they most willingly revert. Ignorant, and yet excitable, they are superstitious, credulous, and guided by their priests; irritable and revengeful, they have all the well-known vices of the Italian character. When properly directed, however, and roused to worthy purposes, they are capable of great and strenuous efforts; and exhibited a memorable proof of the truth which history in all ages has demonstrated, that in an opulent and corrupted society, it is in the lowest class that patriotic virtue last lingers.

107. Though not regularly fortified, Naples is a city which, in the hands of resolute men, is very susceptible of defence. Being built entirely of stone, it is in some degree proof against the terrors of a bombardment; and though the quarters next the Campagna Felice would easily fall into the hands of a numerous and enterprising enemy, yet their possession would neither insure that of the remainder of the city, nor form an acquisition tenable in itself against an enemy who still held the upper part of the city, and was resolute to defend it. The guns from Fort St Elmo command it in every part; bombs from that fortress would speedily render any quarter well-nigh untenable; its solid ramparts are proof against a coup-de-main; and regular approaches would be difficult in a vicinity encumbered with lofty stone edifices or composed of arid rock. Above all, the desperate and reckless character of the lower classes, as well as their extraordinary enthusiasm, when once strongly excited, rendered it not unlikely that,

\* When Napoleon left Smorgoni on 3d December 1812, to proceed to Paris after the passage of the Berezina, he was escorted by fifty Neapolitan hussars, almost the only horsemen in the Grand Army equal to that duty.—CHAMBRAY, *Campaigne de 1812*, iii. 107.

after the gates of the city were forced, a desperate warfare might be maintained in the streets, and a murderous fire of musketry descend from the lofty buildings in the interior of the city upon the bold assailants who should venture into its narrow and intricate enclosures.

108. The intelligence of this armistice excited the utmost indignation among the populace of that capital, whose inhabitants, like all others of Greek descent, were extremely liable to vivid impressions, and totally destitute of the information requisite to form a correct judgment on the chance of success. The discontent was raised to the highest pitch by the arrival of the French commissaries appointed to receive payment of the first instalment of the contribution stipulated by the convention. The popular indignation was now worked up to a perfect fury. The lazzaroni flew to arms; the regular troops refused to act against the insurgents; the cry arose that they had been betrayed by the viceroy, the general, and the army; and the people, assembling in multitudes, exclaimed, "Long live our holy faith! Long live the Neapolitan people!" In the midst of the general confusion, the viceroy and the provisional government fled to Sicily; for three days the city was a prey to all the horrors of anarchy; and the tumult was only appeased by the appointment of Prince Moliterno and the Duke of Bocca Romana as chiefs of the insurrection, who engaged to give it a direction that might save the capital from the ruin with which it was threatened.

109. Meanwhile, the French divisions in the Abruzzi having fortunately effected their junction with the main army on the Volturnus, Championnet advanced in three columns, with all his forces, towards Naples; while Mack, whose life was equally threatened by the furious lazzaroni and his own soldiers, sought safety in the French camp. Championnet had the generosity to leave him his sword, and treat him with the hospitality due to his misfortunes: an admirable piece of courtesy, which the Directory showed they were in-

capable of appreciating, by ordering him to be detained a prisoner of war. As the French army approached Naples, the fury of the parties against each other increased in violence, and the insurrection of the lazzaroni assumed a more formidable character. Distrusting all their leaders of rank and property, whose weakness had in truth proved that they were unworthy of confidence, they deposed Prince Moliterno and the Duke of Bocca Romana, and elected two simple lazzaroni, Paggio and Michel le Fou, to be their leaders. Almost all the shopkeepers and burghers, however, being attached to democratic principles, desired a revolutionary government; and to these were now added nearly the whole class of proprietors, who were justly afraid of general pillage, if the unruly defenders, to whom their fate was unhappily intrusted, should prove successful. The quarters of Championnet, in consequence, were besieged by deputations from the more opulent citizens, who offered to assist his forces in effecting the reduction of the capital; but the French general, aware of the danger of engaging a desperate population in the streets of a great city, refused to advance till Fort St Elmo, which commands the town, was put into the hands of the partisans of the Republic. This assurance having at length been given, he put all his forces in motion, and advanced in three columns against the city. At the same time he issued a proclamation to the Neapolitan people, in which he said, "Be not alarmed, we are not your enemies. The French punish unjust and haughty kings; but they bear no arms against the people. Those who show themselves friends of the Republic will be secured in their persons and property, and experience only its protection. Disarm the perfidious wretches who excite you to resistance. You will change your institutions for those of a republican form: I am about to establish a provisional government." In effect a revolutionary committee was immediately organised at the French headquarters, having at its head Charles Lambert, a furious republican, and formerly

one of the warmest partisans of Robespierre.

110. But the lazzaroni of Naples, brave and enthusiastic, were not intimidated by his approach, and, though deserted by their king, their government, their army, and their natural leaders, prepared with undaunted resolution to defend their country, Acting with inconceivable energy, they at once drew the artillery from the arsenals to guard the avenues to the city, commenced intrenchments on the heights which commanded its different approaches, armed the ardent multitude with whatever weapons chance threw in their way, barricaded the principal streets, and stationed guards at all the important points in its vast circumference. The few regular troops who had not deserted their colours were formed into a reserve, consisting of four battalions and a brigade of cannoniers. The zeal of the populace was inflamed by means of a nocturnal procession of the head and blood of St Januarius around the city, and the enthusiastic multitude issued in crowds from the gate to face the conquerors of Italy. The combat which ensued was one of the most extraordinary of the revolutionary war, fruitful as it was in events of unprecedented character. For three days the battle lasted, between Aversa and Capua,—on the one side, numbers, resolution, and enthusiasm; on the other, discipline, skill, and military experience. Often the Republican ranks were broken by the impetuous charges of their infuriated opponents; but these transient moments of success led to no lasting result, from the want of any reserve to follow up the advantage, and the disorder into which any rapid advance threw the tumultuary ranks. Still crowd after crowd succeeded. As the assailants were swept down by volleys of grape-shot, new multitudes rushed forward. The plain was covered with the dead and the dying: and the Republicans, weary with the work of slaughter, slept that night beside their guns, within pistol shot of their indomitable opponents. At length, the artillery and skill of the French prevailed; the Neapolitans were driven back into

the city, still resolved to defend it to the last extremity.

111. A terrible combat ensued at the gate of Capua. The Swiss battalion, which, with two thousand lazzaroni, was intrusted with the defence of that important post, long resisted all the efforts of the Republicans. Two attacks were repulsed with great slaughter, and at length the chief of the staff, Thiébault, only succeeded in making himself master of the entrance by feigning a retreat, and thus drawing the inexperienced troops from their barricades into the plain, where they were charged with the bayonet by the French, who entered the gate pell-mell with the fugitives. Still, however, they made good their ground in the streets. The Republicans found they could expel the besieged from their fastnesses only by burning down or blowing up the edifices, and their advance through the city was rendered almost impracticable by the mountains of slain which choked up the causeway. But while this heroic resistance was going on at the gates, a body of the citizens, attached to the French party, made themselves masters of the fort of St Elmo, and the Castello del Uovo, and immediately sending intimation to Championnet, a body of troops was moved forward, and these important posts taken possession of by his soldiers. The lazzaroni shed tears of despair when they beheld the tricolor flag waving on the last strongholds of their city; but still the resistance continued with unabated resolution. Championnet upon this gave orders for a general attack. Early on the morning of the 23d, the artillery from the castle of St Elmo showered down cannon-shot upon the city, and dense columns of infantry approached all the avenues to its principal quarters. Notwithstanding the utmost resistance, they made themselves masters of the fort del Carmine; but Kellermann was held in check by a chief of the lazzaroni, named Paggio, near the Seraglio. The roofs of the houses were covered with armed men; showers of balls, flaming combustibles, and boiling water fell from the windows; and all the other columns were repulsed with great

slaughter, when an accidental circumstance put an end to the strife, and gave the French the entire command of Naples. Michel le Fou, the lazzaroni leader, having been made prisoner, was conducted to the headquarters of the French general, and having been kindly treated, offered to mediate between the contending parties. Peace was speedily established. The French soldiers exclaimed, "Vive St Janvier!" the Neapolitans, "Vivent les Français!" A guard of honour was given to St Januarius; and the populace passing, with the characteristic levity of their nation, from one extreme to another, embraced the French soldiers with whom they had so recently been engaged in mortal strife.\*

112. No sooner was the reduction of Naples effected, than the lazzaroni were disarmed, the castles which command the city garrisoned by French troops, royalty abolished, and a new democratic state, called the *Parthenopean Republic*, proclaimed in its stead. In the outset a provisional government of twenty-one members was appointed. Their first measure was to levy upon the exhausted inhabitants of the capital a contribution of 12,000,000 of francs, or £480,000, and upon the remainder of the kingdom one of 15,000,000 francs, or £600,000—burdens which were felt as altogether overwhelming in that poor country, and were rendered doubly oppressive by the unequal manner in which they were levied, and the additional burden of feeding, clothing, lodging, and paying the invading troops, to which the inhabitants were at the same time subjected. Shortly after, there arrived Faypoult, the commissary of the Directory, who instantly sequestered all the royal property, all the estates of the monasteries, the whole banks containing the property of individuals, the allodial lands, of which the

\* The most contemptuous proclamations against the reigning family immediately covered the walls of Naples. In one of them it was said, "Who is the Capet who pretends to reign over you, in virtue of the investiture of the Pope? Who is the crowned scoundrel who dares to govern you? Let him dread the fate of his relative who crushed by his despotism the rising liberty of the Gauls. CHAMPIONNET."—HARD, vii. 172, 173.

king was only administrator, and even the curiosities of Herculaneum and Pompeii, though still buried in the bowels of the earth. Championnet, ashamed of this odious proceeding, suspended the decree of the Assembly; upon which he was immediately recalled, indicted for his disobedience, and Macdonald intrusted with the supreme command; while a commission of twenty-five members was appointed to draw up a constitution for the new republic. The constitution which they framed was, as might have been anticipated, fraught with the grossest injustice, and totally unsuitable to the circumstances of the country. Jacobin clubs were established; the right of election was confined to colleges of electors named by government; the people were deprived of the free franchise which they had inherited from the ancient customs; a national guard was established, in which not three hundred men were ever enrolled; and finally, a decree passed, which declared that in every dispute between the barons and individuals, judgment should, without investigation, be given in favour of the private citizen! But amidst these frantic proceedings, the French generals and civil authorities did not lose sight of their favourite objects, public and private plunder. The arsenals, palaces, and private houses were pillaged without mercy; all the bronze cannon which could be found, were melted down and sold; and the Neapolitan democrats had even the mortification of seeing the beautiful statues of the same metal, which adorned the streets of their capital, disposed of to the highest bidder, to fill the pockets of their republican allies. The utmost discontent immediately ensued among all classes; the patriots broke out into vehement exclamations against the perfidy and avarice of their deliverers; and the democratic government soon became more odious even to the popular party than the regal authority by which it had been preceded.

113. While Italy, convulsed by democratic passions, was thus everywhere falling under the yoke of the French

Directory, Great Britain underwent a perilous crisis of its fate; and the firmness and intrepidity of British patriotism was finely contrasted with the insanity of Continental democracy, and the vacillation of Continental resolution. Ireland was the scene of danger; the theatre, in so many periods of English history, of oppressive or unfortunate legislation on the side of government, and of fierce and blindfold passions on the part of the people. In surveying the annals of this unhappy country, it appears impossible at first sight to explain the causes of its sufferings by any of the known principles of human nature. Severe and conciliatory policy seem to have been equally unavailing to heal its wounds. Conquest has failed in producing submission, severity in enforcing tranquillity, indulgence in awakening gratitude. The irritation excited by the original subjugation of the island seems to be unabated after the lapse of five centuries; the indulgence with which it has often been treated has led uniformly only to increased exasperation, and more formidable insurrections; and the greater part of the suffering which it has so long undergone, appears to have arisen from the measures of severity rendered necessary by the excitation of popular passion consequent on every attempt to return to a more lenient system of government.

114. The first British sovereign who directed his attention to the improvement of Ireland was James I. He justly boasted that there would be found the true theatre of his glory, and that he had done more in a single reign for the improvement of that important part of the empire, than all his predecessors, from the days of Henry II. Instead of increased tranquillity and augmented gratitude, there broke out, shortly after, the dreadful rebellion of 1641, which was only extinguished by Cromwell in oceans of blood. A severe and oppressive code was imposed soon after the Revolution in 1688, and under it the island remained discontented, indeed, but comparatively tranquil, for a hundred years. The more galling parts of this code were removed by the



beneficent policy of George III. From 1780 to 1798 was an uninterrupted course of improvement, concession, and removal of disability, and this indulgent policy was immediately followed by the rebellion of 1798. Ireland has always been treated by England with indulgence in taxation, with generosity in beneficence. She never paid either the income or assessed taxes, so long felt as oppressive in Great Britain; and the sums bestowed by the English government annually upon Irish charities have, for the last half century, varied from £200,000 to £300,000. The last fetters of restriction were struck off by the Catholic Relief Bill in 1829, and the exasperation, discontent, and violence in Ireland, which immediately followed, have been unprecedented in the long course of its humiliated existence. All the promises of tranquillity so often held forth by its advocates were falsified, and half a century of unbroken indulgence was succeeded by the fierce demand for the repeal of the Union, and a degree of anarchy, devastation, and bloodshed, unparalleled in any Christian land.\*

115. These effects are so much at variance with what was predicted and expected to arise from such conciliatory measures, that many able observers have not hesitated to declare them inexplicable, and to set down Ireland as an exception to all the ordinary principles of human nature. A little consideration, however, of the motives which influence mankind on such occasions, and the state of society in which they were called into operation, will be sufficient to demonstrate that this is not the case, and that the continued turbulence of Ireland is the natural result of these principles acting in peculiar and almost unprecedented circumstances. The first evil which has attached to Ireland was the original and subsequent confiscation of so large a portion of the landed property, and its acquisition by persons of a different country, habits, and religion, from the great

body of the inhabitants. In the successive insurrections which that country has witnessed, since the English standard first approached its shores, nearly all its landed property has been confiscated, and lavished either on the English nobility, or companies or individuals of English extraction. Above eight millions of acres were bestowed away in this manner upon the adventurers and soldiers of fortune who followed the standard of Cromwell. It is the great extent of this cruel and unjust measure which has been the original cause of the disasters of Ireland, by nourishing profound feelings of hatred in the descendants of the dispossessed proprietors, and introducing a body of men into the country, necessarily dependent for their existence upon the exclusion of the heirs of the original owners from the inheritance of their forefathers.

116. But other countries have been subjected to landed confiscation as well as Ireland; nearly all the land of England was transferred, first from the Britons to the Saxons, and thence from the Saxons to the Normans; the lands of Gaul were almost entirely, in the course of five centuries, wrested by the Franks from the native inhabitants; and yet upon that foundation have been reared the glories of English civilisation and the vigour of the French monarchy. Other causes, therefore, must be looked for, coexisting with or succeeding these, which have prevented the healing powers of nature from closing there, as elsewhere, that ghastly wound, and perpetuated to distant ages the irritation and the animosities consequent on the first bitterness of conquest. These causes are to be found in the unfortunate circumstance, that Ireland was not the seat, like England or Gaul, of the permanent residence of the victorious nation; that absent proprietors, and their necessary attendants, middlemen, arose from the fact of the kingdom having been subjugated by a race of conquerors who were not to make it their resting-place; and that a different religion was subsequently embraced by the victors from the faith of the vanquished, and the bitterness

\* At this moment (June 1848) tranquillity is only preserved in Ireland by 26,000 British soldiers; and the untaxed Irish are assembling in meetings of 150,000 and 300,000 persons, to demand the repeal of the Union.

of religious animosity superadded to the causes of discontent arising from civil distinction. The same progress was beginning in Scotland after the country was overrun by Edward I., when it was arrested by the vigorous efforts of her unconquerable people; five centuries of experienced obligation have not yet fully developed the incalculable consequences of the victory of Bannockburn, or stamped adequate celebrity on the name of Robert Bruce.

117. Great as were these causes of discontent, and deeply as they had poisoned the fountains of national prosperity, they might yet have been obliterated in process of time, and the victors and vanquished settled down, as in France and England, into one united people, had it not been for another circumstance, to which sufficient attention has not yet been paid—viz. the incessant agitation and vehemence of party strife, arising from the extension, perhaps unavoidable from the connection with England, of the forms of a free and representative government to a people who were in a state of civilisation unfit for either. The fervid and passionate character of the Irish peasantry, which they share more or less with all nations in an infant state of civilisation, and, still more, of unmixed Celtic descent, is totally inconsistent with the calm consideration and deliberate judgment requisite for the due exercise of political rights. The duties of grand and common jurymen, of electors for representatives to parliament, of burghers choosing their own magistrates, and of citizens uniting in public meetings, cannot as yet be fitly exercised by a large portion of the Irish people. From the periodical recurrence of such seasons of excitation has arisen the perpetuating of popular passions, and the maintenance of party strife, with the extinction of which alone can habits of industry or good order be expected to arise. Continued despotism might have healed the wounds of Ireland in a few generations, by extinguishing the passions of the people with the power of indulging them. But the alternations of severity and indulgence which they have experienced under the popular British government,

like a similar course pursued to a spoiled child, have fostered rather than diminished the public discontent, by giving the power of complaint without removing its causes, and prolonging the sense of suffering by perpetuating the passions from which it has arisen.

118. This explains the otherwise unaccountable circumstance, that all the most violent ebullitions of Irish insurrection have taken place shortly after the greatest boons had been conferred upon them by the British legislature, and that the severest oppression of which they complain is not that of the English government, whose conduct towards them for the last forty years has been singularly gentle and beneficent, but of their own native magistracy, from whose vindictive or reckless proceedings their chief miseries are said to have arisen. A people in such circumstances are almost as incapable of bearing the excitements of political change, or the exercise of political power, as the West India Negroes, or the Bedouins of Arabia. Hence the fanatical temper of the English nation, in the reign of Charles I., speedily generated the horrors of the Tyrone rebellion; the excitement of French democracy, in the close of the eighteenth century, gave rise to the insurrection of the United Irishmen; and the party agitation set on foot to effect Catholic Emancipation, the removal of tithes, and the repeal of the Union, has produced in our own times a degree of animosity and discord on its peopled shores,\* which bids fair to throw it back

\* The serious crimes in Ireland during the last three months of 1832, were—

(The Emancipation Bill passed in March),	300
Do. of 1830,	490
Do. of 1831 (Reform Agitation),	814
Do. of 1832 (Tithes and Repeal Agitation),	1518

The crimes reported in Ireland in the year 1831 were 16,669, of which 210 were murders; 1478 robberies; burning houses, 466; attacks on houses, 2296; burglaries, 531; robbery of arms, 678. The crimes reported in England in the same year were 19,647. The population of England and Wales in 1831, was 18,894,000; that of Ireland, 7,784,000. See *Part. Returns*, 14th March 1833, 8th May 1833, and *Population Census*, 1833. By the Coercion Act the serious crimes were at once reduced to a fourth part, or nearly so, of these numbers. —HANSARD, *Part. Deb.* Feb. 9, 1834.

for half a century in the career of real freedom.

119. Following out the system which they uniformly adopted towards the states which they wished to overthrow, whether by open hostility or secret propagandism, the French government had for years held out hopes to the Irish malcontents, and by every means in their power sought to widen the breach, already unhappily too great, between the native and the English population. This was no difficult task. The Irish were already sufficiently disposed to ally themselves with any enemy who promised to liberate them from the odious yoke of the Saxons; and the dreams of liberty and equality which the French spread wherever they went, and which turned so many of the strongest heads in Europe, proved altogether intoxicating to their ardent and enthusiastic minds. From the beginning of the Revolution, accordingly, its progress was watched with intense anxiety in Ireland. All the horrors of the Reign of Terror failed in opening the eyes of its inhabitants to its real tendency; and the greater and more enterprising part of the Catholic population, who constituted above three-fourths of its entire inhabitants, soon became leagued together for the establishment of a republic in alliance with France, the severance of all connection with England, the restoration of the Catholic religion, and the resumption of the forfeited lands.

120. But although the Catholics in the end formed the chief supporters of the Irish insurrection, it was not among them that it first began. The malady made its earliest appearance among the inhabitants of Ulster, the province of Ireland which contains the largest number of Protestants—a certain proof that the disaffection was in the outset political, not religious. It soon, however, assumed the latter character. From Ulster it spread to Leinster; it afterwards took possession of Munster, and ultimately extended itself to Connaught. The persons enrolled in the secret societies, which formed the basis of the conspiracy, were ere long above two hundred thousand. The system by which this immense insurrection was

organised was one of the most simple, and, at the same time, one of the most efficacious, that ever was devised. Persons were sworn into an association in every part of Ireland, called the Society of United Irishmen, the real objects of which were kept a profound secret, while the ostensible ones were those best calculated to allure the populace. No meeting was allowed to consist of more than twelve members; five of these meetings were represented by five members in a committee, vested with the management of all their affairs. From each of these committees a deputy attended in a superior body; one or two deputies from these composed a county committee; two from every county committee a provincial one; and these last elected five persons to superintend the whole business of the Union. This provisional government was elected by ballot; and the names of its members were only communicated to the secretaries of the provincial committees, who were officially intrusted with the scrutiny of the votes. Thus, though their power was unbounded, their agency was invisible, and many hundred thousand men obeyed the dictates of an unknown authority. The military authorities were appointed in the same way. A committee of twelve chose a sergeant; ten sergeants chose a captain; ten captains a colonel. Secret signs were universal: the hands clasped—with the answer, the right hand to the left hip. Liberation from tithes and dues to the Protestant clergy, and the restoration of the Roman Catholic faith, formed the chief boons presented to the lower classes; and in order to effect these objects, it was speciously pretended that a total change of government was necessary. The real objects of the chiefs of the insurrection, which they would have had no difficulty in persuading the giddy multitude who followed their steps to adopt, were the overthrow of the British government, and the formation of a republic allied to France. Parliamentary reform was the object ostensibly held out to the country as being the one most calculated to conceal their ultimate designs, and enlist the greatest number of the respectable

classes on their side. So strongly were men's minds infected with party spirit at that period, and so completely did it obliterate the better feelings of our nature, even in the most generous minds, that these intentions were communicated to several of the Opposition party on both sides of the Channel; and even Mr Fox, if we may believe the poetic biographer of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, was no stranger to the project entertained for the dismemberment and revolutionising of the empire.\*

121. To resist this formidable combination, which, though at first political and revolutionary, soon became envenomed by the bitterness of religious dissension, another society, composed of those attached to the British government and the Protestant ascendancy, was formed, under the name of Orangemen, who soon rivalled the activity and energy of the Catholic party. Under its

\* "In order to settle," says Moore, "all the details of their late agreement with France, and, in fact, to enter into a formal treaty with the Directory, it was thought of importance by the United Irishmen to send some agent whose station and character should, in the eyes of their new allies, lend weight to his mission; and to Lord Edward Fitzgerald the no less delicate than daring task was assigned. About the latter end of May he passed a day or two in London on his way, and dined at a Member of the House of Lords, as I have been informed by a gentleman present, where the company consisted of Mr Fox, Mr Sheridan, and several other distinguished Whigs—all persons who had been known to *concur warmly in every step* of the popular cause in Ireland, and to whom, if Lord Edward did not give some intimation of the object of his present journey, such an effort of reserve and secrecy was, I must say, very unusual to his character.

It is well known that Mr Fox himself, impatient at the hopelessness of all his efforts to rid England, by any ordinary means, of a despotism which aristocratic alarm had brought upon her, found himself driven, in his despair of Reform, so near that edge where revolution begins, that had there existed at that time in England anything like the same prevalent sympathy with the new doctrines of democracy as responded throughout Ireland, there is no saying how far short of the daring aims of Lord Edward even this great constitutional leader of the Whigs might, in the warmth of his generous zeal, have ventured." It is to be hoped that the biographer of the great English statesman will be able to efface the stain thus cast on his memory by the warmth of combined poetic and Irish zeal.—MOORE'S *Fitzgerald*, i. 165, 166, 276.

influence Ulster soon righted; and that great and industrious province, in which the revolutionists at first boasted there were one hundred and fifty thousand United Irishmen, soon became so loyal in its dispositions, that, besides providing for its own defence, it could spare a large force to support the English force in the adjoining provinces. Unhappily the same vehement zeal and ardent passions, which have always characterised the Irish people, signalised their efforts. The feuds between these two great parties soon became universal; deeds of depredation, rapine, and murder, filled the land; and it was sometimes hard to say whether most acts of violence were perpetrated by the open enemies of law and order, or its unruly defenders. But there was this essential difference between them; the combination of the Orangemen was defensive, induced by necessity; that of the Catholics aggressive, stimulated by ambition. In this hideous domestic dissension, the British troops, under very different discipline then from that which they have since attained, took at times a most discreditable part; and there remains on record a proclamation to them from Sir Ralph Abercrombie, the commander-in-chief in Ireland, characteristic alike of the honourable feelings of the general-in-chief, and the licentious excesses of some of his unworthy followers.†

122. The leaders of the insurrection, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Mr Arthur O'Connor, and Wolfe Tone, went over to France in June 1796, where a treaty was concluded with the French Directory, by which it was agreed that a considerable fleet and army should, in the autumn of that year, be ready for the invasion of Ireland, to enable it to throw off the connection with England, and form a republic in alliance with France. It has been already mentioned how these expectations were thwarted, first by the dispersion of the French

† That upright officer had long before reprehended publicly, and in the severest terms, the disgraceful irregularities and licentiousness of the army in Ireland, which, he emphatically declared, "must render it formidable to every one but the enemy."—*Castlereagh Papers*, i. 189.

fleet in Bantry Bay in December 1796, and then by the glorious victory of Camperdown in 1797. The aid of fifteen thousand men was next promised for the spring of 1798, and on its faith the rebellion broke out. The vigorous efforts of government at that period, and the patriotic ardour of a large portion of the more respectable part of the people, contributed in no small degree to overawe the discontented, and postponed for a considerable period the final explosion of the insurrection.

123. Government, meanwhile, were by no means aware of the magnitude of the danger which threatened them. They had received only some vague information of the existence of a seditious confederacy, when there were above two hundred thousand men organised in companies and regiments in different parts of the kingdom; and the leaders were appointed by whom the insurrection was to be carried into execution in every county of the island. But the defeat of the Dutch fleet at Camperdown having left the insurgents little hope of any powerful succour from France, they became desperate, and began to break out during the following winter into acts of violence in several parts of the country. From want of arms and military organisation, however, they were unable to act in large bodies, and commencing a Vendean system of warfare in the southern counties, soon compelled all the respectable inhabitants to fly to the towns to avoid massacre and conflagration. These disorders were repressed with great severity by the British troops, and the German auxiliaries in English pay. The yeomanry in the disturbed and threatened districts, forty thousand strong, turned out with undaunted courage at the approach of danger, and many cruelties were perpetrated under the British colours, which, though only a retaliation upon the insurgents of their own excesses, excited a deep feeling of revenge, and drove to desperation their furious and undisciplined multitudes.

124. The beginning of 1798 brought matters to an extremity between the

contending parties. On the 19th February, Lord Moira made an eloquent speech in favour of conciliation in parliament; but the period of accommodation was past. On the same day the Irish committees came to a formal resolution, to pay no attention to any offers from either house of parliament, and to agree to no terms but a total separation from Great Britain. They were induced to take this decisive step by the representations of the French Directory, and the knowledge that an immense army, above two hundred and seventy thousand strong, under General Buonaparte, was disposed along the coast of the Channel, within twenty-four hours' march of their respective points of embarkation.\* Dessaix, Baraguay d'Hilliers, Kléber, Kellermann, and various chiefs of inferior note commanded under him. Still, though their designs were discovered, the chiefs of the conspiracy were unknown; but at length their names having been revealed by one of their own leaders, fourteen of the chiefs were arrested at Dublin. Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who escaped at that time, was mortally wounded, some months after, when defending himself from arrest, after having rejected, from a generous devotion to his comrades, all the humane offers made by government to enable him to retire in safety from the kingdom. So desperate was his defence, that he wounded Ryan, the officer who seized him, with a dagger in fourteen places, though he bravely kept his hold till assistance arrived, and he was secured. The places of these leaders were filled up by subordinate authorities; but their arrest was a fatal blow to the rebellion, by depriving it of all the chiefs of character, rank, or ability. Notwithstanding this untoward event, the insurrection broke out at once in many different parts of Ireland in the end of May. The design was to seize the castle and artillery, and surprise

\* "Of the army-list troops ordered for the expedition, 275,000 mounted and dismounted cavalry, battalion men and infantry, all are within twenty-four hours' forced march of the coast."—*Secret Paper from France*, Feb. 1798; *Castlereagh Papers*, i. 166.

the camp at Dublin; while at the same time the attention of government was to be distracted by a simultaneous rising in many different parts of Great Britain and Ireland.

125. The attempt upon Dublin was frustrated by the vigilance of the lord-lieutenant, who, a few days before it was to have taken place, had thus arrested the leaders of the conspiracy in that capital; but in other quarters the revolt broke out with great violence. Martial law was immediately proclaimed in the counties which had become the seat of the insurrection, and under its authority punishment was inflicted upon the rebels, with a certainty and rapidity which had a surprising effect in restoring the feeling of the existence of a government, which the long train of previous disorders and uncertainty of the verdicts of juries had almost obliterated. By these means the incipient rebellion was crushed in many quarters where it threatened to be most formidable; and it broke out seriously only in the counties of Wexford, Tipperary, and Limerick. There, however, the struggle, though short, was very violent and sanguinary. Bodies of the insurgents were worsted at Rath farm-house by Lord Roden, and at Tallanghill by the royal forces; but their principal army, fifteen thousand strong, defeated the English at Enniscorthy, captured that burgh, and soon after made themselves masters of the important town of Wexford, containing a considerable train of artillery, and opening a point of communication with France. Some alarming defections from a few regiments, chiefly filled with Irishmen, took place during these reverses. Following up their successes, they advanced against New Ross, on the confines of Kilkenny, but there they were defeated with great loss by the royal troops; and the rebels revenged themselves for the disaster, by the massacre, in cold blood, of above a hundred prisoners taken at Wexford. At Newtonbarry, after having taken and retaken the town several times, they were finally dislodged, with great loss, by the yeomanry and militia. At length, the British commanders having

collected above ten thousand men in the county of Wexford, under the command of General, afterwards Lord Lake, commenced a general attack on the insurgents, who were fifteen thousand strong, in their camp at Vinegar Hill. The resistance was more obstinate than could have been expected from their tumultuary masses; but, after a bloody conflict, discipline and skill prevailed over untrained valour. They were broken in several charges by the English cavalry and dispersed, leaving all their cannon, thirteen in number, and their whole ammunition, in the hands of the victors.

126. This was a mortal stroke to the rebellion. The insurgents, flying in all directions, were routed in several smaller encounters; and in a few weeks the revolt was so completely got under, that government were enabled to send Lord Cornwallis with a general amnesty for all who submitted before a certain day, with the exception of a few leaders who were afterwards brought to justice. Such was the success of these measures that, out of sixty thousand men who were in arms at the commencement of the insurrection, there remained at the end of July only a few isolated bands in the mountains of Wicklow and Wexford. Thus was terminated a rebellion which, on its first breaking out, at so critical a time, threatened the dismemberment and ruin of the empire. It was originally a "Jacobin conspiracy throughout the kingdom, pursuing its object chiefly with Popish instruments—the heated bigotry of that sect being better suited to the purpose of the republican leaders than the cold reasoning disaffection of the northern Presbyterians."\* The intentions of the rebels were sanguinary in the extreme; every man well affected to the government was to have been massacred, as well as all the officers and Protestants who were not United Irishmen. When they were successful, these frightful intentions were too faithfully carried into effect. Reprisals of the severest kind, and by the terrible means of military punishment, everywhere took

\* Lord Castlereagh to Mr Wickham, June 12, 1798, 1. 219.

place; and without adopting the computation of Lord Edward Fitzgerald's poetic biographer, who estimates the loss of lives at 30,000 on the part of the royalists, and 50,000 on that of the rebels, it may reasonably be concluded that not less than thirty thousand persons on the two sides perished in this melancholy conflict. The claims for damages, sent in to government after the rebellion was over, amounted to £1,023,000, of which £515,000 belonged to the county of Wexford. The total loss to property was not less than £3,000,000 sterling—a dreadful wound to a country possessing little industry and less wealth, but teeming with destitute inhabitants.\* It was fortunate for Britain during this dangerous crisis, that the French government made no adequate attempt to support the insurrection; that they had exposed their fleets, or those of their allies, to defeat in the previous actions at St Vincent and Camperdown; and that now, instead of wounding their mortal enemy in this vulnerable point, they had sent the flower of their army, their best general, and most powerful squadron, upon a distant expedition to the coast of Africa. Confidently trusting, as every Briton must do, that the struggle between France and this country would have terminated in the overthrow of the former, even if it had taken place on our own shores, it is impossible to deny that the landing of Napoleon with forty thousand men, in the midst of the immense and discontented population of Ireland, would have led to most alarming consequences; and possibly

\* "Every man that was a Protestant was called an Orangeman, and every one was to be killed, from the poorest man in the country. The women were worse than the men: they thought it no more sin to kill a Protestant than a dog. Had it not been they were so soon quashed, they would have fought with each other for the property of the Protestants: they were beginning it before the battle of Vinegar Hill. Ever since the rebellion, I never heard one of the rebels express the least sorrow for what was done: on the contrary, I have heard them say they were sorry, when they had the power, they did not kill more, and there were not half enough killed."—Confession of James Bragham, a Roman Catholic rebel, before execution for murder, 24th August 1799.—*Castlebar Papers*, ii. 423.

the imminent peril to the empire might earlier have produced that burst of patriotic feeling, and development of military prowess, which was afterwards so conspicuous in the Peninsular war.

127. Awakened when too late to the importance of the opening which was thus afforded to their arms, the Directory made several attempts to rekindle the expiring flame of the insurrection. Eleven hundred men, under General Humbert, setting sail from Rochfort, landed at Killala, and, with the aid of Napper Tandy, the Irish revolutionist, speedily commenced the organisation of a provisional government, and the enrolment of revolutionary legions, in the province of Connaught.† A force

† The landing of the French troops was announced by two proclamations, one from the French general, the other from Napper Tandy to his countrymen. The first bore:—"United Irish! The soldiers of the great nation have landed on your shores, amply provided with arms, artillery, and munitions of all sorts, to aid you in breaking your fetters and recovering your liberties. Napper Tandy is at their head; he has sworn to break your fetters, or perish in the attempt. To arms! friends, to arms! the trumpet calls you; do not let your brethren perish unrevenged; if it is their destiny to fall, may their blood cement the glorious fabric of freedom." That from Napper Tandy was still more vehement:—"What do I hear? The British government talks of concessions! will you accept them? Can you for a moment entertain the thought of entering into terms with a government which leaves you at the mercy of the English soldiery, which massacres inhumanly your best citizens—with a ministry which is the pest of society and the scourge of the human race? They hold out in one hand the olive branch: look well to the other, you will see in it the hidden dagger. No, Irishmen! you will not be the dupes of such base intrigues; feeling its inability to subdue your courage, it seeks only to seduce you. But you will frustrate all its efforts. Barbarous crimes have been committed in your country; your friends have fallen victims to their devotion to your cause; their shades surround you; they cry aloud for vengeance. It is your duty to avenge their death; it is your duty to strike the assassins of your friends on their bloody thrones. Irishmen! declare a war of extermination against your oppressors—the eternal war of liberty against tyranny.—NAPPER TANDY." But the conduct of this leader was far from keeping pace with these vehement protestations; for no sooner did he hear of the reverse sustained by the French corps which had landed in Killala Bay, than he re-embarked on board the French brig *Anacreon*, and got safe across the Channel.—See both proclamations in *HARDY*, vi. 228, 229.

of four thousand men, consisting chiefly of yeomanry and militia, was defeated by this enterprising commander, with the loss of seven pieces of cannon, and six hundred prisoners, — a disaster which demonstrates the danger that would have been incurred if Napoleon, with the army of Egypt, had arrived in his stead. At length the little corps was surrounded, and compelled to surrender, after a gallant resistance, by Lord Cornwallis. A French force, consisting of the Hoche, of seventy-four guns, and eight frigates, having on board three thousand men, eluded the vigilance of the Channel fleet, and arrived on the coast of Ireland; but they were there attacked by the squadron under the command of Sir John Borlase Warren, and the whole taken after a short action, with the exception of two frigates, which regained the ports of the Republic. On board the Hoche was seized the celebrated leader Wolfe Tone, who, after having with great firmness undergone a trial for high treason, prevented a public execution by a deplorable suicide, accompanied with more than ordinary circumstances of horror. His death closed the melancholy catalogue of executions on account of this unhappy rebellion; and it is but justice to the British government to add, that although many grievous acts were perpetrated by the troops under their orders in its suppression, yet the moderation and humanity which they themselves displayed towards the vanquished were as conspicuous as the vigilance and firmness of their administration.

128. The firmness and success of the British government, amidst so many examples of weakness elsewhere, excited at this juncture the highest admiration on the Continent. "In the British cabinet," says Prince Hardenberg, "there was then to be seen neither irresolution nor discouragement; no symptoms of that cruel perplexity which tormented the continental sovereigns. In vain were the efforts of the Directory directed against that point of the globe, which they assailed with all their weapons, both military and revolutionary. England sustained the shock with daily increasing energy. Her dignity was un-

touched, her arms unconquered. The most terrible war to which an empire could be exposed, there produced less anxiety, troubles, and disquietude, than was experienced by those states which had been seduced, by the prospect of a fallacious peace, to come to terms of accommodation with the French Republic. It was with eight hundred ships of war, a hundred and fifty thousand sailors, three hundred thousand land troops, and an expenditure of fifty millions sterling a-year, that she maintained the contest. It was by periodical victories of unprecedented splendour, by drawing closer together the bonds of her constitution, that she replied to all the efforts of France to dismember her dominions. But never did she run greater danger than this year, when one expedition, directed against the East, threatened with destruction her Indian empire, and another, against the West, was destined to carry into Ireland the principles of the French Revolution, and sever that important island from the British empire."\*

\* It is to be hoped, should a similar unhappy contest arise, England will never show less constancy and vigour than she did in this struggle with Ireland; and there can be no doubt that, in such a crisis, immediate recourse must be had to the severe but effectual restraint of martial law. The consent of all nations, the experience of all ages, has stamped this as the only effectual bridle on the insanity of rebellion. Death, in such a crisis, must be frequently and sternly inflicted; it is the necessity of having recourse to such extreme methods of coercion which renders treason the greatest of crimes. But though death is a lamentable but unavoidable necessity, torture is not, and military flogging is a torture of the most terrible kind. The frequent use of this dreadful instrument of the Inquisition, to force from the peasants the discovery of their concealed arms or leaders during the rebellion, can never be too much reprobated; and it is to be hoped such a remnant of barbarity will never again disgrace the British arms. Nothing has contributed so much to nourish that deadly hatred at the British rule, which has ever since distinguished the Irish peasantry. The constancy with which these unhappy martyrs of mistaken patriotism bore their sufferings at the halberds, in prison, on the scaffold, was as worthy of admiration as the insane ambition, which had precipitated them into such calamities, was of lasting reprobation. — *Memoir by O'Connor and Emmett*, 6th Sept. 1798; *Castlereagh Papers*, i. 353-371, which contains an able and candid account of the objects, grounds of complaint, and proceedings of the rebels.



129. The maritime affairs of this year were chiefly distinguished by the capture of Minorca, which, notwithstanding the great strength of its fortifications, yielded to a British force under the command of General Stewart. In August, the inhabitants of the little island of Gozo, a dependency of Malta, revolted against the French garrison, made them prisoners to the number of three hundred, and compelled the Republicans to shut themselves up in the walls of La Valette, where they were immediately subjected to the most rigorous blockade by the British forces by land and sea.

130. So unbounded was the arrogance, so reckless the policy of the French government at this time, that it all but involved them in a war with the United States of North America, the country in the world in which the democratic institutions prevail to the greatest extent, and where gratitude to France was most unbounded for the services rendered to them during their contest with Great Britain. The origin of these disputes was a decree of the French government in January 1798, which directed "that all ships having for their cargoes, in whole or in part, any English merchandise, should be held lawful prize, whoever was the proprietor of that merchandise, which should be held contraband from the single circumstance of its coming from England, or any of its foreign settlements; that the harbours of France should be shut against all vessels which had so much as touched at an English harbour, and that neutral sailors found on board English vessels *should be put to death*." This barbarous decree immediately brought the French into collision with the United States, who at that period were the great neutral carriers of the world. Letters of marque were issued, and an immense number of American vessels, having touched at English harbours, were brought into the French ports. The American government sent envoys to Paris, in order to remonstrate against these proceedings. They urged that the decree of the French proceeded on the oppressive principle, that because a neutral is

obliged to submit to exactions from one belligerent party, from inability to prevent them, therefore it must submit to the same from the other, though neither sanctioned, as in the other case, by previous usage, nor authorised by treaty.

131. The envoys could not obtain an audience of the Directory, but they were permitted to remain in Paris; and a negotiation was opened with Talleyrand and his inferior agents, which soon unfolded the real object which the French government had in view. It was intimated to the envoys that the intention of the Directory, in refusing to receive them in public, and permitting them to remain in a private capacity, was to lay the United States under a contribution, not only of a large sum as a loan to the government, but of another for the private use of the Directors. The sum required for the first object was £1,000,000, and for the last £50,000. This disgraceful proposal was repeatedly pressed upon the envoys, not only by the subaltern agents of Talleyrand, but by that minister himself, who openly avowed that nothing could be done at Paris without money, and that there was not an American there who would not confirm him in this statement. Finding that the Americans resolutely resisted this proposal, they were at length informed that, if they would only "pay, by way of fees, just as they would to any lawyer who should plead their cause, the sum required for the private use of the Directory, they might remain in Paris until they had received further orders from America as to the loan required for government." \* These terms were

\* This transaction was so extraordinary, that it is advisable to lay before the reader the official report on the subject, presented by the American plenipotentiaries to their government. "On the 18th October, the plenipotentiary Pinckney received a visit from the secret agent of M. Talleyrand (M. Bellarini). He assured us that Citizen Talleyrand had the highest esteem for America and the citizens of the United States, and that he was most anxious for their reconciliation with France. He added, that, with that view, some of the most offensive passages in the speech of President Adams must be expunged, and a *douceur* of £50,000 sterling put at the disposal of M. Talleyrand for the use of the

indignantly rejected; the American envoys left Paris; letters of marque were issued by the American President; all commercial intercourse with France was suspended, Washington declared generalissimo of the forces of the commonwealth, the treaties with France declared at an end, and every preparation made to sustain the national independence.

132. The Hanse Towns were not so fortunate in escaping from the exactions of the Directory. Their distance from the scene of contest, their neutrality, so favourable to the commerce of the Republic, the protection openly afforded them by the Prussian government, could not save them from French rapacity. Their ships, bearing a neutral flag, were daily captured by the French cruisers, and they obtained licenses to navigate the high seas only by the secret payment of £150,000 to the Republican rulers.

133. It was impossible, as long as the slightest hope of maintaining their independence remained to the European states, that these incessant and endless usurpations of the French government could fail to lead to a renewal of the

*Directors*; and a large loan furnished by America to France. On the 20th, the same subject was resumed in the apartments of the plenipotentiary, and on this occasion, besides the secret agent, an intimate friend of Talleyrand's was present; the expunging of the passages was again insisted on, and it was added, that, after that, money was the principal object. His words were—"We must have money, a great deal of money." On the 21st, at a third conference, the sum was fixed at 32,000,000 (£1,280,000) as a loan, secured on the Dutch contributions, and a gratification of £50,000, in the form of a *douceur* to the Directors." At a subsequent meeting on the 27th October, the same secret agent said, "Gentlemen, you mistake the point: you say nothing of the money you are to give. You make no offer of money. On that point you are not explicit."—"We are explicit enough," replied the American envoys: "We will not give you one farthing; and before coming here, we should have thought such an offer as you now propose would have been regarded as a mortal insult."—Report in *HARD*, vi. 14, 22. When the American envoys published this statement, Talleyrand disavowed all the proceedings of these secret agents; but M. Bellarini published a declaration at Hamburg, "that he had neither said, written, nor done a single thing without the orders of Citizen Talleyrand."—*Id.* vi. 23.

war. France began the year 1798 with three affiliated republics at her side, the Batavian, the Cisalpine, and the Ligurian. Before its close she had organised three more, the Helvetic, the Roman, and the Parthenopean. Pursuing constantly the same system; addressing herself to the discontented multitude in every state; paralysing the national strength by a division of its population, and taking advantage of that division to overthrow its independence, she had succeeded in establishing her dominion over more than one-half of Europe. From the Texel to the extremity of Calabria, a compact chain of republics was formed, which not only threatened the independence of the other states of Europe by their military power, but promised speedily to subvert their whole social institutions by the incessant propagation of revolutionary principles. Experience had proved that the freedom which the Jacobin agents insiduously offered to the deluded population of other states, was neither more nor less than an entire subjection to the agents of France; and that, the moment that they endeavoured to obtain in reality that liberty which they had been promised in name, they were subjected to the most arbitrary and despotic oppression.

134. In resisting this alarming invasion not merely of the independence of nations, but of the principles which hold together the social union, it was obvious that no time was to be lost; and that the peril incurred was even greater in peace than during the utmost dangers of war. France had made more rapid strides towards universal dominion, during one year of pacific encroachment, than in six previous years of hostilities. The continuance of amicable relations was favourable to the secret propagation of the revolutionary mania, with all the extravagant hopes and expectations to which it gave rise; and, without the shock of war, or an effort even to maintain the public fortunes, the independence of nations was silently melting away before the insidious but incessant efforts of democratic ambition. It was but a poor consolation to those who witnessed this deplorable progress,

that they who lent an ear to these suggestions were the first to suffer from their effects, and that they subjected themselves and their country to a far worse despotism than that from which they had hoped to emancipate it. The evil was done, the national independence was subverted; revolutionary interests were created, and the principle of democracy, using the vanquished states as an advanced post, was daily proceeding to fresh conquests, and openly aimed at universal dominion. These considerations, strongly excited by the subjugation of Switzerland and the Papal States, led to a feeling, throughout all the European monarchies, of the necessity of a general coalition to resist the further encroachments of France, and stop the alarming progress of revolutionary principles. The Emperor of Russia at length saw the necessity of joining his great empire to the confederacy; and a Muscovite army, sixty thousand strong, began its march from Poland toward the north of Italy, while another, amounting to nearly forty thousand, moved toward the south of Germany.

135. The negotiations at Rastadt, notwithstanding their length and intricacy, had led to no satisfactory result. The temper in which they were conducted underwent a material change with the lapse of time. The treaty of Campo Formio was more than an ordinary accommodation; it was a league by the great powers, who there terminated their hostilities, for their own aggrandisement at the expense of their neighbours; and in its secret articles were contained stipulations which amounted to an abandonment of the Empire, by its head, to the rapacity of the Republican government. Venice was the glittering prize which induced

this dereliction of principle on the part of the Emperor; and, accordingly, it was agreed that, on the same day on which that great city was surrendered to the Imperial troops, Mayence, the bulwark of the German empire on the Lower Rhine, should be given up to the Republicans.\* By an additional article it was provided, that the Austrian troops should, within twenty days after the ratification of the secret articles, evacuate also Ingolstadt, Philippsburgh, and all the fortresses as far back as the frontiers of the Hereditary States; and that, within the same period, the French forces should retire from Palma Nuova, Legnago, Osoppo, and the Italian fortresses as far as the Adige.

136. This important military convention, which totally disabled the empire from making any effectual resistance to the French forces, was kept a profound secret, and only became known to the German princes when, from its provisions being carried into execution, it could no longer, in part at least, be concealed. But, in the mean time, it led to a very great degree of intimacy between Napoleon and Cobentzell, the Austrian ambassador at Rastadt, inasmuch that the Emperor, who perceived the extreme irritation which at that moment the French general felt against the republican government at Paris, offered him a principality in Germany, with 250,000 souls, in order that "he might be forever placed beyond the reach of democratic ingratitude." But the French general, whose ambition was fixed on very different objects, declined the offer. To such a length, however, did the confidence of the two diplomatists proceed, that Napoleon made Cobentzell acquainted with his secret intention at some future period of subverting the Directory. "An army," said he, "is

\* The Emperor, in the secret articles, agreed that the frontiers of France should be advanced to the Rhine, and stipulated that the Imperial troops should take possession of Venice on the same day on which the Republicans entered Mayence. He promised to use his influence to induce the Germanic states to agree to that arrangement; but if, notwithstanding his endeavours, they should refuse to accede to it, he engaged to employ no troops, excepting the contingent he was bound, as a member of the Confederation, to

furnish, in any war which might ensue, and not even to suffer them to be engaged in the defence of any fortified place: any violation of this last article was to be considered as a sufficient ground for the resumption of hostilities against Austria. Indemnities were to be obtained, if possible, for the dispossessed princes on the left bank of the Rhine; but no acquisition was to be proposed for the benefit of Prussia. — See the *Secret Articles in Correspondance Confidentielle de Napoleon*, vii. 267, 268.

assembled on the coasts of the Channel ostensibly for the invasion of England; but my real object is to *march at its head to Paris, and overturn that ridiculous government of lawyers*, which cannot much longer oppress France. Believe me, two years will not elapse before that preposterous scaffolding of a republic will fall to the ground. The Directory may maintain its ground during peace, but it cannot withstand the shock of war; and therefore it is, that it is indispensable that we should both occupy good positions." Cobentzell lost no time in making his cabinet acquainted with these extraordinary revelations, which were highly acceptable at Vienna, and furnish the true key to the great influence exercised by Napoleon over that government during the remainder of his residence in Europe prior to the Egyptian expedition.

137. Great was the consternation in Germany when at length it could no longer be concealed that the line of the Rhine had been abandoned to France, and that all the states on the left bank of that river were to be sacrificed to the engrossing Republic. It was the more difficult for the Austrian plenipotentiaries at Rastadt to reconcile the dispossessed proprietors to this catastrophe, as the Emperor had officially announced to the Diet, shortly after the conclusion of the armistice of Leoben, "that an armistice had been concluded by the Emperor for the empire, on the base of the *integrity of the Germanic body*." Remonstrances and petitions in consequence rapidly succeeded each other, as suspicions of the fate impending over them got afloat, but without effect; and soon the decisive evidence of facts convinced the most incredulous, that a portion at least of the Empire had been abandoned. Intelligence successively arrived, that Mayence had been surrendered to the Republicans on the 30th December, in presence of, and without opposition from, the Austrian forces; that Venice, stripped of all its riches, had been abandoned to the Imperialists on the 15th January; and that the fort on the Rhine, opposite Mannheim, which refused to surrender to the summons of the French general, had been

carried by assault on the 25th of the same month; while the Austrian forces, instead of offering any resistance, were evidently retiring towards the frontiers of the Hereditary States. A universal stupor seized on the German people when they beheld themselves thus abandoned by their natural guardians, and the only ones capable of rendering them any effectual protection; and their deputies expressed themselves in angry terms to the Imperial plenipotentiaries on the subject. But M. Lehrbach replied, when no longer able to conceal this dismemberment of the Empire,—"All the world is aware of the sacrifices which Austria has made during the war; and that the misfortunes which have occurred are nothing more than what she has uniformly predicted would occur, if a cordial union of all the Germanic states was not effected to maintain their independence. Singly, she has made the utmost efforts to maintain the integrity of the Empire; she has exhausted all her resources in the attempt; if she has been unsuccessful, let those answer for it who contributed nothing towards the common cause." This defence was perfectly just; Austria had performed, and nobly performed, her part as head of the Empire; its dismemberment arose from the inaction of Prussia, which, with an armed force of above two hundred thousand men, and a revenue of nearly £8,000,000 sterling, had done nothing whatever for the cause of Germany. It is not the cession of the left bank of the Rhine to France, it is the spoliation of Venice, which at this period forms an indelible stain on the Austrian annals.

138. After the cession of the line of the Rhine to France was finally divulged, the attention of the plenipotentiaries was chiefly directed to the means of providing indemnities to the dispossessed princes, and the Republican envoys had already broached their favourite project of *secularisations*;—in other words, indemnifying the lay princes at the expense of the church,—when an event occurred at Vienna which threatened to produce an immediate explosion between the two governments. On occasion of the anniver-

sary of the general arming of the Vienna volunteers on April 13, in the preceding year, the youth of that capital expressed a strong desire to give vent to the ardour of their patriotic feeling by a fête in honour of the glorious stand then made by their countrymen. It was hazardous to agree to such a proposal, as the French ambassador, General Bernadotte, had testified his repugnance to it, and declared his resolution, if it was persisted in, to give a dinner in honour of democratic principles at his hotel. But the Austrian government could not withstand the wishes of the defenders of the monarchy: the proposed fête took place, and the French ambassador, in consequence, gave a great entertainment to his friends, and hoisted an immense tricolor flag before his gate, with the words "*Liberté, Égalité*," inscribed upon it. The opposing principles being thus brought into contact with each other, a collision took place. The people of Vienna conceived the conduct of the French ambassador to be a direct insult offered to their beloved Emperor, and flocked in menacing crowds to the neighbourhood of his hotel. The Austrian authorities, seeing the popular exasperation hourly increasing, in vain besought Bernadotte to remove the obnoxious standard. He deemed his own honour and that of the Republic pledged to its being kept up; and at length the multitude began to ascend ladders to break open the windows. A pistol discharged by a servant within, which wounded one of the assailants, only increased the excitement; the gates and windows were speedily forced, the apartments pillaged, and the carriages in the yard broken to pieces. Fifty thousand persons assembled in the streets, and the French ambassador, barricaded in one of the rooms of his hotel, was only delivered at one o'clock in the morning by two regiments of cuirassiers, which the Imperial government sent to his relief. Justly indignant at this disgraceful outrage, Bernadotte transmitted several angry notes to the Austrian cabinet; and although they published a proclamation on the following day, expressing the deepest regret at the disorders which had occurred, nothing

would appease the exasperated ambassador, and on the 15th he left Vienna, under a numerous escort of cavalry, and took the road for Rastadt.

139. When matters were in this combustible state, a spark only was required to light the conflagration. Conferences were opened at Seltz, in Germany, where, on the one hand, the Directory insisted on satisfaction for the insult offered to the ambassador of the Republic; and, on the other, the Emperor demanded an explanation of the conduct of France in subduing, without the shadow of a pretext, the Helvetic Confederacy, and extending its dominion through the whole of Italy. As the Austrians could obtain no satisfaction on these points, the Emperor drew more close his bonds of intimacy with the court of St Petersburg; and the march of the Russian armies through Galicia and Moravia was hastened, while the military preparations of the Austrian monarchy proceeded with redoubled activity.

140. The negotiations at Rastadt for the settlement of the affairs of the Germanic empire proceeded slowly towards an adjustment; but their importance disappeared upon the commencement of the more weighty discussions involved in the Seltz conferences. The French insisted upon a variety of articles utterly inconsistent with the spirit of the treaty of Campo Formio or the independence of Germany. They first demanded all the islands of the Rhine, which were of very great importance in a military point of view; next, that they should be put in possession of Kehl and its territory opposite to Strassburg, and Cassel and its territory opposite to Mayence; then that a piece of ground, adequate to the formation of a *l'île-de-pont*, should be ceded to them at the German end of the bridge of Huningen; and, lastly, that the important fortress of Ehrenbreitstein should be demolished. The German deputation, on the other hand, insisted that the principle of separation should be that of *thalweg*; that is to say, of the division of the valley by the middle of its principal stream. As a consequence of this principle, they refused to cede Kehl, Cassel, or the *l'île-de-pont* at Huningen, or to

demolish the fortifications of Ehrenbreitstein, all of which lay on the German bank of the river. Subsequently, the French commissioners admitted the principle of the *thalweg*, and consented to the demolition of Cassel and Kehl, and the Germans agreed to that of Ehrenbreitstein; but the Republicans insisted on the cession of the island of Petersaw, which would have given them the means of crossing opposite that important point. Matters were in this unsettled state, when the negotiations were interrupted by the march of the Russian troops through Moravia. The French government upon that issued a note, in which they declared that they would consider the crossing of the German frontier by that army as equivalent to a declaration of war; and as their advance continued without interruption, the negotiations at Rastadt virtually came to an end.

141. Seeing themselves seriously menaced with an armed resistance to their project for subjugating all the adjoining states by means of exciting revolutions in their bosom, the Directory at length began to adopt measures to make head against the danger. The finances of the Republic were in a most alarming state. Notwithstanding the confiscation of two-thirds of the national debt, it was discovered that there would be a deficit of 200,000,000 francs, or £8,000,000 sterling, in the returns of the year. New taxes, chiefly on doors and windows, were imposed, and a decree passed, authorising national domains, to the value of 125,000,000 of francs, or £5,000,000 sterling, to be taken from the public creditors, to whom they had been surrendered in liquidation of their claims, and the property of the whole Protestant clergy to be confiscated to the service of the state: thus putting, to support their revolutionary conquests, the last hand to the revolutionary confiscations.

142. It remained to adopt some method for the augmentation of the army, which had been very much diminished by sickness and desertion since the peace of Campo Formio. The skeletons of the regiments and the non-commissioned officers remained; but the ranks

exhibited large chasms, which the existing state of the law provided no means of supplying. The Convention, notwithstanding their energy, had made no permanent provision for recruiting the army, but had contented themselves with two levies, one of 300,000 and one of 1,200,000 men, in 1793, which, with the voluntary supplies since furnished by the patriotism or suffering of the people, had been found adequate to the wants of the state. But now that the revolutionary fervour had subsided, and a necessity existed for finding a permanent supply of soldiers to meet the wars into which the insatiable ambition of the government had plunged the country, some lasting resource became indispensable. To meet the difficulty, General Jourdan proposed the law of the CONSCRIPTION, which became one of the most important consequences of the Revolution. By this decree, every Frenchman from twenty to forty-five years of age was declared amenable to military service. Those liable to serve were divided into classes, according to the years of their birth, and the government were authorised to call out the youngest, second, or third class, according to the exigencies of the times. The conscription was to take place by lot, in the class from which it was directed to be taken. This law was immediately adopted; and the first levy of two hundred thousand men from France was ordered to be immediately enforced, while eighteen thousand men were required from the affiliated republic of Switzerland, and the like number from that of Holland.

143. Thus the justice of Heaven made the revolutionary passions of France the means of working out their own punishment. The atrocious aggression on Switzerland, the flames of Unterwalden, the subjugation of Italy, were registered in the book of fate, and brought about a dreadful and lasting retribution. Not the bayonets of the Allies, not the defence of their country, occasioned this lasting scourge; the invasion of other states, the cries of injured innocence, first brought it into existence. They fired upon its infatuated people that terrible law, which

soon carried misery into every cottage, and bathed in tears every mother in France. Wide as had been the spread of the national sin, as wide was the lash of national punishment. By furnishing an almost inexhaustible supply of military levies, it fanned the spirit of universal conquest, and precipitated its people into the bloody career of Napoleon. It produced that terrible contest which, after exhausting the resources, brought about the subjugation of that great kingdom, and wrung from

its infuriated but not repentant inhabitants what one of themselves has styled tears of blood. It is thus that Providence vindicates its superintendence of the moral world; that the guilty career of nations, equally as that of individuals, brings down upon itself a righteous punishment; and that we feel, amidst all the sins of rulers, or madness of the people, the truth of the sublime words of Scripture: "Ephraim is joined to his idols; let him alone."

## CHAPTER XXVI.

### EXPEDITION TO EGYPT.

1. "Braving the Isthmus of Darien," said Sir Walter Raleigh, "you will wreathe the keys of the world from Spain." The observation, worthy of his reach of thought, is still more applicable to the Isthmus of Suez and the country of Egypt. It is remarkable that its importance has never been duly appreciated, except by the greatest conquerors of ancient and modern times, Alexander the Great and Napoleon Buonaparte. The geographical position of this celebrated country has destined it to be the chief emporium of the commerce of the world. Placed in the centre between Europe and Asia, on the confines of Eastern wealth and Western civilisation; at the extremity of the African continent, and on the shores of the Mediterranean sea, it is fitted to become the central point of communication for the varied productions of these different regions of the globe. The waters of the Mediterranean bring to it all the fabrics of Europe; the Red Sea wafts to its shores the riches of India and China; while the Nile floats down to its bosom the produce of the vast and unknown regions of Africa. Though it were not one of the most fertile countries in the

world—though the inundations of the Nile did not annually cover its fields with riches—it would still be, from its situation, one of the most favoured spots on the earth. The greatest and most durable monuments of human industry, accordingly, the earliest efforts of civilisation, the sublimest works of genius, have been raised in this primeval seat of mankind. The temples of Rome have decayed; the arts of Athens have perished; but the pyramids "still stand erect and unshaken above the floods of the Nile." When, in the revolution of ages, civilisation shall have returned to its ancient cradle—when the desolation of Mahometan rule shall have ceased, and the light of religion have re-illuminated the land of its birth—Egypt will again become one of the great centres of human industry. The invention of steam has already restored the communication with the East to its original channel; and the nation which shall revive the canal of Suez, and open a direct communication between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, will pour into its bosom those streams of wealth which in every age have constituted the principal sources of European opulence.

2. The great Leibnitz, in the time of Louis XIV., addressed to the French monarch a memorial, which is one of the noblest monuments of political foresight. "Sire," said he, "it is not at home that you will succeed in subduing the Dutch; you will not cross their dykes, and you will rouse Europe to their assistance. It is in Egypt that the real blow is to be struck. There you will find the true commercial route to India; you will wrest that lucrative commerce from Holland; you will secure the eternal dominion of France in the Levant; you will fill Christendom with joy."\* These ideas, however, were beyond the age, and they lay dormant till revived by the genius of Napoleon. The eagle eye of Alexander the Great, which fitted him to have been as great a benefactor as he was a scourge of the species, early discerned the vast capabilities of this country; and to him was owing the foundation of that city, the rival of Memphis and Thebes, which once boasted of six hundred thousand inhabitants, almost rivalled Rome in the plenitude of its power, and still bears, amidst ruins and decay, the name of the conqueror of the East. Napoleon was hardly launched into the career of conquest before he also perceived the importance of this country; and when still struggling in the plains of Italy with the armies of Austria, he was meditating an expedition into those

\* "The possession of Egypt," says he, in the same memorial, "will open a prompt communication with the richest countries of the East. It will unite the commerce of the Indies to that of France, and pave the way for great captains to march to conquests worthy of Alexander. If the Portuguese, whose power is much inferior to that of France, had been able to obtain possession of Egypt, the whole of India would have been long since subjected to them; and yet, notwithstanding the smallness of their numbers, they have made themselves formidable to the people of those countries. Egypt once conquered, nothing could be easier than to take possession of the entire coast of the Red Sea, and of the innumerable islands which border it. The interior of Asia, destitute of both commerce and wealth, would range itself at once beneath your dominion. The success of this enterprise would for ever secure the possession of the Indies, the commerce of Asia, and the dominion of the world."—*Memorial, 1672, LEIBNITZ to LOUIS XIV.*

Eastern regions, where alone, in his apprehension, great things could be achieved; where kingdoms lay open to private adventure; and fame, rivalling that of the heroes of antiquity, was to be obtained. From his earliest years he had been influenced by an ardent desire to effect a revolution in the East; he was literally haunted by the idea of glory which had been there acquired, and firmly convinced that the power of England could never be effectually humbled except by a blow at its Indian possessions. "The Persians," said he, "have blocked up the route of Tamerlane; I will discover another." It was his favourite opinion through life, that Egypt was the true line of communication with India; that it was there that the English power could alone be seriously affected; that its possession would insure the dominion of the Mediterranean, and convert that sea into a "French lake." From that central point armaments might be detached down the Red Sea, to attack the British possessions in India; and an entrepot established, which would soon turn the commerce of the East into the channels which nature had formed for its reception—the Mediterranean and the Red Sea.

3. It was at Passeriano, however, after the campaign was concluded, and when his energetic mind turned abroad to seek the theatre of fresh exploits, that the conception of an expedition to Egypt first seriously occupied his thoughts. During his long evening walks in the magnificent park of his mansion, he spoke without intermission of the celebrity of those countries, and the illustrious empires which have there disappeared, after overturning each other, but the memory of which still lives in the recollections of mankind. "Europe," said he, "is no field for glorious exploits; no great empires or revolutions are to be found but in the East, where there are six hundred millions of men." Egypt at once presented itself to his imagination as the point where a decisive impression was to be made; the weak point of the line where a breach could be effected, a permanent lodgment secured, a path



opened to those Eastern regions where the British power was to be destroyed, and immortal renown acquired. So completely had this idea taken possession of his mind, that all of the books brought from the Ambrosian library to Paris, after the peace of Campo Formio, which related to Egypt, were submitted to his examination, and many bore extensive marginal notes in his own handwriting, indicating the powerful grasp and indefatigable activity of his mind. And in his correspondence with the Directory he had already, more than once, suggested both the importance of an expedition to the banks of the Nile, and the amount of force requisite to insure its success.

4. Before leaving Italy, after the treaty of Campo Formio, he put the last hand to the affairs of the Cisalpine republic. Venice was delivered over, amidst the tears of all its patriotic citizens, to Austria; the French auxiliary force in the new republic was fixed at thirty thousand men, under the orders of Berthier, to be maintained at the expense of the allied state; and all the republican organisation of a directory, legislative assemblies, national guards, and troops of the line, was put in full activity. "You are the first people in history," said he, in his parting address to them, "who have become free without factions, without revolutions, without convulsions. We have given you freedom; it is your part to preserve it. You are, after France, the richest, the most populous republic in the world. Your position calls you to take a leading part in the politics of Europe. To be worthy of your destiny, make no laws but what are wise and moderate; but execute them with force and energy." The wealth and population of the beautiful provinces which composed this republic, embracing 3,500,000 souls, the fortress of Mantua, and the plains of Lombardy, formed indeed the elements of a powerful state; but had Napoleon looked into the book of history, or considered the human mind, he would have perceived that, of all human blessings, liberty is the one which is of the slowest growth; that it must be won, and cannot be conferred; and that the institu-

tions which are suddenly transferred from one country to another, perish as rapidly as the full-grown tree, which is transplanted from the soil of its birth to a distant land.

5. Napoleon's journey from Italy to Paris was a continual triumph. The Italians, whose national spirit had been in some degree revived by his victories, beheld with regret the disappearance of that brilliant apparition. Everything he did and said was calculated to increase the public enthusiasm. At Mantua, he combined with a fête in honour of Virgil a military procession on the death of General Hoche, who had recently died, after a short illness, in France; and about the same time formed that friendship with Desaix, who had come from the army of the Rhine to visit that of Italy, which mutual esteem was so well calculated to inspire, but which was destined to terminate prematurely on the field of Marengo. The towns of Switzerland received him with transport; triumphal arches and garlands of flowers everywhere awaited his approach; he passed the fortresses amidst discharges of cannon; and crowds from the neighbouring countries lined the roads to get a glimpse of the hero who had filled the world with his renown.\* His progress in general was rapid; but he dwelt on the scenes of ancient renown or present interest. At Berne, he asked an ominous question as to the amount of its treasure, which the senator to whom it was addressed had the prudence to state at half its real amount. He lingered long in the field of Morat, to examine the scene of the terrible defeat of the Burgundian chivalry by the Swiss peasantry. Passing Bâle, he arrived at Rastadt, where the congress was established; but foreseeing nothing worthy of his genius in the minute matters of diplomacy which were there the subject of discussion, he proceeded to Paris,

\* His words, though few, were all such as were calculated to produce revolution. At Geneva, he boasted that he would democratise England in three months; and that there were, in truth, but two republics in Switzerland—Geneva, without laws or government; Bâle, converted into the workshop of revolution.—HARD. v. 308.

where the public anxiety for his return had arisen to the highest pitch.

6. The successive arrival of Napoleon's lieutenants at Paris with the standards taken from the enemy in his memorable campaigns, the vast conquests he had achieved, the brief but eloquent language of his proclamations, and the immense benefits which had accrued to the Republic from his triumphs, had raised to the very highest pitch the enthusiasm of the people. The public anxiety, accordingly, to see him was indescribable; but he knew enough of mankind to feel the importance of enhancing the general wish by avoiding its gratification. He lived in his own house in the Rue Chantierine, in the most retired manner, went seldom into public, and surrounded himself only by scientific characters, or generals of cultivated minds. He avoided military society, seemed devoted to civil and scientific pursuits, wore the costume of the Institute, of which he had recently been elected a member; associated constantly with its leading characters, such as Monge, Berthold, Laplace, Lagrange; and admitted to his intimate society only Berthier, Desaix, Lefebvre, Caffarelli, Kleber, and a few of the deputies. On occasion of being presented to Talleyrand, minister of foreign affairs, he singled out, amidst the splendid *cortège* of public characters by which he was surrounded, M. Bougainville, and conversed with him on the celebrated voyage which he had performed. Such was the profound nature of his ambition through life, that on every occasion he looked rather to the impression his conduct was to produce on men's minds in future, than the gratification he was to receive from their admiration of the past. He literally "deemed nothing done, while anything remained to do."\* Even in the assumption of the dress, and the choice of the society of the Institute, he was guided by motives of ambition, and a profound knowledge of the human heart. "Mankind," said he, "are in the end governed always by superiority of intellectual qualities, and none

are more sensible of this than the military profession. When, on my return from Italy, I assumed the dress of the Institute, I knew what I was doing; I was sure of not being misunderstood by the lowest drummer of the army."

7. Shortly after his arrival he was received in state by the Directory, in their now magnificent palace of the Luxembourg. The public anxiety was wound up to the highest pitch for this imposing ceremony, on which occasion Joubert was to present the standard of the Army of Italy, inscribed with all the great actions it had performed; and the youthful conqueror himself was to lay at the feet of government the treaty of Campo Formio. Vast galleries were prepared for the accommodation of the public, which were early filled with all that was distinguished in rank, character, and beauty in Paris. He made his entry, accompanied by M. Talleyrand, who was to present him to the Directory as the bearer of the treaty. The aspect of the hero, his thin but graceful figure, the Roman cast of his features, and fire of his eye—excited universal admiration; the court rang with applause. Talleyrand introduced him in an eloquent speech, in which, after extolling his great actions, he concluded,—“For a moment I did feel on his account that disquietude which, in an infant republic, arises from everything which seems to destroy the equality of the citizens. But I was wrong; individual grandeur, far from being dangerous to equality, is its highest triumph; and on this occasion, every Frenchman must feel himself elevated by the hero of his country. And when I reflect on all that he has done to shroud from envy that light of glory; on that ancient love of simplicity which distinguishes him in his favourite studies; on his love for the abstract sciences; on his admiration for that sublime Ossian which seems to detach him from the world; on his well-known contempt for luxury, for pomp, for all that constitutes the pride of ignoble minds, I am convinced that, far from dreading his ambition, we shall one day have occasion to rouse it anew to allure him

\* “Nil actum putans, dum quid superesset agendum.”—LUCAN, *Pharsalia*.

from the sweets of studious retirement. France will never lose its freedom; but perhaps he will not for ever preserve his own."

8. Napoleon replied in these words,—"The French people, to attain their freedom, had kings to combat; to secure a constitution founded on reason, they had eighteen hundred years of prejudices to overcome. Religion, feudalism, despotism, have, in their turns, governed Europe; but from the peace now concluded dates the era of representative governments. You have succeeded in organising the great nation, whose territory is only circumscribed because nature herself has imposed its limits. I lay at your feet the treaty of Campo Formio, ratified by the Emperor.\* As soon as the happiness of France is secured by the best *organic laws*, the whole of Europe will be free." The Directory, by the voice of Barras, returned an inflated reply, in which they invited him to strive for the acquisition of fresh laurels, and pointed to the shores of Great Britain as the place where they were to be gathered. On this occasion, General Joubert, and the chief of the staff, Andréossi, bore the magnificent standard which the Directory had given to the Army of Italy, and which contained an enumeration of triumphs so wonderful that it would have passed for fabulous in any other age.† It was sufficient to intoxicate all the youth of France with the passion for military glory.

9. This fête was followed by others, given by the legislative body and the minister of foreign affairs. Napoleon

\* Napoleon had added these words in this place,—"That peace secures the liberty, the prosperity, and glory, of the Republic;" but these words were struck out by order of the Directory—a sufficient proof of their disapproval of his conduct in signing it, and one of the many inducements which led him to turn his face to the East.—HARD. v. 74.

† It bore these words:—"The Army of Italy has made 150,000 prisoners; it has taken 170 standards, 500 pieces of heavy artillery, 600 field-pieces, 5 pontoon trains, 9 ships of the line, 12 frigates, 12 corvettes, 18 galleys. Armistice with the Kings of Sardinia, Naples, the Dukes of Parma and Modena, and the Pope. Preliminaries of Leoben; Convention of Montebello with Genoa. Treaty of Tolentino. Treaty of Campo Formio. It has given freedom to the people of

appeared at all these; but they were foreign to his disposition, and he retired, as soon as politeness would permit, to his own house. At that given by M. Talleyrand, which was distinguished by the good taste and elegance which prevailed, he was asked by Madame de Staël, in presence of a numerous circle, who was, in his opinion, the greatest woman that ever existed. "She," he replied, "who has had the greatest number of children;"—an answer very different from what she anticipated, and singularly characteristic of his opinions on the proper destiny of the female character. At the Institute, he was to be seen always seated between Lagrange and Laplace, apparently wholly occupied with the abstract sciences. To a deputation of that learned body he returned an answer: "I am highly honoured with the approbation of the distinguished men who compose the Institute. I know well that I must long be their scholar before I become their equal. The true conquests, the only ones which do not cause a tear, are those which are gained over ignorance. The most honourable, as well as the most useful occupation of men is, to contribute to the extension of ideas. The power of the French Republic should henceforth consist in this, that not a single new idea should exist which does not owe its birth to its exertions." But it was only for the approbation of these illustrious men that he appeared solicitous; he was never seen in the streets; went only to a concealed box in the opera; and when he assumed the reins of power after his return from Egypt, Bologna, Ferrara, Modena, Massa-Carrara, Romagna, Lombardy, Brescia, Bergamo, Mantua, Cremona, a part of the Veronese, Chiavenna, Bormio, and the Valtellina; to the people of Genoa, the Imperial fiefs, Coreya, and Ithaca. Sent to Paris the *chef-d'œuvre* of Michael Angelo, Guerdino, Titian, Paul Veronese, Coreggio, Albano, the Caracci, Raphael, Leonardo da Vinci, &c. Triumphed in 18 pitched battles—Montenotte, Millesimo, Mondovi, Lodi, Borghetta, Lonato, Castiglione, Roveredo, Bassano, St George's, Fontana Viva, Caldiero, Arcola, Rivoli, La Favorite, the Tagliamento, Tarvis, Neumarkt;" and then followed the names of 67 combats or lesser engagements. The legions of Cæsar had not, in so short a time, so splendid a roll of achievements to exhibit.

his personal appearance was still unknown to the greater part of the inhabitants of Paris.

10. But Napoleon's was not a disposition to remain satisfied with past glory; the future—yet higher achievements—filled his mind. He knew well the ephemeral nature of popular applause, and how necessary mystery or a succession of great actions is, to prolong its transports. "They do not long preserve at Paris," said he to his intimate friends, "the remembrance of anything. If I remain long unemployed, I am undone. The renown of one in this great Babylon speedily supplants that of another. If I am seen three times at the opera, I shall no longer be an object of curiosity. You need not talk of the desire of the citizens to get a sight of me: crowds at least as great would go to see me led out to the scaffold." He made an effort to obtain a dispensation with the law which required the age of forty for one of the Directory; but, failing in that attempt, his whole thoughts and passions centered in the East, the theatre of his original visions of glory. "Bourrienne," said he, "I am determined not to remain in Paris; there is nothing to be done here. It is impossible to fix the attention of the people. If I remain longer inactive, I am undone. Everything here passes away; my glory is already declining; this little corner of Europe is too small to supply it. We must go to the East; all the great men of the world have there acquired their celebrity. Nevertheless, I am willing to make a tour to the coasts with yourself, Lannes, and Solkowsky. Should the expedition to Britain prove, as I much fear it will, too hazardous, the Army of England will become the army of the East, and we will go to Egypt." These words give a just idea of the character of Napoleon. Glory was his ruling passion; nothing appeared impossible where it was to be won. The great names of Alexander, Cæsar, and Hannibal haunted his imagination; passing over the lapse of two thousand years, he fixed his rivalry on those classical heroes, whose exploits have shed so

imperishable a lustre over the annals of antiquity. While thus sustaining his reputation, and inscribing his name on the eternal monuments of Egyptian grandeur, he hoped to be still within reach of the march of events in Europe, and ready to assume that despotic command which, he already foresaw, would soon be called for by the incapacity of the Directory, and the never-ending distractions of democratic institutions.

11. In truth, the Directory, secretly alarmed at the reputation of the conqueror of Italy, eagerly sought, under the splendid colouring of a descent on England, an opportunity of ridding themselves of so formidable a rival. An extraordinary degree of activity prevailed in all the harbours, not only of France and Holland, but of Spain and Italy: the fleets at Cadiz and Toulon were soon in a condition to put to sea; that at Brest only awaited, to all appearance, their arrival, to issue forth, and form a preponderating force in the Channel, where the utmost exertions were making to construct and equip flat-bottomed boats for the conveyance of the land troops. Means were soon collected in the northern harbours for the transport of sixty thousand men. Meanwhile great part of the armies of the Rhine were brought down to the maritime districts, and lined the shores of France and Holland, from Brest to the Texel; nearly one hundred and fifty thousand men were stationed on these coasts, under the name of the Army of England.\* This immense force might have occasioned great disquietude to the British government, had it been supported by a powerful navy; but the battles of St Vincent and Camperdown had relieved them of all apprehensions of a descent by these numerous enemies. It does not appear that the Directory then entertained any serious thoughts of carrying the invasion into early execution: although the troops were encamped in the maritime departments,

\* It was stated at 275,000 men, all fully equipped, by the French Directory, in their communications to the Irish insurgents.—*Secret Information as to hostile Preparations in the French ports, February and March 1798; Castlereagh Papers, i. 165, 166.*

no immediate preparation for embarkation had been made. However, their language breathed nothing but menaces: Napoleon was appointed commander-in-chief of the Army of England, and he was despatched on a mission to the coasts to superintend the completion of the armament.

12. "Crown," said Barras, "so illustrious a life, by a conquest which the great nation owes to its outraged dignity. Go, and by the punishment of the cabinet of London, strike terror into the hearts of all who would miscalculate the powers of a free people. Let the conquerors of the Po, the Rhine, and the Tiber, march under your banners; the ocean will be proud to bear them; it is a slave still indignant, who blushes for his fetters. He invokes, in a voice of thunder, the wrath of the earth against the oppressor of the waves. Pompey did not esteem it beneath him to wield the power of Rome against the pirates: Go and chain the monster who presses on the seas; go and punish in London the injured rights of humanity. Hardly shall the tricolor standard wave on the blood-stained shores of the Thames, ere a unanimous cry will bless your arrival, and that generous nation, perceiving the dawn of its felicity, will receive you as liberators, who come not to combat and enslave, but to put a period to its calamities." Under these high-sounding declamations, however, all parties concealed very different intentions. Immense preparations were made in Italy and the south of France, as well as on the shores of the Channel; the whole naval resources of the Mediterranean were put in requisition, and the *élite* of the Army of Italy moved to Toulon, Genoa, and Civita Vecchia. The Directory were more desirous to see Napoleon engulfed in the sands of Libya than conquering on the banks of the Thames; and he dreamed more of the career of Alexander and of Mahomet, than of the descent of Cæsar on the shores of Britain.

13. Independent of his anxiety to engage in some enterprise which might immortalise his name, Napoleon was

desirous to detach himself from the government, from his strong and growing aversion to the Jacobin party, whom the revolution of the 18th Fructidor had placed at the head of the Republic. Already he had, on more than one occasion, openly expressed his dislike at the violent revolutionary course which the Directory were pursuing, both at home and abroad; and in private he gave vent, in the strongest terms, to his horror at that grasping insatiable democratic spirit, which, through his subsequent life, he set himself so vigorously to resist. "What," said he, "would these Jacobins have! France is revolutionised, Holland is revolutionised, Italy is revolutionised, Switzerland is revolutionised, Europe will soon be revolutionised. But this, it seems, will not suffice them. I know full well what they want: they want the domination of thirty or forty individuals founded on the massacre of three or four millions; they want the constitution of 1793, but they shall not have it, and death to him who would demand it! For my own part I declare, that if I had only the option between royalty and the system of these gentlemen, I would not hesitate one moment to declare for a king."

14. In the middle of February, Napoleon proceeded to the coasts, accompanied by Lannes and Bourrienne. He visited, in less than ten days, Boulogne, Calais, Dunkirk, Antwerp, and Flushing, exhibiting everywhere his usual sagacity and rapidity of apprehension; conversing with, deriving light from every one possessed of local information, and obtaining in a few weeks what it would have taken others years to acquire. He sat up till midnight at every town, interrogating the sailors, fishermen, and smugglers: to their objections he listened with patient attention, to his own difficulties he drew their consideration. During this brief journey, he acquired an intimate acquaintance with the relative importance of these maritime stations; and to this period is to be assigned the origin of those great conceptions con-

cerning Antwerp, which, under the Empire, he carried with so much vigour into execution. At length, having acquired all the information which could be obtained, he made up his mind and returned to Paris. "It is too doubtful a chance," said he; "I will not risk it; I will not hazard, on such a throw, the fate of France." Thenceforward all his energies were turned towards the Egyptian expedition.

15. It was not the difficulty of transporting sixty or eighty thousand men to the shores of Britain which deterred Napoleon; the impossibility of maintaining a strict blockade of an extensive line of coast, on a tempestuous sea, and the chance of getting over unseen in hazy weather, sufficiently demonstrated that such an attempt, however hazardous, was practicable under favourable circumstances. It was the obstacles in the way of maintaining them in the country after they were landed, and supporting them by the necessary stores and reinforcements, in presence of a superior naval force, which was the decisive consideration. Supposing the troops landed, a battle gained, and London taken, it was not to be expected that England would submit; and how to maintain the conquests made, and penetrate into the interior of the country, without continual reinforcements, and an uninterrupted communication with the Continent, was the insurmountable difficulty. There appeared no rational prospect at this period of accumulating a superior naval power in the Channel, or effecting an open connection between the invading force and the shores of France; and this being the case, the Republican army, however successful at first, must, to all appearance, have sunk at last under the continued efforts of a brave, numerous, and united people. Thence may be seen the importance of the naval battles of St Vincent and Camperdown in the preceding year; the fate of the world hung upon their issue.

16. Meanwhile the British government, aware of the great preparations which were going on at once in so many different quarters, and ignorant where

the blow was to fall, made every arrangement which prudence could suggest to ward off the impending danger. They had little apprehension as to the issue of a contest on the shores of Britain; but Ireland was the vulnerable quarter which filled them with disquietude. The unceasing discontents of that country had formed a large party, who were in open and ill-disguised communication with the French Directory, and the narrow escape which it had made by the dispersion of Hoche's squadron in Bantry Bay proved that the utmost vigilance, and a decided naval superiority, could not always be relied on to secure its extensive seacoast from hostile invasion. In these circumstances, the principal efforts of the Admiralty were directed to strengthen the fleet off Brest and the Spanish coasts, from whence the menaced invasion might chiefly be expected to issue; while, at the same time, a small squadron was detached under Nelson, by Admiral St Vincent, from his squadron off Cadiz, which now amounted to eighteen ships of the line, to the Mediterranean, which was afterwards raised, by the junction of eight ships of the line under Admiral Curtis, to thirteen line-of-battle ships, and one of fifty guns. The most active preparations for defence were at the same time made on the whole coasts; the vigilance of the cruisers in the Channel was redoubled; and the spirit of the nation, rising with the dangers which threatened it, prepared without dismay to meet the conqueror of Europe on the British shores.

17. While all eyes in Europe, however, were turned to the Channel, and the world awaited, in anxious suspense, the terrible conflict which seemed to be approaching between the two powers whose hostility had so long divided mankind, the tempest had turned away in another direction. After considerable difficulty, Napoleon succeeded in persuading the Directory to undertake the expedition to Egypt. In vain they objected that it was to expose forty thousand of the best troops of the Republic to destruction; that the chance was small of escaping the English squadrons; and that Austria would not fail

to take advantage of the absence of their best general to regain her lost provinces. The ardent mind of Napoleon obviated every objection; and at length the government, dazzled by the splendour of the design, and secretly rejoiced at the prospect of ridding themselves of so formidable a rival, even at the hazard of losing the noble force put at his disposal, agreed to his scheme, and gave him unlimited powers for carrying it into execution. Napoleon instantly applied himself, with extraordinary activity, to forward the expedition. He himself superintended everything; instructions succeeded each other with inconceivable rapidity; night and day he laboured with his secretary, despatching orders in every direction. The Directory collected for the expedition forty thousand of the best troops of the Army of Italy; the fleet of Brueys, consisting of thirteen ships of the line and fourteen frigates, was destined to convey the greater part of the army; while above 3,000,000 of francs of the treasure recently before taken at Berne, were granted by the Directory to meet the expenses of the expedition. It is painful to think that this celebrated undertaking should have been preceded by so flagrant an act of spoliation; and that the desire to provide for the charges of the enterprise out of the savings of the Swiss Confederacy during more than

\* The partisans of Napoleon are indignant at the imputation of his having recommended or concurred in the invasion of Switzerland, in order to procure, in the treasure of Berne, funds for the equipment of his Egyptian expedition; but it is certain that, in his journey through Switzerland, he asked an ominous question as to the amount of that ancient store; and, in his Secret Correspondence, there exists decisive evidence that he participated in the shameful act of robbery which soon afterwards followed, and equipped his fleet out of the funds thus obtained. On the 11th April 1798, he wrote to Lannes:—"I have received, citizen-general, the letter of your aide-de-camp. Three millions have been despatched, by post, on the 7th of this month, from Berne for Lyons. You will find hereunto subjoined, the order from the Treasury to its agent at Lyons to forward it forthwith to Toulon. You will for this purpose cause it to be embarked on the Rhone; you will accompany it to Avignon; and from thence convey it by post to Toulon. Do not fail to inform me of what different pieces the three millions consist." On the 17th April

two hundred years, should have been one motive for the attack on the independence of that unoffending republic.\*

18. Napoleon has thus stated the objects which he had in view in the Egyptian expedition. "1. To establish, on the banks of the Nile, a French colony, which could exist without slaves, and supply the place of St Domingo. 2. To open a vent for our manufactures in Africa, Arabia, and Syria, and obtain for our commerce the productions of these countries. 3. To set out from Egypt, as a vast *place d'armes*; to push forward an army of 60,000 men to the Indus, rouse the Mahrattas to a revolt, and excite against the English the population of these vast countries. Sixty thousand men, half Europeans, half natives, transported on 50,000 camels, and 10,000 horses, carrying with them provisions for fifty days, and water for six, with 150 pieces of cannon, and double ammunition, would arrive in four months in India. The ocean ceased to be an obstacle when vessels were constructed; the desert becomes passable the moment you have camels and dromedaries in abundance."

19. From his headquarters at Paris, Napoleon directed the vast preparations for this armament, which were going forward with the utmost activity in all the ports of Italy and the south of France. Four stations were assigned

he again writes to Lannes: "From the information I have received from Berne, the three millions should arrive, at the very latest, on the 19th at Lyons. Forward them instantly on their arrival; do not go to bed till this is done; get ready in the mean time the boats for their reception; despatch a courier, to me the instant they are fairly on board." And on the same day he wrote to the authorities charged at Toulon with the preparation of the expedition: "The Treasury has given orders that three millions should be forthwith forwarded to Toulon. The sailors of Brueys' squadron must be paid the instant the three millions arrive from Berne." And, on the 20th April, he wrote to the Commissioners of the Treasury at Paris: "You have only given orders, citizen commissioners, for the transmission of such part of the three millions at Lyons, as is in francs and piastres, to Toulon. It is indispensable, however, that we have it all; you will be good enough, therefore, to send orders to your agent at Lyons for the transmission of the whole, of whatever descriptions of coin it is composed."—*Corresp. Confid. de Napoléon*, v. 74, 86, 88, 87, 102.

for the assembly of the convoys and the embarkation of the troops—Toulon, Genoa, Ajaccio, and Civita Vecchia; at the latter harbour, transports were moored alongside of the massy piers of Roman architecture to the bronze rings, still undecayed, which had been fixed in their blocks by the Emperor Trajan. A numerous artillery, and three thousand cavalry, were collected at these different stations, destined to be mounted on the incomparable horses of Egypt. The most celebrated generals of the Republic, Desaix and Kleber, as yet strangers to the fortunes of Napoleon, as well as those who had so ably seconded his efforts in Italy—Lannes, Murat, Junot, Reynier, Barraguay d'Hilliers, Vaubois, Bon, Belliard, and Dommartin—were ranged under his command. Caffarelli commanded the engineers; Berthier, who could hardly tear himself from the fascinations of beauty at Paris, the staff; the most illustrious philosophers and artists of the age, Monge, Berthollet, Fourier, Larrey, Desgenettes, Geoffroy St Hilaire, and Denon, attended the expedition. Genius, in every department, hastened to range itself under the banners of the youthful hero.

20. The disturbance at Vienna, on account of the fête given by Bernadotte, the ambassador of the Republic at the Imperial court, which has been already mentioned, retarded for fifteen days the departure of the expedition. During that period, Europe awaited with breathless anxiety the course of the storm, which it was well known was now about to burst. Bourrienne, on this occasion, asked Napoleon if he was finally determined to risk his fate on the expedition to Egypt.—“Yes,” he replied; “I have tried everything, but they will have nothing to do with me. If I stayed here, it would be necessary to overturn them, and make myself king; but we must not think of that as yet; the nobles would not consent to it. I have sounded, but I find the time for that has not yet arrived; I must first dazzle these gentlemen by my exploits.” In truth, he was convinced, at this period, that he had no chance of escaping destruction but by persisting in his oriental

expedition. The intelligence of the tumult at Vienna, and the appearance of approaching hostilities between Austria and France, induced Napoleon to change his plan; and he earnestly represented to the Directory the impolicy of continuing the Egyptian project at such a crisis. But the rulers of France were now thoroughly awakened to the danger they ran from the ascendancy of Napoleon, and the only answer they made to his representation was a positive order to leave Paris on the 3d May. This led to a warm altercation between him and the Directory, in the course of which he resorted to his former manoeuvre of tendering his resignation. But on this occasion it did not succeed. Presenting him with a pen, Rewbell said coldly, “You wish to retire from the service, general? If you do, the Republic will doubtless lose a brave and skilful chief; but it has still enough of sons who will not abandon it.” Merlin upon this interposed, and put an end to so dangerous an altercation; and Napoleon, swallowing the affront, prepared to follow out his Egyptian expedition—saying, in private to Bourrienne, “The pear is not yet ripe; let us depart. We shall return when the moment is arrived.”

21. Napoleon, having completed his preparations, arrived at Toulon on the 9th May 1798, and immediately took the command of the army. The realisation of his long-cherished hopes filled the mind of the young hero with the most enthusiastic anticipation; like the fabled hero of Tasso, his mind burned with the prospect of glories in Egypt, and on the banks of the Nile.\* Seldom had a more splendid armament appeared on the ocean. The fleet consisted of 13 ships of the line, two of 64 guns, 14 frigates, 72 brigs and cutters,

\* “He rides, revolving in his noble spright  
Such haughty thoughts as fill the glorious  
mind.”

On hard adventures was his whole delight,  
And now to wondrous acts his will inclin'd;  
Alone against the pagans would he fight,  
And kill their kings from Egypt unto Inde;  
From Cinthia's hills, and Nilus' unknown  
spring.

He would fetch praise, and glorious conquest bring.”

TASSO, *Jerusalem Delivered*, v. 52.



and 400 transports. It bore thirty-six thousand soldiers of all arms, and above ten thousand sailors. Before embarking, the general-in-chief, after his usual custom, addressed the following proclamation to his troops:—"Soldiers! You are one of the wings of the Army of England; you have made war in mountains, plains, and cities; it remains to make it on the ocean. The Roman legions, whom you have often imitated, but not yet equalled, combated Carthage, by turns, on the seas and on the plains of Zama. Victory never deserted their standards, because they never ceased to be brave, patient, and united. Soldiers! the eyes of Europe are upon you; you have great destinies to accomplish, battles to fight, dangers and fatigues to overcome; you are about to do more than you have yet done for the prosperity of your country, the happiness of man, and your own glory. The genius of liberty, which has rendered, from its birth, the Republic the arbiter of Europe, has now determined that it should become so of the seas, and of the most distant nations." In such magnificent mystery did this great man envelop his designs, even when on the eve of their execution. One of the last acts of Napoleon, before embarking, was to issue a humane proclamation to the military commissioners of the 9th division, in which Toulon was situated, in which he severely censured the cruel application of one of the harsh laws of the 19th Fructidor to old men above seventy years of age, children in infancy, and women with child, who had been seized and shot for violating that tyrannical edict. This interposition gave universal satisfaction, and added another laurel of a purer colour to those which already encircled the brows of the general.

22. At length, on the 19th May, the fleet set sail in the finest weather, amidst the discharges of cannon and the acclamations of an immense crowd of inhabitants. The Orient grounded at leaving the harbour, by reason of its enormous bulk: this was taken as a sinister omen by the sailors, more alive than any other class of men to superstitious impressions. The fleet

sailed in the first instance towards Genoa, and thence to Ajaccio and Civita Castellana, and having effected a junction with the squadrons in those harbours, bore away with a fair wind for Malta. In coasting the shores of Italy, they descried from on board the Orient the snowy summits of the Alps in the extreme distance. Napoleon gazed with intense feeling at the mountains which had been the witnesses of his early achievements. "I cannot," said he, "behold without emotion the land of Italy; these mountains command the plains where I have so often led the French to victory. Now we are bound for the East; with them victory is still secure." His conversation was peculiarly animated during the whole voyage; every headland, every promontory, recalled some glorious exploit of ancient history; and his imagination kindled with fresh fire as the fleet approached the shores of Asia, and the scenes of the greatest deeds which have made illustrious the annals of mankind.

23. On the 16th June, after a prosperous voyage, the white cliffs and superb fortifications of Malta appeared in dazzling brilliancy above the unruffled sea. The fleet anchored before the harbour which had so gloriously resisted the whole force of the Turks under Solymán the Magnificent: its bastions were stronger, its artillery more numerous, than under the heroic Lavalette; but the spirit of the Order was gone. A few hundred chevaliers, lost in effeminacy and indolence, intrusted to three thousand feeble mercenaries and as many militia the defence of the place; and its noble works seemed ready to become the prey of any invader who had inherited the ancient spirit of the defenders of Christendom. Before leaving France, the capitulation of the place had been secured by secret intelligence with the Grand Master and principal officers,\* who had, as the reward of their

\* "You are aware that Malta has been surrendered and given up by the French officers, who, as the price of their good and loyal services, have been erased from the list of emigrants, and pensioned."—*Secret Letter from Rastadt*, July 26, 1798; *Custleragh Papers*, l. 268.

treachery, been struck off the list of French emigrants. Desaix and Savary landed, and advanced without opposition to the foot of the ramparts. Terms of accommodation were speedily agreed on: the town was surrendered on condition that the Grand Master should obtain 600,000 francs, a principality in Germany, or a pension for life of 300,000 francs; the French chevaliers were promised a pension of 700 francs a-year each; and the tricolor flag speedily waved on the ancient bulwark of the Christian world.

24. So strongly were the generals impressed with their good fortune on this occasion, that, in passing through the impregnable defences, Caffarelli said to Napoleon—"It is well, general, that there was some one within to open the gates to us: we should have had more trouble in making our way through, if the place had been empty." On entering into the place, the French knew not how to congratulate themselves on the address on the one side, and pusillanimity on the other, which had obtained for them, without firing a shot, so immense an acquisition. They were never weary of examining the boundless fortifications, and stupendous monuments of perseverance, which it contained; the luxury and magnificence of the palaces which the Grand Masters had erected during the many centuries of their inglorious repose, and the incomparable harbour, which allowed the Orient to touch the quay, and was capable of containing six hundred sail of the line. In securing and organising the new colony, Napoleon displayed his wonted activity. Its innumerable batteries were speedily armed, and General Vaubois was left at the head of three thousand men to superintend its defence. All the Turkish prisoners found in the galleys were set at liberty, and scattered through the fleet, in order to produce a moral influence on the Mahometan population in the countries to which their course was bound.

25. The secret of the easy conquest of this impregnable island by Napoleon, is to be found in the estrangement of the chevaliers of other nations from Baron Homspech, the Grand Master,

whom they disliked on account of his German descent, and the intrigues long before carried on among the knights of French and Italian birth by a secret agent of Napoleon's. Such was the division produced by these circumstances that the garrison was incapable of making any resistance; and the leading knights, themselves chiefs in the conspiracy, had so prepared matters, by disarming batteries, providing neither stores nor ammunition, and disposing the troops in disadvantageous situations, that resistance was from the first perfectly hopeless. No sooner, however, were the gates delivered up, than these unworthy successors of the defenders of Christendom repented of their weakness. The treasure of St John, the accumulation of ages, the silver plate of all the churches, palaces, and hospitals, were seized on with merciless avidity; and all the ships of war, artillery, and arsenals of the Order, appropriated to the uses of the Republic.\*

26. Having secured this important conquest, and left a sufficient garrison to maintain it for the Republic, Napoleon set sail for Egypt. The voyage was uninterrupted by any accident; and the general, enjoying the beautiful sky of the Mediterranean, remained constantly on deck, conversing with Monge and Berthollet on subjects of science, the age of the world, the probable mode of its destruction, the forms of religion, the decline of the Byzantine empire. These interesting themes were often interrupted, however, by the consideration of what would occur if the fleet were to encounter the squadron of Nelson. Admiral Bruéys, forcibly

\* So early as 14th November 1797, Napoleon had commenced his intrigues with the Knights of Malta. On that day he wrote to Talleyrand: "You will receive herewith a copy of the commission I have given to citizen Pousseligue, and my letter to the Consul of Malta. The true object of his mission is to put the finishing hand to the projects we have in view on Malta."—*Conf. Desp. NAPOLEON to TALLEYRAND, 14th Nov. 1797.* In the January following his agent contrived, by liberal gifts, promises, and entertainments, to seduce from their allegiance all that numerous part of the garrison and knights who were inclined to democratic principles.—*HARD. v. 457, 460.*

struck by the crowded state of the ships, and the encumbrance which the soldiers would prove in the event of an action, and especially to the Orient, which had nearly two thousand men on board, could not conceal his apprehensions of the result of such an engagement. Napoleon, less accustomed to maritime affairs, contemplated the event with more calmness. The soldiers were constantly trained to work the great guns; and as there were five hundred on board each ship of the line, he flattered himself that in a close action they would succeed by boarding in discomfiting the enemy.

27. Meanwhile, Nelson's fleet had arrived on the 30th June before Naples; from thence he hastened to Messina, where he received intelligence of the surrender of Malta, and that the French were steering for Candia. He instantly directed his course for Alexandria, where he arrived on the 29th, and finding no enemy there, set sail for the north, imagining that the expedition was bound for the Dardanelles. It is a singular circumstance that, on the night of the 22d June, the French and English fleets crossed each other's track, without either party discovering their enemy. During the night, as the French fleet approached Egypt, the discharge of cannon was heard on the right; it was the signal which Nelson gave to his squadron, which at this moment was not more than *few leagues* distant, steering northward from the coast of Egypt, where he had been vainly seeking the French armament. For several hours the two fleets were within a few leagues of each other. Had he sailed a little further to the left, or passed during the day, the two squadrons would have met, and an earlier battle of Aboukir might have changed the fortunes of the world.

28. At length, on the morning of the 1st July, the shore of Egypt was discovered stretching as far as the eye could reach from east to west. Low sandhills, surmounted by a few scattered palms, presented little of interest to the ordinary eye; but the minarets of Alexandria, the needle of Cleopatra, and the pillar of Pompey, reawakened

those dreams of ancient grandeur and oriental conquest which had long floated in the mind of Napoleon. It was soon learned that the English fleet had only left the roads *two days before*, and had departed for the coast of Syria in quest of the French expedition. The general forthwith pressed the landing of the troops: it was begun on the evening of their arrival, and continued with the utmost expedition through the whole night; and at one in the morning, as the state of the tide permitted the galley on which he stood to approach the shore, he immediately disembarked, and formed three thousand men amidst the sandhills of the desert. At day-break, Napoleon advanced at the head of about five thousand men, being all that were yet formed, towards Alexandria. The shouts from the ramparts, and the discharge of some pieces of artillery, left no doubt as to the hostile intentions of the Mamelukes; an assault was immediately ordered, and in a short time the French grenadiers reached the top of the walls. Kleber was struck by a ball on the head, and Menou thrown down from the top of the rampart to the bottom; but the ardour of the French soldiers overcame every resistance; and the negligence of the Turks having left one of the principal gates open during the assault, the defenders of the walls were speedily taken in rear by those who rushed in at that entrance, and fled in confusion into the interior of the city. The conquerors were astonished to find a large space filled with ruins between the exterior walls and the inhabited houses—an ordinary feature in Asiatic towns, where the tyranny of the government usually occasions an incessant diminution of population, and ramparts, even of recent formation, are speedily found to be too extensive for the declining numbers of the people. The soldiers, who, notwithstanding their military ardour, did not share the eastern visions of their chief, were soon dissatisfied with the poverty and wretchedness which they found amongst the inhabitants; the brilliant anticipations of oriental luxury gave way to the sad realities of a life of privation; and men, in want of food and lodging, derived

little satisfaction from what they heard of the obelisks of the Ptolemies, or the sarcophagus of Alexander.

29. Before advancing into the interior of the country, Napoleon issued the following proclamation to his troops:—"Soldiers! You are about to undertake a conquest fraught with incalculable effects upon the commerce and civilisation of the world. You will inflict upon England the most grievous stroke she can sustain before receiving her deathblow. The people with whom we are about to live are Mahometans. Their first article of faith is, 'There is but one God, and Mahomet is his prophet.' Contradict them not. Behave to them as you have done to the Jews and the Italians; show the same regard to the Muftis and Imaums as you did to the Rabbis and Bishops; manifest for the ceremonies of the Koran the same respect as you have shown to the convents and the synagogues, the religion of Moses and that of Jesus Christ. The first town we are about to enter was built by Alexander; at every step we shall meet with recollections worthy to excite the emulation of Frenchmen." This address contains a faithful picture of the feeling of the French army on religious subjects at this period. They not only considered the Christian faith as an entire fabrication, but were for the most part ignorant of its very elements. Lavalette has recorded, that hardly one of them had ever been in a church; and in Palestine, they were ignorant even of the names of the holiest places in sacred history.

30. Egypt, on which the French army was now fairly landed, and which became the theatre of such memorable exploits, is one of the most singular countries in the world, not only from its geographical position, but its physical conformation. It consists entirely of the valley of the Nile, which, taking its rise in the mountains of Abyssinia, after traversing for six hundred leagues the arid deserts of Africa, and receiving the tributary waters of the Bahr-el-Abiad, perhaps the greater stream of the two, precipitates itself by the cata-

facts of Sennaar into the lower valley, two hundred leagues long, which forms the country of Egypt. Altogether the course of the Nile, from its source in the chain of Djebel-el-Kamar, is twenty-seven hundred miles long. This valley, though of such immense length, is in general—until it reaches the Delta or plain at its mouth, formed by the deposits of its floods during a long succession of ages—only from one to six leagues in breadth, and bounded on either side by the rocky mountains of the deserts. Its habitable and cultivated portion is entirely confined to that part of the surface which is overflowed by the inundations of the fertilising stream; as far as the waters rise, the soil is of extraordinary fertility; beyond it the glowing desert is alone to be seen. At the distance of fifty leagues from the sea, the Nile divides itself into two branches, which fall into the Mediterranean, one at Rosetta, the other at Damietta. The triangle having these two branches for its sides, and the sea for its base, is called the Delta, and constitutes the richest and most fertile district of Egypt, being perfectly level, intersected by canals, and covered with the most luxuriant vegetation. The soil of this singular valley was originally as barren as the arid ridges which adjoin it; but it has acquired an extraordinary degree of richness from the well-known inundations of the Nile. These floods, arising from the warmth of spring, followed by the melting of the snow and heavy rains of July and August in the mountains of Abyssinia, cause the river to rise gradually, during a period of nearly three months. It begins to swell in the middle of May, and continues to rise till the end of August, when it attains the height of sixteen or eighteen feet above its ordinary level. The fertility of the country is just in proportion to the height of the inundation; hence it is watched with the utmost anxiety by the inhabitants, and public rejoicings are ordered when the *Nilometer* at Cairo indicates a foot or two greater depth of water than usual.

31. It never rains in Egypt. Centuries may elapse without more than a

shower of drizzling mist moistening the surface of the soil. It is said that it has not rained in Egypt for seventeen hundred years. Hence cultivation can only be extended beyond the level to which the water rises by an artificial system of irrigation; and the efforts made in this respect by the ancient inhabitants, constitute, perhaps, the most wonderful of the many monuments of industry which they have left to succeeding ages. During the inundation, the level plain of Egypt is flooded with water; the villages, detached from each other, communicate only by boats, and, surmounted by their palms and sycamores, appear like the islands on the Lagunæ of Venice, in the midst of the watery waste. "The inundation," says an eloquent observer, "begins in May, attains its full height in August, and thenceforth diminishes, until freshly swollen in the following year. The stream, economised within its channel as far as the first cataract, then spreads abroad its beneficent deluge over the vast valley. Then it is that Egypt presents the most striking of its Protean aspects, becoming an archipelago studded with green islands, and bounded only by the chain of the Libyan hills, and the purple range of the Mokattam mountains. Every isle is crowned with a village, or an antique temple, and shadowy with palm-trees or acacia groves. Every city becomes a Venice, and the bazars display their richest and gayest cloths and tapestries to the illuminations that are reflected from the streaming streets. The earth is sheltered from the burning sun under the cool bright veil of waters; the labour of the husbandman is suspended, and it is the season of universal festivity. Boatmen alone are busy, but it would seem to be pleasant business; for the sound of music is never silent beneath those large white sails, that now glitter in the moonlight, and now gleam ruddily, reflecting the fragrant watch-fires on the deck."\* No sooner, however, have the floods retired, than the soil, covered to a considerable depth by a rich slime, is cultivated and sown;

and the seed, vegetating quickly in that rich mould, and under a tropical sun, springs up, and in three months yields a hundred and sometimes a hundred and fifty fold. During the whole winter months the soil is covered with the richest harvests, besprinkled with flowers, and dotted by innumerable flocks; but in March the great heats begin, the earth cracks from excessive drought, vegetation disappears, and the country is fast relapsing into the sterility of the desert, when the annual floods of the Nile again cover it with their vivifying waters.

32. All the varied productions of the temperate and the torrid zone flourish in this favoured region. Besides the ordinary grains of Europe, Egypt produces the finest crops of rice, maize, sugar, indigo, cotton, and senna. It has no oil, but the opposite coasts of Greece furnish it in abundance; nor coffee, but it is supplied in profusion from the adjoining mountains of Arabia. Hardly any trees are to be seen over its vast extent; a few palms and sycamores, in the villages, alone rise above the luxuriant vegetation of the plain. Its horses are celebrated over all the world for their beauty, their spirit, and their incomparable docility; and it possesses the camel, that wonderful animal, which can support thirst for days together, tread without fatigue the moving sands, and traverse like a living ship the ocean of the desert. Every year, immense caravans arrive at Cairo from Syria and Arabia on the one side, and the interior of Africa on the other. They bring all that belongs to the regions of the sun—gold, ivory, ostrich feathers, gum, aromatics of all sorts, coffee, tobacco, spices, perfumes, with the numerous alaves which mark the degradation of the human species in those favoured countries. Cairo becomes, at that period, an *entrepôt* for the finest productions of the earth, of those which the genius of the West will never be able to rival, but for which their opulence and luxury afford a never-failing demand. Thus the commerce of Egypt is the only one in the globe which never can decay; but must, under a tolerable government, continue to flourish, as

\* *The Crescent and the Cross*, by WARBURTON, vol. i. p. 37, 38.

long as the warmth of Asia furnishes articles which the industry and perseverance of Europe are desirous of possessing.

33. In ancient times, Egypt and Libya, it is well known, were the granary of Rome; and the masters of the world depended for their subsistence on the floods of the Nile. Even at the time of its conquest by the Mahometans, the former is said to have contained twenty millions of souls, including those who dwell in the adjoining Oases of the desert. This vast population is by no means incredible, if the prodigious fertility of the soil, wherever water can be conveyed, is considered; and the extent to which, under a paternal government, the system of artificial irrigation can be carried. It is to the general decay of all the great establishments for the watering of the country, which the industry of antiquity had constructed, that we are to ascribe the present limited extent of agriculture, and the perpetual encroachments which the sands of the desert are making on the region of human cultivation. Alexandria, selected by the genius of Alexander the Great to be the capital of his vast empire, is situated at the opening of one of the old mouths of the Nile, which, however, is now choked with sand, and only covered with water in extraordinary floods. Its harbour, capable of containing all the navies of Europe, is the only safe or accessible port between Carthage and the shores of Palestine. Vessels drawing twenty-one feet of water can enter without difficulty, but those of larger dimensions only when lightened of their guns. Rosetta and Damietta admit only barks, the bar at the entrance of their harbours having only six feet of water.

34. At the period of this expedition to Egypt, the population of the country, consisting of two millions five hundred thousand souls, was divided into four classes; the Mamelukes or Circassians, the Janizaries, the Arabs, and the Copts. The Mamelukes, who were the actual rulers of the country, consisted of young Circassians, brought in infancy from their native country, and

transported into Egypt, to form the armed force of that province of the Turkish empire. Bred up in camps, without any knowledge of their country or relations, without either a home or kindred, they prided themselves solely on their horses, their arms, and their military prowess. This singular militia was governed by twenty-four Beys, the least considerable of whom was followed by five or six hundred Mamelukes, whom they maintained and equipped. This body of twelve thousand horsemen, each of whom was attended by two helots or servants, constituted the military strength of the country, and formed the finest body of cavalry in the world. "The bits in their horses' mouths are so powerful, that the most fiery steeds are speedily checked, even at full career, by an ordinary hand. Their stirrups are extremely short, and give the rider great power both in commanding his horse and striking with his sabre; and the pommel and back part of the saddle are so high that the horseman, though wounded, can scarcely lose his balance. He can even sleep without falling, as he would do in an arm-chain. The horse is burdened by no baggage or provisions, all of which are carried by the rider's servants; while the Mameluke himself, covered with shawls and turbans, is protected from the strokes of a sabre. They are all splendidly armed: in their girdle is always to be seen a pair of pistols and a poniard; from the saddle is suspended another pair of pistols and a hatchet; on one side is a sabre, on the other a blunderbuss; and the servant on foot carries a carbine. They seldom parry with the sword, as their fine blades would break in the collision, but avoid the strokes of their adversary by skill in wheeling their horses, while they trust to his impetus to sever his head from his body, without either cut or thrust."

35. The office of Bey was not hereditary; sometimes it descended to the son, more generally to the favourite officer of the deceased commander. The Beys divided the country among them in feudal sovereignty; were no-

minally equal, but necessarily subject to the ascendant of talent; they exhibited alternately the anarchy of feudal rule, and the severity of military despotism. The Mamelukes seldom have been perpetuated beyond the third or fourth generation on the shores of the Nile; and their numbers were only kept up by annual accessions of active youths from the mountains of Circassia. The force of the Beys was at one period very considerable; but it had been seriously weakened by the Russian conquests in Georgia, which cut off one source from which their numbers were recruited; and at the time when the French landed in Egypt, it was not a half of what it formerly had been—a circumstance which contributed more than any other to the rapid success with which the invasion of the latter was attended. The Turks or Janizaries, forming the second part of the population, were introduced on occasion of the conquest of Egypt by the Sultans of Constantinople. They were about two hundred thousand in number, almost all inscribed on the books of the Janizaries, to acquire their privileges; but, as usual in the Ottoman empire, with a very few of their number in reality following the standard of the Prophet. Those actually in arms formed the guards of the Pasha, who still maintained a shadow of authority for the Sultana of Constantinople; but the great majority were engaged in trades and handicrafts in the towns, and kept in a state of complete subjection to the haughty rule of the Mamelukes.

36. The Arabs constituted the great body of the population—at least two millions out of the two millions and a half of which the inhabitants consisted. Their condition was infinitely various; some forming a body of nobles, who were the chief proprietors of the country; others, the doctors of the law and the ministers of religion; a third class, the little proprietors, farmers, and cultivators. The whole instruction of the country, the maintenance of its schools, its mosques, its laws, and religion, was in their hands. A numerous body, living on the borders of the desert,

retained the roving propensities and barbaric vices of the Bedouin race. Mounted on camels or horses, driving numerous herds before them, escorting or pillaging the caravans which come to Cairo from Libya and Arabia, they alternately cultivated their fields on the banks of the Nile, or fled from its shores loaded with the spoils of plundered villages. The indifference or laxity of the Turkish rule almost always suffered their excesses to escape with impunity. Industry languished, and population declined in the districts exposed to their ravages; and the plunderers, retreating into the desert, resumed the roving life of their forefathers, and reappeared on the frontiers of civilisation, only, like the moving sands, to devour the traces of human industry. A hundred, or a hundred and twenty thousand of these marauders wandered through the wilderness which bordered on either side the valley of the Nile: they could send into the field twenty thousand men, admirably mounted, and matchless in the skill with which their horses were managed, but destitute of discipline, or of the firmness requisite to sustain the attack of regular forces.

37. The Copts constituted the fourth class of the people. They are the descendants of the native inhabitants of the country—of those Egyptians who so early excelled in the arts of civilisation, and have left so many monuments of immortal endurance. Now, insulted and degraded, on account of the Christian faith which they still profess, they were cast down to the lowest stage of society—their numbers not exceeding two hundred thousand, and their occupations being of the meanest description. By one of those wonderful revolutions which mark the lapse of ages, the greater part of the slaves in the country were to be found among the descendants of the followers of Sesostris. At the period of the arrival of the French, two Beys, Ibrahim Bey and Mourad Bey, divided between them the sovereignty of Egypt. The first, rich, sagacious, and powerful, was, by a sort of tacit understanding, invested with the civil government of the country; the latter, young,

active, and enterprising, was at the head of its military establishments. His ardour, courage, and brilliant qualities, rendered him the idol of the soldiers, who advanced confident of victory under his standard.

38. The policy of Napoleon on invading a country uniformly was, to raise the numerous governed against the few governors, and thus paralyse its means of resistance by arming one part of the population against the other. On approaching Egypt, he at once saw that, by rousing the Arabs against the domination of the Beys, not only would the power of the latter be weakened, but a numerous and valuable body of auxiliaries might be procured for the invading force. To accomplish this object, it was necessary, above all things, to avoid a religious war, which would infallibly have united all ranks of the Mussulmans against the invaders, and to gain the affections of the Arabs by flattering their leaders, and indulging their prejudices. For this purpose he left the administration of justice and the affairs of religion exclusively in the hands of the Scheiks, and addressed himself to the feelings of the multitude through the medium of their established teachers. For the Mahometan religion and its precepts he professed the highest veneration; for the restoration of Arabian independence the most ardent desire; to the Beys alone he swore eternal and uncompromising hostility. In this manner he hoped to awaken in his favour both the national feelings of the most numerous part of the people, and the religious enthusiasm which is ever so powerful in the East; and, inverting the passions of the Crusades, to rouse in behalf of European conquest the vehemence of Oriental fanaticism.\*

\* "The French army," says Napoleon, "since the Revolution, had practised no sort of worship; in Italy, even, the soldiers never went to church: we took advantage of that circumstance to present the army to the Mussulmans as readily disposed to embrace their faith. I had many discussions with the Scheiks on this subject: and after many weeks spent in fruitless discussion, they arrived at the conclusion that circumcision, and the prohibition against wine, might be dispensed with, provided not a tenth, but a fifth of the income was spent in acts of beneficence."

39. Proceeding on these principles, Napoleon addressed the following singular proclamation to the Egyptian people:—"People of Egypt! you will be told by our enemies that I am come to destroy your religion. Believe them not. Tell them that I am come to restore your rights, punish your usurpers, and revive the true worship of Mahomet, which I venerate more than the Mamelukes. Tell them that all men are equal in the sight of God; that wisdom, talents, and virtue, alone constitute the difference between them. And what are the virtues which distinguish the Mamelukes, that entitle them to appropriate all the enjoyments of life to themselves? If Egypt is their farm, let them show the tenure from God by which they hold it. No! God is just, and full of pity to the suffering people. For long a horde of slaves, bought in the Caucasus and Georgia, have tyrannised over the finest part of the world; but God, upon whom everything depends, has decreed that this tyranny should terminate. Cadis, Scheiks, Imaums, tell the people that we too are true Mussulmans. Are we not the men who have destroyed the Pope, who preached eternal war against the Mussulmans? Are we not those who have crushed the chevaliers of Malta, because those madmen believed that they should constantly make war on your faith? Are we not those who have been in every age the friends of the Most High, and the enemies of his enemies? Thrice happy those who are with us; they shall prosper in all their undertakings: woe to those who shall join the Mamelukes to resist us; they shall perish without mercy!"

40. Napoleon was justly desirous to advance to Cairo before the inundations of the Nile rendered military operations in the level country impossible;

The general-in-chief then traced out the plan of a mosque, which was to exceed that of *Jemilazar*; and declared it was to be a monument of the conversion of the army. In all this, however, he sought only to gain time. Napoleon was, upon this, declared the friend of the Prophet, and specially placed under his protection. The report spread generally that, before the expiry of a year, the soldiers would wear the turban. This produced the very best effect; the people ceased to regard them as idolators.—*Nap. in MONTMOLON*, II. 211, 212.



but for this purpose it was necessary to accelerate his movements, as the season of the rise of the waters was fast approaching. He made, accordingly, the requisite arrangements with extraordinary celerity; left three thousand men in garrison at Alexandria under Kleber, with a distinguished officer of engineers, to put the works in a posture of defence; established the civil government in the persons of the Scheiks and Imams; gave directions for sounding the harbour, with a view to placing the fleet in safety, if the draught of water would permit the entry of the larger vessels; collected a flotilla on the Nile to accompany the troops, and assigned to it as a place of rendezvous Ramanieh, a small town on that river, situated on the route to Cairo, whither he proposed to advance across the desert of Damanhour; while at the same time he wrote to the French ambassador at Constantinople to assure the Porte of his anxious desire to remain at peace with the Turkish government.\* On the 6th July the army set out on their march, being now reduced, by the garrison of Malta and that recently left in Alexandria, to thirty thousand men. At the same time Kleber's division, under the orders of Dugua, was directed to move upon Rosetta, to secure that town, and facilitate the entrance of the flotilla into the Nile.

41. Desaix was at the head of the vanguard; his troops began their march in the evening, and advanced with tolerable cheerfulness during the cool of the night; but when morning dawned, and they found themselves traversing a boundless plain of sand, without water or shade—with a burning sun above their head, and troops of Arabs flitting across the horizon, to cut off the weary or stragglers—they were filled with the most gloomy forebodings. The sky glowed

\* "The army has arrived; it has disembarked at Alexandria, and carried that town; we are now in full march for Cairo. Use your utmost efforts to convince the Porte of our firm resolution to continue to live on the best terms with his government. An ambassador to Constantinople has just been named for that purpose, who will arrive there without delay."—*Letter to the Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople*, 8th July 1798; *Corresp. Secrète*, v. 199.

like a fiery furnace; not a breath of air was to be felt, save when a light breeze brought a gust of the hot wind of the Moorish desert to their wearied frames.† Already the desire for rest had taken possession of their minds; they had flattered themselves that they were to find repose and a terrestrial paradise in Egypt; and when they saw themselves, instead, surrounded by a pathless desert, parched by thirst, and suffering from hunger, their discontent broke out in loud lamentations. All the wells on the road were either filled up or exhausted; hardly a few drops of muddy and brackish water could be found to quench their burning thirst. At Damanhour, a few houses afforded shelter at night only to the general's staff; the remainder of the troops bivouacked in squares on the sand, incessantly harassed by the clouds of Arabs who wheeled round their position, and sometimes approached within fifty yards of the videttes. After a rest of two days, the army resumed its march across the sandy wilderness, still observed in the distance by the hostile Bedouins; and soon the suffering from thirst became so excessive, that even the strongest heads and firmest resolution gave way before it. The scene realised all that the ardent mind of Lucan had conceived of the sufferings of Pompey's soldiers, all that the imagination of Tasso had figured of the burning wilderness.‡ Lannes and Murat threw themselves on the sand, and gave way

† "As from a furnace flew the smoke to skies,  
Such smoke as that when damned Sodom  
brent;

Within his caves sweet Zephyr silent lies;  
Still was the air, the rack nor came nor went,  
But o'er the lands with lukewarm breathing  
flies

The southern wind, from sunburnt Africa  
sent,

Which, thick and warm, his interrupted  
blasts

Upon their bosoms, throats, and shoes cast." *Jerusalem Delivered*, xiii. 56.

‡ "He that the gliding rivers erst had seen  
Adown their verdant channels gently  
roll'd,  
Or falling streams which to the valleys  
green,  
Distill'd from tops of Alpine mountains cold,  
Those he desired in vain, new torments  
been  
Augmented thus with wish of comforts old;

to every expression of despair.\* In the midst of the general depression, a sudden gleam of hope illuminated the countenances of the soldiers; a lake appeared in the arid wilderness, with villages and palm-trees clearly reflected in its glassy surface.

"Conspicit vicinos sitiens exercitus amnes."

Instantly the parched troops hastened towards the enchanting object; but it receded from their steps: in vain they pressed on with burning impatience; it for ever fled from their approach: and they had at length the mortification of discovering that they had been deceived by the *mirage* of the desert.†

42. The firmness and resolution of Napoleon, however, triumphed over every obstacle; the approach to the Nile was shortly indicated by the increasing bodies of Arabs, with a few Mamelukes, who watched the columns; and at length the long-wished-for stream was seen glittering through the sand-hills of the desert. At the joyful sight

"Those waters cool he drank in vain conceit,  
Which more increased his thirst, increased  
his heat.

The sturdy bodies of the warriors strong,  
Whom neither marching far, nor tedious  
way,

Nor weighty arms which on their shoulders  
hung,

Could weary make, nor death itself dismay,  
Now weak and feeble, cast their limbs along,  
Unwieldy burthens, on the burned clay;  
And in each vein a smould'ring fire there  
dwelt,

Which dried their flesh, and solid bones did  
melt."

*Jerusalem Delivered*, xlii. 60, 61.

\* The sufferings of the army are thus vividly depicted in Desaix's despatch to Napoleon: "If all the army does not pass the desert with the rapidity of lightning, it will perish. It does not contain water to quench the thirst of a thousand men. The greater part of what it does is contained in cisterns, which, once emptied, are not replenished by any perennial fountain. The villages are huts, without resources of any kind. For heaven's sake, do not leave us in this situation; order us rapidly to advance or retire. I am in despair at being obliged to write to you in the language of anxiety; when we are out of our present horrible position, I hope my wonted firmness will return."—*Corresp. Confid. de Napoleon*, v. 217.

† "The thirsting army beholds at hand streams."—LUCAN.

‡ M. Monge, who accompanied the expedition, published the following account of this

the ranks were completely broken; men, horses, and camels, rushed simultaneously to the banks, and threw themselves into the stream; all heads were instantly lowered into the water; and in the transports of delight, the sufferings of the preceding days were speedily forgotten. It was some time, however, before repeated draughts restored strength and animation to their wearied frames.‡ While the troops were thus assuaging their thirst, an alarm was given that the Mamelukes were approaching; the drums beat to arms, and eight hundred horsemen, clad in glittering armour, soon appeared in sight. Finding, however, the leading division prepared, they passed on and attacked the division of Desaix, which was still in march; but the troops rapidly forming in squares, with the artillery at the angles, dispersed the assailants by a single discharge of grape-shot. The whole army soon came up, and the flotilla having appeared in sight about the same time, the soldiers rested

singular illusion:—"When the surface of the earth has been during the day thoroughly heated by the rays of the sun, and towards evening begins to cool, the higher objects of the landscape seem to rise as out of a general inundation. The villages appear to rise out of a vast lake; under each is its image inverted, exactly as if it was in the midst of a glassy sheet of water. As you approach the village it recedes from the view; when you arrive at it, you find it is still in the midst of burning sand; and the deception begins anew with some more distant object." The phenomenon admits of an easy explanation on optical principles.—*Mior*, 28, 32.

§ "Eager to drink, down rush the thirsty crowd,  
Hang o'er the banks, and trouble all the flood.  
Some, while too fierce the fatal draughts they drain,  
Forget the gasping lungs that heave in vain;  
No breathing airs the choking channels fill,  
But every spring of life at once stands still.  
Some drink, nor yet the fervent pest assuage,  
With wonted fires their bloated entrails rage;  
With bursting sides each bulk enormous heaves,  
Which still for drink the insatiate fever craves.  
At length, returning health dispersed the pain,  
And lusty vigour strung the nerves again."

LUCAN, *Pharsalia*, book iv. 366.

in plenty for a whole day beside the stream. A severe action had taken place on the Nile, between the French and Egyptian flotillas; but the Asiatics were defeated, and the boats arrived at the destined spot at the precise hour assigned to them. The landscape now totally changed; luxuriant verdure on the banks of the river succeeded to the arid uniformity of the desert; incomparable fertility in the soil promised abundant supplies to the troops; and the shade of palm-trees and sycamores afforded an enjoyment unknown to those who have never traversed an eastern wilderness.

43. After a day's rest, the army pursued its march along the banks of the Nile, towards Chebreima. Mourad Bey, with four thousand Mamelukes and Fellahs, or foot-soldiers, lay on the road, his left resting on the village, and his right supported by a flotilla of gun-boats on the river. The French flotilla outstripped the march of the land forces, and engaged in a furious and doubtful combat with the enemy before the arrival of the army. Napoleon immediately formed his army in five divisions, each composed of squares six deep, with the artillery at the angles, and the grenadiers in platoons, to support the menaced points. The cavalry, who were only two hundred in number, still attenuated by the fatigues of the voyage, and wholly unfit to combat the formidable cavalry of the East, were placed in the centre of the square. No sooner had the troops approached within half a league of the enemy than the Mamelukes advanced, and, charging at full gallop, assailed their moving squares with loud cries, and the most determined intrepidity. The artillery opened upon them as soon as they approached within point-blank range, and the rolling fire of the infantry soon mowed down those who escaped the grape-shot. Animated by this success, the French right wing deployed and attacked the village, which was speedily carried. The Mamelukes retreated in disorder towards Cairo, with the loss of six hundred men, and the flotilla at the same time abandoned the scene of action, and drew off farther up the Nile. This action, though

by no means decisive, sufficed to familiarise the soldiers with the new species of enemy they had to encounter, and to inspire them with a well-founded confidence in the efficacy of their discipline and tactics to repel the assaults of the Arabian cavalry. The troops continued their march for seven days longer towards Cairo; their fatigues were extreme; and, as the villages were all deserted, it was with the utmost difficulty that subsistence could be obtained. The Nile, however, supplied them with water, and the sight of the Arabs, who constantly prowled round the horizon, impressed them with the necessity of keeping their ranks.

44. At length the army arrived within sight of the PYRAMIDS, and the city of Cairo. All eyes were instantly turned upon the oldest monuments in the world, and the sight of those gigantic structures reanimated the spirit of the soldiers, who had been bitterly lamenting the delights of Italy. Mourad Bey had there collected all his forces, consisting of eight thousand Mamelukes, and double that number of Fellahs, Arabs, and Copts. His camp was placed in the village of Embabeh, on the left bank of the Nile, which was fortified by rude field-works and forty pieces of cannon; but the artillery was not mounted on carriages, and consequently could only fire in one direction. Between the troops and the pyramids extended a wide sandy plain, on which were stationed above eight thousand of the finest horsemen in the world, with their right resting on the village, and their left stretching towards the pyramids. A few thousand Arabs, assembled to pillage the vanquished, whoever they should be, filled up the space to the foot of those gigantic monuments. Napoleon no sooner discovered, by means of his telescopes, that the cannon in the intrenched camp were immovable, and could not be turned from the direction in which they were placed, than he resolved to move his army farther to the right, towards the pyramids, in order to be beyond the reach, and out of the direction of the guns. The columns accordingly began to march; Desaix with his division in

front, next Reynier, then Dugua, and lastly Vial\* and Bon. The sight of the pyramids, and the anxious nature of the moment, inspired the French general with even more than his usual ardour; the sun glittered on those immense masses, which seemed to rise in height with every step the soldiers advanced, and the army, sharing his enthusiasm, gazed, as they marched, on the everlasting monuments. "Remember," said he, "that from the summit of those pyramids forty centuries contemplate your actions."

45. With his usual sagacity, Napoleon had taken extraordinary precautions to insure success against the formidable cavalry of the desert. The divisions were all drawn up as before, in hollow square six deep, the artillery at the angles, the generals and baggage in the centre. When they were in march, the two sides advanced in column—those in front and rear moved forward in their ranks; but the moment they were charged, the whole were to halt and face outwards on every side. When they were themselves to charge, the three front ranks were to break off and form the column of attack, those in rear remaining behind, still in square, but three deep only, to constitute the reserve. Napoleon had no fears of the result, if the infantry were steady; his only apprehension was that his soldiers, accustomed to charge, would yield to their impetuosity too soon, and would not be brought to the immovable firmness which this species of warfare required. Mourad Bey no sooner perceived the lateral movement of the French army, than, with a promptitude of decision worthy of a skillful general, he resolved to attack the columns while in the act of completing it. An extraordinary movement was immediately observed in the Mameluke line, and speedily seven thousand horsemen detached themselves from the remainder of the army and bore down upon the French columns. It was a terrible sight, capable of daunting the bravest troops, when this immense body of cavalry approached at full gallop the squares of infantry. The horsemen,

\* Vial commanded Menou's division upon this occasion.

admirably mounted, and magnificently dressed, rent the air with their cries. The glitter of spears and scimitars dazzled the sight, while the earth groaned under the repeated and increasing thunder of the horses' feet. The soldiers, impressed but not panic-struck by the sight, stood firm, and anxiously waited, with their pieces ready, the order to fire.

46. Desaix's division being entangled in a wood of palm-trees, was not completely formed when the swiftest of the Mamelukes came upon them; they were in consequence partially broken, and thirty or forty of the bravest of the assailants penetrated into, and died in the midst of the square at the feet of the officers. Before, however, the mass arrived, the movement was completed, and a rapid fire of musketry and grape drove them from the front round the sides of the column. With dauntless intrepidity they pierced through the interval between Desaix's and Reynier's divisions, and riding round both squares, strove to find an entrance; but an incessant fire from every front mowed them down as fast as they poured in at the opening. Furious at the unexpected resistance, the Mussulman horsemen dashed their horses against the rampart of bayonets, and threw their pistols at the heads of the grenadiers; while many who had lost their steeds, crept along the ground, and cut at the legs of the front rank with their scimitars. In vain thousands succeeded, and galloped round the flaming walls of steel; multitudes perished under the rolling fire which, without intermission, issued from the ranks, and at length the survivors, in despair, fled towards the camp from whence they had issued. Here, however, they were charged in flank by Napoleon at the head of Dugua's division, while those of Vial and Bon, on the extreme left, stormed the intrenchments. The most horrible confusion now reigned in the camp; the horsemen, driven into its enclosure in disorder, trampled under foot the infantry, who, panic-struck at the rout of the cavalry, on whom all their hopes were placed, abandoned their ranks, and rushed in crowds towards the boats to escape to the other side of the Nile. Numbers saved themselves by swim-

ming, but a great proportion perished in the attempt. The Mamelukes, rendered desperate, seeing no possibility of escape in that direction, fell upon the columns who were approaching from the right, with their wings extended in order of attack; but they, forming square again with inconceivable rapidity, repulsed them with great slaughter, and drove them finally off in the direction of the pyramids. The intrenched camp, with all its artillery, stores, and baggage, fell into the hands of the victors. Several thousands of the Mamelukes were drowned or killed; and of the formidable array which had appeared in such splendour in the morning, not more than two thousand five hundred escaped with Mourad Bey into Upper Egypt. The victors hardly lost two hundred men in the action; and several days were occupied after it was over in stripping the slain of their magnificent appointments, or fishing up the rich spoils which encumbered the Nile.

47. This action decided the fate of Egypt, by the destruction of force which it effected, and the dispersion of what remained which it occasioned. Mourad Bey retired to Upper Egypt, leaving Cairo to its fate; while Ibrahim Pasha, who had been a spectator of the combat from the opposite side of the river, set fire to the boats which contained his riches, and retreated to Salahieh, on the frontiers of Arabia, and from thence across the desert into Syria. Two days after the battle Napoleon entered Cairo, where his soldiers found all the luxuries of the East, which for a time compensated to them for their absence from Europe. The division of Desaix was destined to pursue Mourad Bey into Upper Egypt; the other divisions, dispersed in the environs of Cairo, or advanced towards Syria in pursuit of Ibrahim Pasha, tasted the sweets of repose after their short but fatiguing campaign. No sooner was Napoleon established in Cairo, and his officers employed in exploring the pyramids and city of tombs, which lay at their feet, than he set himself sedulously to follow up the plan for acquiring the dominion over the country to which his proclamations from

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Alexandria had originally pointed. He visited the principal Scheiks, flattered them, held out hopes of the speedy re-establishment of the Arabian power, promised ample security for their religion and their customs, and at length completely won their confidence, by a mixture of skilful management with the splendid language which was so well calculated to captivate eastern imaginations. The great object was to obtain from the Scheiks of the mosque of Jemilazar, which was held in the highest estimation, a declaration in favour of the French; and by adroitly flattering their ambition, this object was at length gained.

48. A proclamation was issued by them, which announced the designs of Napoleon for gaining the affections of the Egyptians. "You are not ignorant," said the Scheiks, in this curious proclamation, which evidently bears the marks of the composition of Napoleon, "that the French alone, of all the European nations, have, in every age, been the firm friends of Mussulmans and Mahometism, and the enemies of idolaters and their superstitions. They are the faithful and zealous allies of our sovereign the Sultaun, ever ready to give proofs of their affection, and to fly to his succour; they love those whom he loves, and hate those whom he hates; and that is the cause of their rupture with the Russians, those irreconcilable enemies of the worshippers of the true God, who meditate the capture of Constantinople, and incessantly employ alike violence and artifice to subjugate the faith of Mahomet. But the attachment of the French to the Sublime Porte, and the powerful succours which they are about to bring to him, will doubtless confound their impious designs. The Russians desire to get possession of St Sophia, and the other temples dedicated to the service of the true God, to convert them into churches consecrated to the exercises of their perverse faith; but, by the aid of Heaven, the French will enable the Sultaun to conquer their country, and exterminate their impious race." A species of litany was composed by

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them, in which they celebrated the overthrow of their Mameluke oppressors by the invincible soldiers of the West. "The Beys," said they, "placed their confidence in their cavalry; they ranged their infantry in order of battle. But the Favourite of Fortune, at the head of the brave men of the West, has destroyed their horses, and confounded their hopes. As the vapours which rise in the morning from the Nile are dissipated by the rays of the sun, so has the army of the Mamelukes been dispersed by the heroes of the West; for the Great Allah is irritated against the Mamelukes, and the soldiers of Europe are the thunders of his right hand." The battle of the Pyramids struck terror far into Asia and Africa. The caravans which came to Mecca from the interior of those vast regions, carried back the most dazzling accounts of the victories of the invincible legions of Europe; the destruction of the cavalry which had so long tyrannised over Egypt, excited the strongest sentiments of wonder and admiration; and the orientals, whose imaginations were deeply impressed by the flaming citadels which had dissipated their terrible squadrons, named Napoleon, Sul-taun Kebir, or the Sul-taun of Fire.

49. Napoleon, in addition to the terror inspired by his military exploits, strove to acquire a lasting hold on the affections of the people by the justice and impartiality of his civil government. He made all his troops join with the multitude in celebrating the festival in honour of the inundation of the Nile, which that year rose to an extraordinary height; partook with the Scheiks and Imaams in the ceremonies at the Great Mosque; joined in the responses in their litanies like the faithful Mussulmans; and even balanced his body and moved his head in imitation of the Mahometan custom. Nor was it only by an affected regard for their religion that he endeavoured to confirm his civil authority. He permitted justice to be administered by the Scheiks and Imaams, enjoining only a scrupulous impartiality in their decisions; established at Cairo a divan

or parliament, to make known the wants of the people; and others, in the different provinces, to send deputies to the Central Assembly; and vigorously repulsed the robbers of the desert, who for centuries had devastated with impunity the frontiers of the cultivated country. Never had Egypt experienced the benefits of regular government so completely as under his administration. One day, when Napoleon was surrounded by the Scheiks, information was received that some Arabs, of the tribe of Osnadia, had slain a Fellah, and carried off the flocks of the village. He instantly ordered that an officer of the staff should take three hundred horsemen, and two hundred camels, to pursue the robbers and punish the aggressors. "Was the Fellah your cousin," said a Scheik, laughing, "that you are in such a rage at his death!"—"He was more," replied Napoleon: "he was a man whose safety Providence had intrusted to my care." "Wonderful!" replied the Scheik: "You speak like one inspired by the Almighty."

50. But while these great designs occupied the commander-in-chief, an extraordinary degree of depression prevailed in the army. Egypt had been represented to the soldiers as the promised land. They expected to find a region flowing with milk and honey, and after a short period of glorious exile, to return with the riches of the East to their native country. A short experience was sufficient to dissipate all these illusions. They found a land illustrious only by the recollections with which it was fraught; filled with the monuments of ancient splendour, but totally destitute of modern comfort; with the pyramids raising their everlasting summits to heaven, but tyranny, poverty, barbarism overspreading the earth. When the excitements of the campaign were over, and the troops had leisure to contemplate their situation, a mortal feeling of *ennui* and disquietude took possession of every heart. "They thought," says Bourrienne, "of their country, of their relations, of their amours—what do I say!—of the *opera*." The prospect of

being banished for ever from Europe, on that arid shore, excited the most gloomy presentiments: and at length the discontent reached such a height that Napoleon was obliged to threaten death to any officer, whatever his rank, who should venture to make known to him the feelings which every one entertained.

51. It is a singular proof of the ascendant which this great man had thus early acquired over the minds of the soldiers, that, when they were in this state of perilous fermentation, he ventured to proceed in person with the divisions commanded by Dugua and Reynier to extinguish an insurrection which Ibrahim had excited in the eastern part of Egypt, and drive him across the desert into Syria. The French overtook the Mamelukes at Salahieh, on the borders of the desert; and, as their rearguard was heavily laden with baggage, the Arabs who accompanied the cavalry strongly urged them to charge the retreating columns, who were posted near a wood of palm-trees. The disproportion of force was excessive, the Mamelukes being nearly thrice as numerous as the Europeans; nevertheless Napoleon, confident of success, ordered the attack. But though the discipline of the Europeans prevailed over the desultory valour of the Mussulmans in a regular engagement, they had no such advantage in an affair of outposts; and on this occasion the skill and courage of the Mamelukes had well-nigh proved fatal to the best part of the French cavalry. The charge, though bravely led by Leclerc and Murat, was as courageously received, and in the peculiar manner which in every age has proved so formidable to European cavalry. The Mamelukes, as in the wars of the Crusades, yielded at first, but soon returning, with their wings extended, closed in on every side round their pursuers. In the *mêlée* all the French officers had to sustain desperate personal encounters, and were for the most part severely wounded; nothing but the opportune arrival of the infantry extricated them from their perilous situation, and probably total destruction. The object,

however, of the expedition was gained; Ibrahim crossed the desert into Syria, leaving Mourad Bey alone to maintain the war in Upper Egypt.

52. The success which had attended Napoleon's intrigues with the Knights of Malta induced him to extend his views beyond Egypt, for the dismembering of the Turkish empire. With this view he secretly despatched his aide-de-camp Lavalette to Ali Pasha, the most powerful of the European vassals of the Porte, to endeavour to stimulate him to revolt. He bore a letter from the French general, in which Napoleon urged him to enter into immediate concert for measures calculated to subvert the Ottoman empire.\* Lavalette found that Ali Pasha was with the army on the Danube; but, nevertheless, he contrived means to have the letter conveyed to him. The crafty Greek, however, did not conceive the power of Napoleon in Egypt sufficiently confirmed to induce him to enter into the proposed alliance, and accordingly this attempt to shake the throne of the Grand Seigneur failed of effect.

53. While secretly conducting these intrigues, as well as openly assailing one of the most valuable provinces of their empire, both Napoleon and the Directory left nothing untried to prolong the slumber of the Ottoman government, and induce them to believe that the French had no hostile designs whatever against them, and that they were in reality inimical only to the Beys,

\* "The occasion appearing to me favourable, I have hastened to write to you a friendly letter, and have intrusted one of my aides-de-camp with its delivery with his own hands. I have charged him also to make certain overtures on my part; and, as he does not understand your language, be so kind as to make use of a faithful and confidential interpreter for the conversations which he will have with you. I pray you to give implicit faith to whatever he may say to you on my part; and to send him back quickly with an answer, written in Turkish with your own hand."—*Corresp. Confid. de Nap.* v. 249. Lavalette's instructions from Napoleon were to tell Ali, "that, after having taken possession of Malta, and ruling in the Mediterranean with thirty ships of the line and fifty thousand men, I wish to establish confidential relations with him, and to know if I can rely on his co-operation."—*LAVALLETTE*, i. 368.

had a great advantage in the size of their vessels; their ships carrying 1196 guns, and 11,230 men, while the English had only 1012 guns, and 8068 men. The British squadron consisted entirely of seventy-fours; whereas the French, besides the noble *L'Orient*, of 120 guns, had two 80-gun ships, the *Franklin* and *Guillaume Tell*. The battery on *Aboukir* fort was mounted with four pieces of heavy cannon and two mortars, besides pieces of lighter calibre.

57. The squadron advanced to the attack at half-past six in the afternoon. Every ship bore the red cross of St George and union-jack. After dark, each British ship had four horizontal lights at the mizen-peak. Admiral Brueys at first imagined that the battle would be deferred till the following morning; but the gallant bearing and steady course of the British ships, as they entered the bay, soon convinced him that an immediate assault was intended. The moment was felt by the bravest in both fleets; thousands gazed in silence, and with anxious hearts, on each other, who were never destined again to see the sun; and the shore was covered with multitudes of Arabs, anxious to behold a fight on which, to all appearance, the fate of their country would depend. When the British fleet came within range, they were received with a steady fire from the broadsides of all the vessels and the batteries on the island. It fell right, and with terrible severity, on the bows of the leadingships; but, without returning a shot, they bore directly down upon the enemy. Captain Foley led the way in the *Goliath*, outsailing the *Zealous*, under Captain Hood, which for some time disputed the post of honour with him; and when he reached the van of the enemy's line, he steered between the outermost ship and the shoal, so as to interpose between the French fleet and the shore. In ten minutes he shot away the masts of the *Conquérant*; while the *Zealous*, which immediately followed, in the same time totally disabled the *Guerrier*. The other ships in that column, viz, the *Orion*, *Audacious*, and *Theseus*, followed in their order, still inside the French line; while Nelson

in the *Vanguard*, at the head of six ships, viz, the *Minotaur*, *Defiance*, *Bellerophon*, *Majestic*, *Swiftsure*, and *Alexander*, passed along the French line on the outside, and cast anchor each by the stern opposite to their respective opponents. Nelson himself anchored outside of the enemy, within pistol-shot of their third ship, the *Spartiate*. The effect of this manoeuvre was to bring an overwhelming force against two-thirds of the enemy's squadron, while the other third, moored at a distance from the scene of danger, could neither aid their friends nor injure their enemies.

58. In taking up their respective positions, the British vessels had a terrible fire to sustain from the French line, which they passed within pistol-shot; for the Republicans stood to their guns with great firmness, and fired with equal precision and deliberation. Not a shot was returned from the British ships till they were all anchored, the men being aloft furling the sails, or on deck hauling the braces. When the ships, however, had all taken their places, the advantage gained was apparent. Nelson had arranged his fleet with such skill that, from the moment that the ships took up their positions, the victory was secure. Five ships had passed the line, and anchored between the first nine of the enemy and the shore, while six had taken their station on the outer side of the same vessels, which were thus placed between two fires, and had no possibility of escape. Another vessel, the *Leander*, was interposed across the line, and cut off the vanguard from all assistance from the rearmost ships of the squadron, while her guns raked right and left those between which she was placed. The *Culoden*, which came up sounding after it was dark, ran aground two leagues from the hostile fleets, and, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of her captain and crew, could take no part in the action which followed; but her fate served as a warning to the *Alexander* and *Swiftsure*, which would else have infallibly struck on the shoal and perished. The way in which these ships, under the brave Captain Hallowell's direction, entered the bay, and took up their sta-



tions amidst the gloom of night, by the light of the increasing cannonade, excited the admiration of all who witnessed it.

59. The British ships, however, had a severe fire to sustain as they successively passed along the enemy's line to take up their appointed stations; and the great size of several of the French squadron rendered them more than a match for any single vessel the British could oppose to them. The *Vanguard*, which bore proudly down, bearing the admiral's flag, and six colours on different parts of the rigging, had every man at the first six guns on the forecastle killed or wounded in a few minutes, and they were three times swept off before the action closed. Such, however, was the vigour of the fire which they opened, when their broadsides were delivered, that in ten minutes the *Guerrier* was dismasted, and in ten more the *Conquérant* and *Spartiate* were equally disabled, and struck their colours. The *Spartiate* surrendered first, and the sword of her captain was brought to Nelson on his quarter-deck. Shortly after, the *Aquilon* and the *Peuple Souverain* hauled down their colours, and were taken possession of; and the *Heureux* and *Tonnant* were so disabled that their capture was considered certain. The *Bellerophon* dropped her stern anchor close under the bows of the *Orient*, and, notwithstanding the immense disproportion of force, continued to engage her first-rate antagonist till her own masts had all gone overboard, and almost every officer was either killed or wounded, when she drifted away with the tide, overwhelmed, but not subdued—a glorious monument of unconquerable valour. As she floated along, she came close to the *Swiftsure*, which was coming into action, and not having the lights at the mizen-peak, which Nelson had ordered as a signal by which his own ships might distinguish each other, she was at first mistaken for an enemy. Fortunately Captain Hallowell, who commanded that vessel, had the presence of mind to order his men not to fire, till he ascertained whether the hulk was a friend or an enemy, and thus a catastrophe

was prevented which might have proved fatal to one or both of these ships. The station of the *Bellerophon* in combating the *Orient* was now taken by the *Swiftsure*, which opened at once a steady fire on the quarter of the *Franklin* and the bows of the French admiral; while the *Alexander* anchored on his larboard quarter, and, with the *Leander*, completed the destruction of their gigantic opponent.

60. It was now dark, but both fleets were illuminated by the incessant discharge of above two thousand pieces of cannon, and the volumes of flame and smoke that rolled away from the bay gave it the appearance as if a terrific volcano had suddenly burst forth in the midst of the sea. Victory, however, had already decisively declared for the British; before nine, three ships of the line had struck, and two were dismasted; and the flames were seen bursting forth from the *Orient*, as she still continued, with unabated energy, her heroic defence. They spread with frightful rapidity; the fire of the *Swiftsure* was directed with such fatal precision to the burning part, that all attempts to extinguish it proved ineffectual; and the masts and rigging were soon wrapped in flames, which threw a prodigious light over the heavens, and rendered the situation of every ship in both fleets distinctly visible. The sight redoubled the ardour of the British seamen, by exhibiting the shattered condition and lowered colours of so many of their enemies, and loud cheers from the whole fleet announced every successive flag that was struck. As the fire approached the magazine of the *Orient*, many officers and men jumped overboard, and were picked up by the British boats; others were dragged into the port-holes of the nearest British ships, who for that purpose suspended their firing; but the greater part of the crew, with heroic bravery, stood to their guns to the last, and continued to fire from the lower deck. At ten o'clock she blew up, with an explosion so tremendous that nothing in ancient or modern war was equal to it. Every ship in the hostile fleets was shaken to its centre; the firing, by universal consent, ceased

on both sides, and the tremendous explosion was followed by a silence still more awful, interrupted only, after the lapse of some minutes, by the splash of the shattered masts and yards falling into the water from the vast height to which they had been thrown. The British ships in the vicinity, with admirable coolness, had made preparations to avoid the conflagration; all the shrouds and sails were thoroughly wetted, and sailors stationed with buckets of water to extinguish any burning fragments which might fall upon their decks. By these means, although large burning masses fell on the *Swiftsure* and *Alexander*, they were extinguished without doing any serious damage.

61. After a pause of ten minutes, the firing recommenced, and continued without intermission till after midnight, when it gradually grew slack, from the shattered condition of the French ships and the exhaustion of the British sailors, numbers of whom fell asleep beside their guns, the instant a momentary cessation of loading took place. At daybreak the magnitude of the victory was apparent; not a vestige of the *Orient* was to be seen; the frigate the *Sérieuse* was sunk; the *Artémise* frigate, after having hauled down her flag, had been fired by her own crew, who partly escaped on shore, and she burned to the water's edge; and the whole French line, with the exception of the *Guillaume Tell* and *Généreux*, had struck their colours. These ships, having been little engaged in the action, cut their cables, and stood out to sea, followed by the two frigates; they were gallantly pursued by the *Zealous*, which was rapidly gaining on them; but as there was no other ship of the line in a condition to support her, she was recalled, and these ships escaped. Had the *Culloden* not struck on the shoal, and the frigates belonging to the squadron been present, not one of the enemy's fleet would have escaped to convey the mournful tidings to France.

62. Early in the battle, the British admiral received a severe wound on the head, from a piece of langridge shot. Captain Berry caught him in his arms as he was falling. Nelson, and all around

him, thought, from the great effusion of blood, that the wound was mortal. His first words addressed to Captain Berry were—"I am killed: remember me to my wife." When he was carried to the cockpit, the surgeon quitted the seamen whose wounds he was dressing, to attend to the admiral. "No," said Nelson; "I will take my turn with my brave fellows." Nor would he suffer himself to be examined till every man, who had previously been brought down, was properly attended to. Fully believing that he was about to die, as he had ever desired, in the moment of victory, he called for the chaplain, and desired him to deliver what he conceived to be his dying remembrance to Lady Nelson; and, seizing a pen, contrived to write a few words, marking his devout sense of the success which had already been obtained. When the surgeon came in due time, after having visited the others, to inspect the wound—for no entreaties could prevail on him to let it be examined sooner—the most anxious silence prevailed; and the joy of the wounded men, and of the whole crew, when they found the injury was only superficial, gave Nelson deeper pleasure than the unexpected assurance that his life was in no danger. When the cry rose that the *Orient* was on fire, he contrived to make his way, aided by Captain Berry, to the quarter-deck, where he instantly gave orders that boats should be despatched to the relief of the enemy.

63. Nor were heroic deeds confined to the British squadron. Most of the captains of the French fleet were killed or wounded, and they all fought with the enthusiastic courage which is characteristic of their nation. The captain of the *Tonnant*, Dupetit-Thouars, when both his legs were carried away by a cannon-ball, refused to quit the quarter-deck, and made his crew swear not to strike their colours as long as they had a man capable of standing to their guns. Admiral Bruéys, a little after eight, was struck by a cannon-ball in the middle, which nearly cut him in two. His assistants approached to carry him below; but he refused, saying, "A French admiral should die on his quar-

terdeck." In a quarter of an hour after, he died the death of the brave, still on his quarterdeck, exhorting his men to continue the combat to the last extremity.\* Casa Bianca, captain of the Orient, fell mortally wounded, when the flames were devouring that splendid vessel; his son, a boy of ten years of age, was combating beside him when he was struck, and, embracing his father, resolutely refused to quit the ship, though a gunboat had come alongside to bring him off. He contrived to bind his dying parent to the mast, which had fallen into the sea, and floated off with the precious charge: he was seen after the explosion by some of the British squadron, who made the utmost efforts to save his life; but, in the agitation of the waves following that dreadful event, both were swallowed up and seen no more.†

\* Napoleon addressed the following noble letter to Madame Brûys on her husband's death:—"Your husband has been killed by a cannon-ball while combating on his quarterdeck. He died without suffering; the death the most easy and the most to be envied by the brave. I feel warmly for your grief. The moment which separates us from the object which we love is terrible; we feel isolated on the earth; we almost experience the convulsions of the last agony; the faculties of the soul are annihilated; its connection with the earth is preserved only across a veil which distorts everything. We feel in such a situation that there is nothing which yet binds us to life—that it were far better to die; but when, after such first and unavoidable throes, we press our children to our hearts, tears and more tender sentiments arise; life becomes endurable for their sakes. Yes, madam, they will open the fountains of your heart; you will watch their childhood, educate their youth; you will speak to them of their father, of your present grief, and of the loss which they and the Republic have sustained in his death. After having resumed the interest in life by the chord of maternal love, you will perhaps feel some consolation from the friendship and warm interest which I shall ever take in the widow of my friend."—*Corresp. Confid.* v. 383.

† This moving incident is thus beautifully treated by one of the greatest of modern lyric poets.

"The boy stood on the burning deck  
Whence all but he had fled;  
The flame that lit the battle's wreck  
Shone round him on the dead.  
Yet beautiful and bright he stood,  
As born to rule the storm;  
A creature of heroic blood,  
A proud, though child-like form.  
The flames roll'd on—he would not go  
Without his father's word;

64. Such was the battle of the Nile, for which he who gained it felt that victory was too feeble a word; he called it conquest. Of thirteen ships of the line, nine were taken and two burnt; of four frigates, one was sunk and one burnt. The British loss was eight hundred and ninety-five in killed and wounded; they had to lament the death of only one commander, Captain Westcott, a brave and able officer. Of the French, five thousand two hundred and twenty-five were killed, wounded, or taken, and three thousand one hundred and five besides were sent on shore, in great part wounded, with all their effects, on their parole not to serve again till regularly exchanged,‡—an act of humanity which was ill requited by Napoleon, who incorporated the whole who were capable of bearing arms into different regiments of his army.§ The annals

That father, faint in death below,  
His voice no longer heard.  
'Speak, father!' once again he cried,  
'If I may yet be gone!  
And but the booming shots replied,  
And fast the flames roll'd on.  
Upon his brow he felt their breath,  
And in his waving hair,  
And look'd from that lone post of death  
In still yet brave despair.  
And shouted but once more aloud,  
'My father! must I stay?'  
While o'er him fast, through sail and shroud,  
The wreathing fire made way.  
They wrapt the ship in splendour wild,  
They caught the flag on high,  
And stream'd above the gallant child  
Like banners in the sky.  
There came a burst of thunder-sound—  
The boy—oh! where was he?  
Ask of the winds that far around  
With fragments strew the sea!"

HERMANS.

‡ "Total crews, per certificates of officers, on board ships burned and taken 8930  
Sent ashore on cartel . . . 3105  
Escaped from Timoléon . . . 350  
From the Hercule, bomb . . . 200  
Officers, &c. on board fleet . . . 3705

Taken, drowned, and missing . . . 5225  
HORATIO NELSON."

—*Nelson Despatches*, iii. 55.

§ "The English," says Kleber, "have had the disinterestedness to restore everything to their prisoners; they would not permit an iota to be taken from them. The consequence is, that they display in Alexandria a luxury and elegance which exhibit a strange contrast to the destitute condition of the land forces."—*Despatch to Napoleon*, 22d Aug. 1798; *BOUBRIENNE*, ii. 160. The wounded French sent ashore are stated by Admiral Gantheaume, in his official report, to have amounted to

of the world do not afford an example of so complete an overthrow of so great an armament. The Arabs and Egyptians lined the shore during this terrible engagement, and beheld with mingled terror and astonishment the destruction which the Europeans were inflicting on each other. The beach, for an extent of four leagues, was covered with wreck, and innumerable bodies were seen floating in the bay, in spite of the utmost exertions of both fleets to sink them. No sooner, however, was the conquest completed, than a perfect stillness pervaded the whole squadron; it was the moment of the thanksgiving which, by orders of Nelson, was offered up through all the fleet, for the signal success which the Almighty had vouchsafed to the British arms. The French prisoners remarked that it was no wonder such order was preserved in the English navy, when at such an hour, and after such a victory, their minds could be impressed with such sentiments.\*

65. Had Nelson possessed a few frigates or bomb-vessels, the whole transports and small craft in the harbour of Alexandria might have been destroyed in a few hours. So severely did he feel the want of them at this period that, in a despatch to the Admiralty, he declared, "Were I to die at this moment, *want of frigates* would be found engraven on my heart!" The want of such light vessels, however, rendered any attack on the shipping in the shoal water of Alexandria perfectly impossible; and it was not without the utmost exertions, and the united co-operation of all the officers and men, that the fleet was refitted so far as to be able to pro-

nearly eight thousand—an astonishing number, if correct, considering that the whole French crews in the action did not exceed twelve thousand.—See *Ganteaume's Report; Corresp. Confid. de Napoléon*, v. 483.

\* Nelson's order was as follows:—

"*Vanguard, off the mouth of the Nile, 2d Aug. 1798.*

"Almighty God having blessed his Majesty's arms with victory, the Admiral intends returning public thanksgiving for the same, at two o'clock this day; and he recommends every ship doing the same, as soon as convenient. HENRY NELSON."—*Nelson Despatches*, iii. 61.

ceeded to sea. Having at length, however, overcome every obstacle, and despatched an overland messenger to Bombay, to acquaint the government there with his success, he set sail from Aboukir Bay on the 18th August, leaving three ships of the line to blockade the harbour of Alexandria. Three of the prizes, being perfect wrecks, were burned; the remaining six arrived in safety at Gibraltar. Honours and rewards were showered by a grateful nation upon the heroes of the Nile. Nelson was created Baron Nelson of the Nile, with a pension of £2000 a-year to himself and his two immediate successors; the Grand Seigneur, the Emperor of Russia, the King of Sardinia, the King of Naples, the East India Company, made him magnificent presents; and his name was embalmed for ever in the recollection of his grateful country. With truth did Mr Pitt observe in parliament, when reproached for not conferring on him a higher dignity, "Admiral Nelson's fame will be coequal with the British name, and it will be remembered that he gained the greatest naval victory on record, when no man will think of asking whether he had been created a baron, a viscount, or an earl."†

† Napoleon, who never failed to lay every misfortune with which he was connected upon destiny, or the faults of others, rather than his own errors, has laboured to exculpate himself with regard to the disaster in Aboukir Bay, and declared, in his official despatch to the Directory, that on July 6, before leaving Alexandria, he wrote to Admiral Bruëys, directing him to retire within the harbour of that town, or, if that was impossible, to make the best of his way to Corfu, and that the catastrophe arose from his disobedience. It is true he sent an order, but it was *conditional*, and as follows:—

"Admiral Bruëys will cause the fleet, in the course of to-morrow, to enter the old harbour of Alexandria, if the time permits, and there is sufficient depth of water. If there is not in the harbour sufficient draught, he will take such measures that, during the course of to-morrow, he may have disembarked the artillery and stores, and the individuals belonging to the army, retaining only a hundred soldiers in each ship of the line, and forty in each frigate. The admiral, in the course of to-morrow, will let the general know whether the squadron can get into Alexandria, or can defend itself, while lying in the roads of Aboukir, against a superior enemy; and if it can do neither of these things,

66. The battle of the Nile was a mortal stroke to Napoleon and the French army. He was too clear-sighted not to perceive the fatal and irremediable nature of the loss there incurred. It had been his design, after the conquest of Egypt was secured, to embark a great proportion of his forces, return to Toulon, and employ them on some other and still greater expedition against the power of England. By this irreparable loss he found these prospects for ever blasted; the army exiled, without hope of return, on an inhospitable shore, all means of preserving his recent conquest frustrated, and himself destined, to all appearance, instead of changing the face of the world, to maintain an inglorious and hopeless struggle in a corner of the Turkish empire. All his dreams of European conquests and oriental revolution appeared at once to vanish, by the destruction of the resources by means of which they were to be realised; and nothing remained but the painful certainty that he had doomed to a lingering fate the finest

army of the Republic, and endangered its independence by the sacrifice of so large a portion of its defenders. But, though in secret overwhelmed by the disaster, he maintained in public the appearance of equanimity, and suffered nothing to escape his lips which could add to the discouragement of his soldiers. "Well," said he, "we must remain here, or issue from it as great as the ancients." "Yes," replied Kleber, "we must do great things: I am preparing my mind to go through them."

67. But while the chiefs of the army thus endeavoured to conceal the gloomy presentiments which overwhelmed their minds, the inferior officers and soldiers gave unrestrained vent to the despair with which they were filled. Already, before they reached Cairo, the illusion of the expedition had been dispelled; the expected riches of the East had given place to poverty and suffering; the promised land had turned out an arid wilderness. But when intelligence arrived of the destruction of the fleet,

*it will make the best of its way to Corfu, leaving at Alexandria only the Dubois and Causse, with the Diane, Juno, Aloesia, and Artémise frigates." The order to proceed to Corfu, therefore, was conditional—to take effect only on failure to get into Alexandria, or to find a defensible roadstead; and, from the following letters, it appears that Brueys, with the full knowledge of the general-in-chief, proceeded to adopt the prior alternative of taking up a defensive position at Aboukir. The day before, Brueys had written to Napoleon: "All the accounts I have hitherto received are unsatisfactory as to the possibility of getting into the harbour, as the bar has only twenty-two feet six inches, which our smallest seventy-four-draw, so that entry is impossible. My present position is untenable, by reason of the rocks with which the bottom of the bay is strewn; and if attacked, I should be infallibly destroyed by the enemy, if I had the misfortune to await them in this place. The only thing that I see practicable is, to take shelter in the moorings of Beckier (Aboukir), where the bottom is good, and I could take such a position as would render me secure from the enemy." On the 6th July, Brueys wrote to Napoleon, in addition to his letter of the 3d, "I have neglected nothing which might permit the ships of the line to get into the old port; but it is a labour which requires much time and patience. The loss of a single vessel is too considerable to allow anything to be left to chance: and hitherto it appears that we cannot attempt such a measure without incurring the great-*

*est dangers: that is the opinion of all the most experienced officers on board the fleet. Admiral Villeneuve and Cass Bianca regard it as impossible. When I have sounded the roadstead of Beckier, I will send you a report with regard to it. Want of provisions is severely felt in the fleet; on board many vessels there is only biscuit for fourteen days." On the 7th July he again wrote to Napoleon, "I thank you for the precaution you have taken in sending engineer and artillery officers to meet me in the Bay of Beckier. I shall concert measures with them as soon as we are moored, and if I am fortunate enough to discover a position where batteries on shore may protect the two extremities of my line, I shall regard the position as impregnable, at least during summer and autumn. It is the more desirable to remain there, because I can set sail en masse when I think fit; whereas, even if I could get into the harbour of Alexandria, I might be blockaded by a single vessel of the enemy, and should be unable to contribute anything to your glory." On the 18th July, he again wrote to Napoleon, "I am fortifying my position, in case of being obliged to combat at anchor. I have demanded two mortars from Alexandria to put on the sand-bank; but I am less apprehensive of that than the other extremity of the line, against which the principal efforts of the enemy will in all probability be directed." And on the 26th July, he wrote again, "The officers whom I have charged with the sounding of the port, have at length announced that their labours are concluded; I shall*

and with it of all hope of returning to Europe, except as prisoners of war, they gave vent to such loud complaints that it required all the firmness of the generals to prevent a mutiny breaking out. Many soldiers, in despair, blew out their brains; others threw themselves into the Nile, and perished, with their arms and baggage. When the generals passed by, the cry, "There go the murderers of the French!" involuntarily burst from the ranks. By degrees, however, this stunning misfortune, like every other disaster in life, was softened by time. The soldiers, deprived of the possibility of returning, ceased to disquiet themselves about it, and ultimately they resigned themselves with much greater composure to a continued residence in Egypt, than they could have done had the fleet remained to keep alive for ever in their breasts the desire of returning to their native country.

68. The consequences of the battle of the Nile were, to the last degree, disastrous to France. Its effects in Europe were immense, by reviving, as

forthwith transmit the plan, when I have received it, that you may decide what vessels are to enter." On the 30th, Napoleon wrote in answer, "I have received all your letters. The intelligence which I have received of the soundings, induces me to believe that you are by this time safely in the port;" and ordered him forthwith to do so, or proceed to Corfu. On the day after this last letter was written, Nelson's fleet attacked Brueys in the Bay of Aboukir. Napoleon, therefore, was perfectly aware that the fleet was lying in Aboukir Bay; and it was evidently retained there by his orders, or with his approbation, as a support to the army, or a means of retreat in case of disaster. In truth, such was the penury of the country, that the fleet could not lay in provisions at Alexandria to enable it to stand out to sea. He was too able a man, besides, to hazard such an army without any means of retreat in an unknown country: and Bourrienne declares that, previous to the taking of Cairo, he often talked with him on re-embarking the army, and laughed himself at the false colours in which he had represented the matter to the Directory. It is proved, by indisputable evidence, that the fleet was detained by the orders, or with the concurrence of Napoleon. "It may perhaps be said," says Admiral Gantheaume, the second in command, who survived the defeat, "that it would have been more prudent to have quitted the coast after the debarkation was effected; but, considering the orders of the commander-in-chief, and the incalculable support which the fleet

will be detailed hereafter, the coalition against the Republican government; and in the East, it at once brought on the Egyptian army the whole weight of the Ottoman empire. The French ambassador at Constantinople had found great difficulty for long in restraining the indignation of the Sultan; the good sense of the Turks could not easily be persuaded that it was an act of friendship to the Porte to invade one of the most important provinces of the Empire, destroy its militia, and subject its inhabitants to the dominion of a European power. No sooner, therefore, was the Divan at liberty to speak its real sentiments, by the destruction of the armament which had so long spread terror through the Levant, than they gave vent to their indignation. War was formally declared against France; the differences with Russia were adjusted; and the formation of an army was immediately decreed to restore the authority of the Crescent on the banks of the Nile. Among the many wonders of this eventful period, not the least surprising was the alliance which

gave to the land forces, the admiral conceived it to be his duty not to abandon those seas." Brueys also said to Lavalette, in Aboukir Bay, on the 21st July, "Since I could not get into the old harbour of Alexandria, nor retire from the coast of Egypt, without news from the army, I have established myself here in as strong a position as I could." The inference to be drawn from these documents is, that neither Napoleon nor Brueys was to blame for the disaster which happened in Aboukir Bay; that the former ordered the fleet to enter Alexandria or to take a defensible position, and if the admiral could do neither, then he was to proceed to Corfu; but that the latter was unable, from the limited draught of water at the bar, to do the first, and, agreeably to his orders, attempted the second; that the fleet lay at Aboukir Bay, with the full knowledge of the general-in-chief, and without his being able to prevent it, though his penetration in the outset perceived the danger to which it was exposed in so doing; and that the only real culpability in the case belongs to Napoleon, in having endeavoured, after Brueys' death, to blacken his character, by representing the disaster to the Directory as exclusively imputable to that officer, and as having arisen from his disobedience of orders, when, in fact, it arose from extraneous circumstances, over which the admiral had no control, having rendered it necessary for him to adopt the second alternative prescribed to him by his commander.

the French invasion of Egypt produced between Turkey and Russia, and the suspension of all the ancient animosity between the Christians and the Mussulmans, under the pressure of a danger common to both. This soon led to an event so extraordinary, that it produced a profound impression even on the minds of the Mussulman spectators.

69. On the 1st September, a Russian fleet of ten ships of the line and eight frigates entered the Bosphorus, and united at the Golden Horn with the Turkish squadron; from whence the combined force, in presence of an immense concourse of spectators, whose acclamations rent the skies, passed under the walls of the Seraglio, and swept majestically through the classic stream of the Hellespont. The effect of the passage of so vast an armament through the beautiful scenery of the straits, was much enhanced by the brilliancy of the sun, which shone in unclouded splendour on its full-spread sails; the placid surface of the water reflected alike the Russian masts and the Turkish minarets; and the multitude, both European and Mussulman, were never weary of admiring the magnificent spectacle, which so forcibly imprinted upon their minds a sense of the extraordinary alliance which the French Revolution had produced, and the slumber in which it had plunged national antipathies the most violent, and religious discord the most inveterate. The combined squadrons, not being required on the coast of Egypt, steered for the island of Corfu, and immediately established a rigorous blockade of its fortress and noble harbour, which soon began to feel the want of provisions. Already, without any formal treaty, the courts of St Petersburg, London, and Constantinople acted in concert, and the basis of a triple alliance was laid, and sent to their respective courts for ratification.

70. The situation of the French army was now in the highest degree critical. Isolated from their country, unable either to obtain succours from home, or to regain it in case of disaster, pressed and blockaded by the fleets of England, in the midst of a

hostile population, they were about to be exposed to the formidable forces of the Turkish empire. In these discouraging circumstances, the firmness of Napoleon, far from forsaking him, only prompted him to redouble his efforts to establish his authority firmly in the conquered country. The months which immediately followed the destruction of the fleet were marked by an extraordinary degree of activity in every department. At Alexandria, Rosetta, and Cairo, mills were established, in which flour was ground as finely as at Paris; hospitals were formed, where the sick were treated with the most sedulous care by the distinguished talents of Larrey and Desgenettes; a foundry, in which cannon were cast, and a manufactory of gunpowder and saltpetre, rendered the army independent of external aid for its ammunition and artillery. An institute at Cairo, formed on the model of that at Paris, concentrated the labours of the numerous scientific persons who accompanied the army; the geography, antiquities, hieroglyphics, and natural history of Egypt, began to be studied with an accuracy unknown in modern times: the extremities and line of the canal of Suez were explored by Napoleon in person, with the most extraordinary ardour; a flotilla was formed on the Nile; printing-presses were set agoing at Cairo; the cavalry and artillery remounted with the admirable horses of Arabia, the troops equipped in new clothing, manufactured in the country; the fortifications of Rosetta, Damietta, Alexandria, and Salahieh, put in a respectable posture of defence; while the skilful draughtsmen who accompanied the expedition, prepared, amidst the wonders of Upper Egypt, the magnificent work which, under the auspices of Denon, has immortalised the expedition.

71. As soon as the inundation of the Nile had subsided, Desaix commenced his march to Upper Egypt, to pursue the broken remains of Mourad Bey's corps. On the 7th October, he came up with the enemy, consisting of four thousand Mamelukes and Arabs, and six thousand Fellahs, stationed in the

village of Sidiman. The French were not more than two thousand three hundred strong: they formed three squares, and received the charges of the enemy as at the battle of the pyramids, of which this action in all its parts was a repetition on a smaller scale. The smallest square, however, was broken by the impetuous shock of the Mamelukes; but the soldiers, with admirable presence of mind, fell on their faces, so that the loss was not so great as might have been expected.\* All the efforts of the cavalry failed against the steady sides of the larger squares; and at length, the Mamelukes being broken and dispersed, the village was stormed with great slaughter, and the soldiers returned to take a severe vengeance on a body of the enemy, who during the assault had committed great carnage on those wounded in the broken square. This action was more bloody than any which had yet occurred in Egypt; the French having lost three hundred and forty men killed, and one hundred and sixty wounded; a great proportion, when every life was precious, and no means of replacing it existed. It was decisive, however, of the fate of Upper Egypt. Desaix continued steadily to advance, driving his indefatigable opponents before him; the rose-covered fields of Fayoum, the Lake Moëris, the City of the Dead, were successively visited; another cloud of Mamelukes was dispersed by the rolling fire of the French at Samanhout; and at length the ruins of Luxor opened to their view, and the astonished soldiers gazed on the avenues of sphinxes, gigantic remains of temples, obelisks, and sepulchral monuments, which are destined to perpetuate to the end of the world the glories of the city of Thebes.

\* On this, as on other occasions, the scientific characters and draughtsmen who attended the army, were huddled with the baggage into the centre, as the only place of security, the moment that the enemy appeared. No sooner were the Mameluke horse descried, than the word was given, "Form square; artillery to the angles; asses and *avans* to the centre;" a command which afforded no small merriment to the soldiers, and made them call the asses *demi-avans*.—LAS CASES, 1. 225.

72. While Desaix was thus extending the French dominion towards the cataracts of the Nile, a dangerous revolt was extinguished in blood in the centre of Egypt. Notwithstanding all the efforts of Napoleon to conciliate the Mussulman population, the Beys still retained a considerable influence over them, and the declaration of war by the Porte revived the spirit of religious hostility, which he had been at such pains to allay. In the end of October, the insurrection broke out, at a time when the French were so far from suspecting their danger, that they had very few troops within the town. Dupuis, the commander of the city, who proceeded with a feeble escort to quell the tumult, was slain, with several of his officers; a vast number of insulated Frenchmen were murdered, and the house of General Caffarelli was besieged and forced. The alarm was immediately beat in the streets; several battalions in the neighbourhood entered the town; the citadel began to bombard the most populous quarters; and the Turks, driven into the principal mosques, prepared for a desperate resistance. During the night they barricaded their posts, and the Arabs advanced from the desert to support their efforts; but it was all in vain. The French commander drove back the Bedouins into the inundation of the Nile; the mosques were forced; the buildings which sheltered the insurgents battered down or destroyed; and, after the slaughter of above five thousand of the inhabitants, and the conflagration of a considerable part of the city, Cairo submitted to the conqueror. This terrible disaster, with the cruel executions which followed it, struck such a terror into the Mahometan population, that they never after made the smallest attempt to get quit of the French authority.

73. Meanwhile Napoleon made an expedition in person to Suez, in order to inspect the line of the Roman canal, which united the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. At that place he visited the harbour, gave orders for the construction of new works, and the formation of an infant marine; and



passed the Red Sea, in a dry channel when the tide was out, on the identical ground which had been traversed, three thousand years before, by the children of Israel. Having refreshed himself at the fountains which still bear the name of the Wells of Moses, at the foot of Mount Sinai, and visited a great reservoir, constructed by the Venetians in the sixteenth century, he returned to repossess to the African side. It was dark when he reached the shore; and in crossing the sands, as the tide was flowing, they wandered from the right path, and were for some time exposed to the most imminent danger. Already the water was up to their middle, and still rapidly flowing, when the presence of mind of Napoleon extricated them from their perilous situation. He caused his escort to go in different directions, and any one to shout when he found the depth of water increasing, and that he had lost his footing; by this means it was discovered in what quarter the slope of the shore ascended, and the party at length gained the coast of Egypt. "Had I perished in that manner, like Pharaoh," said Napoleon, "it would have furnished all the preachers of Christendom with a magnificent text against me."

74. The suppression of the revolt drew from Napoleon one of those singular proclamations which are so characteristic of the vague ambition of his mind;—"Scheiks, Ulemas, Orators of the Mosque, teach the people, that those who become my enemies shall have no refuge in this world or the next. Is there any one so blind as not to see that I am the Man of Destiny? Make the people understand that from the beginning of time it was ordained, that, having destroyed the enemies of Islamism, and vanquished the Cross, I should come from the distant parts of the West to accomplish my destined task. Show them, that in twenty passages of the Koran my coming is foretold. I could demand a reckoning from each of you, of the most secret thoughts of his soul, since to me everything is known; but the day will come when all shall know from whom I have derived my commis-

sion, and that human efforts cannot prevail against me." Thus did Napoleon expect that he was to gain the confidence of the Mussulmans, at the very time when he was executing thirty of their number a-day, and throwing their corpses, in sacks, every night into the Nile. "Every night," said Napoleon, in a letter to Reynier, "we cut off thirty heads, and those of several chiefs: that will teach them, I think, a good lesson." The victims were put to death in prison, thrust into sacks, and thrown into the Nile. This continued six days after tranquillity was restored. The executions were continued for long after, and under circumstances that will admit of neither extenuation nor apology.

75. Being now excluded from all intercourse with Europe, and menaced with a serious attack by land and sea from the Turks, Napoleon resolved to assail his enemies by an expedition into Syria, where the principal army of the Sultan was assembling. Prudence prescribed that he should anticipate the enemy, and not wait till, having assembled their strength, an overwhelming force was ready to fall upon the French army. But it was not merely defensive operations that the general contemplated; his ardent mind, now thrown upon its own resources, and deprived of all assistance from Europe, reindulged his visions of oriental conquest. To advance into Syria with a part of his troops, and rouse the population of that country and Asia Minor against the Turkish rule; assemble an army of fifteen thousand French veterans, and a hundred thousand Asiatic auxiliaries on the Euphrates, and overawe at once Persia, Turkey, and India, formed the splendid project which filled his imagination. His eyes were continually fixed on the deserts which separated Asia Minor from Persia; he had sounded the dispositions of the Persian court, and ascertained that, for a sum of money, they were willing to allow the passage of his army through their territories; and he confidently expected to renew the march of Alexander, from the shores of the Nile to those of the Ganges. Having overrun India, and established a colossal reputation, he projected returning to Europe, attacking

Turkey and Austria with the whole forces of the East, and establishing an empire, greater than that of the Romans, in the centre of European civilisation. Full of these ideas, he wrote to Tippoo Saib, that "he had arrived on the shores of the Red Sea with an innumerable and invincible army, and inviting him to send a confidential person to Suez, to concert measures for the destruction of the British power in Hindostan."

76. The forces, however, which the French general could command for the Syrian expedition, were by no means commensurate with these magnificent projects. They consisted only of thirteen thousand men; for although the army had been recruited by above three thousand prisoners, sent back with misplaced and undeserved generosity by the British after the battle of the Nile, and almost all the sailors of the transports, yet such were the losses which had been sustained since the period when they landed, by fatigue, sickness, and the sword, that no larger number could be spared from the defence of Egypt. These, with nine hundred cavalry and forty-nine pieces of cannon, constituted the whole force with which Napoleon expected to change the face of the world; while the reserves left on the banks of the Nile did not exceed in all sixteen thousand men. The artillery designed for the siege of Acre, the capital of the Pasha Djeddar, was put on board three frigates at Alexandria; and orders were despatched to Villeneuve at Malta to endeavour to escape the vigilance of the English cruisers, and come to support the maritime operations.

77. On the 11th February, the army commenced its march over the desert which separates Africa from Asia. The track, otherwise imperceptible amidst the shifting sand, was distinctly marked by innumerable skeletons of men and animals, which had perished on that solitary pathway, the line of communication between Asia and Africa, which from the earliest times had been frequented by the human race. Six days afterwards, Napoleon reached El Arish, where the camp of the Mamelukes was surprised during the night, and after a siege of two days the fort capitulated.

The sufferings of the troops, however, were extreme in crossing the desert; the excessive heat of the weather, and the want of water, produced the greatest discontent among the soldiers, and Napoleon felt the necessity of bringing his men as rapidly as possible through that perilous district. The garrison were conveyed as prisoners in the rear of the army, which augmented their difficulty in obtaining subsistence. Damas was abandoned by the Mussulman forces at the sight of the French squares of infantry; and at length the granite pillars were passed which, from the remotest ages, have marked the confines of Asia and Africa; the hitherto clear and glowing sky was streaked by a veil of clouds, some drops of rain refreshed the parched lips of the soldiers, and ere long the suffering troops beheld the green valleys and wood-covered hills of Syria. The soldiers at first mistook them for the *mirage* of the desert, which had so often disappointed their hopes; they hardly ventured to trust their own eyes, when they beheld woods and water, green meadows, and olive groves, and all the features of European scenery. At length, however, the appearance of verdant slopes and clear brooks convinced them, that they had passed from the sands of Africa to a land watered by the dews of heaven. But if the days were more refreshing, the nights were far more uncomfortable than on the banks of the Nile; the heavy moisture in the night, and the rains of Syria, soon penetrated the thin clothing of the troops, and rendered their situation extremely disagreeable; and, drenched with rain, they soon came to regret, at least for their night bivouacs, the dry sands and star-bespangled firmament of Egypt.

78. Jaffa, the Joppa of antiquity, was the first considerable town of Palestine which presented itself to the French in the course of their march. It was invested on the 4th of March, and the bearer of a flag of truce, whom Napoleon sent to summon the town, beheaded on the spot. The breach being declared practicable, the assault took place on the 6th, and success was for some time doubtful; but the grena-

diers of Bon's division at length discovered, on the seaside, an opening left unguarded, by which they entered; and in the confusion occasioned by this unexpected success, the rampart was carried, and the Turks driven from the walls. A desperate carnage took place, and the town was delivered over to the horrors of war, which never appeared in a more frightful form.\* During this scene of slaughter a large part of the garrison, consisting chiefly of Albanians and Arnouts, had taken refuge in some old caravanseries, where they called out from the windows that they would lay down their arms, provided their lives were spared; but that if not, they would defend themselves to the last extremity. The officers, Eugene Beauharnais and Crosier, Napoleon's own aides-de-camp, took upon themselves to agree to the proposal, although the garrison had all been devoted by him to destruction; and they brought them, disarmed in two bodies, the one consisting of two thousand five hundred men, the other of fifteen hundred, to the general's headquarters. Napoleon received them with a stern and relentless air, and expressed the greatest indignation against his aides-de camp, for encumbering him with such a body

\* Though resolved utterly to exterminate, if he could, the Pasha of Acre, Napoleon kept up his usual system of endeavouring to persuade him that he invaded his country with no hostile intentions. On the 9th of March he wrote to him from Jaffa, yet reeking with the blood shed in this terrible assault:—"Since my entry into Egypt, I have sent you several letters expressive of my wish not to be involved in hostilities with you, and that my sole object was to disperse the Mamelukes. The provinces of Gaza and Jaffa are in my power; I have treated with generosity those who surrendered at discretion—with severity those who violated the laws of war. In a few days I shall march against Acre; but what cause of hostility have I with an old man whom I do not know? What are a few leagues of territory to me? Since God gives me victory, I wish to imitate his clemency, not only towards the people, but their rulers. You have no reason for being my enemy, since you were the foe of the Mamelukes; become again my friend; declare war against the English and the Mamelukes; and I will do you as much good as I have done, and can do, you evil." The Pasha, however, paid no regard to this communication, and continued, without interruption, his preparations for defence.—*Corresp. Confid. de Napoléon*, vi. 232.

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of prisoners in the famished condition of the army. The unhappy wretches were made to sit down, with their hands tied behind their backs, in front of the tents; despair was already painted on their countenances. They uttered no cries, but seemed resigned to death, with the patience which is in so peculiar a manner the characteristic of Asiatic habits and predestinarian belief. The French gave them biscuit and water; and a council of war was summoned to deliberate on their fate.

79. For two days the terrible question was debated, what was to be done with these captives; and the French officers approached it without any predisposition to cruel measures. But the difficulties were represented as insurmountable on the side of humanity. If they sent them back, it was said, to Egypt, a considerable detachment would be required to guard so large a body of captives, and that could ill be spared from the army in its present situation: if they gave them their liberty, they would forthwith join the garrison of Acre, or the clouds of Arabs, who already hung on the flanks of the army; if they were incorporated unarmed in the ranks, the prisoners would add grievously to the number of mouths for whom, already, it was sufficiently difficult to procure subsistence. No friendly sail appeared in the distance to take off the burden on the side of the ocean; hardly adequate subsistence for their own troops, without any foreign addition, could be obtained; the difficulty of maintaining them became every day more insurmountable. The committee to whom the matter was referred unanimously reported that they should be put to death, and Napoleon, with reluctance, signed the fatal order. It was carried into execution on the 10th March. The melancholy troop were marched down, firmly fettered, to the sand-hills on the sea-coast, where they were divided into small squares, and mowed down, amidst shrieks which yet ring in the souls of all who witnessed the scene, by successive discharges of musketry. No separation of the Egyptians from the other

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prisoners took place; all met the same tragic fate. In vain they appealed to the capitulation by which their lives had been guaranteed; bound as they stood together, they were fired at for hours successively, and such as survived the shot were despatched with the bayonet.

80. One young man, in an agony of terror, burst his bonds, threw himself among the horses of the French officers, and embracing their knees, passionately implored that his life might be spared; he was sternly refused, and bayoneted at their feet. But, with this exception, all the other prisoners received their fate with the fortitude which is the peculiar characteristic of the Mussulman faith; they calmly performed their ablutions in the stagnant pools among which they were placed, and taking each other's hands, after having placed them on their lips and their hearts, in the Mussulman mode of salutation, gave and received an eternal adieu. One old chief, slightly wounded, had strength enough left to excavate with his own hands his grave, where he was interred while yet alive by his followers, themselves sinking into the arms of death. After the massacre had lasted some time, the horrors which surrounded them shook the hearts of many, especially of the younger part of the captives. Several at length broke their bonds, and swam to a ridge of coral rocks out of the reach of shot; the troops made signs to them of peace and forgiveness, and when they came within a short distance, fired at them in the sea, where they perished from the discharge or the waves. The bones of the vast multitude still remain in great heaps amidst the sand-hills of the desert; the Arab turns from the field of blood, and it remains in solitary horror, a melancholy monument of Christian atrocity.

81. It would be to little purpose that the great drama of human events were recorded in history, if the judgment of posterity were not strongly pronounced on the conduct of the principal actors in the scene. Napoleon lived for posthumous celebrity; in this instance he shall have his deserts. The massacre of Jaffa is an eternal and in-

effaceable blot on his memory; and so it is considered by the ablest and most partial of his own military historians. The laws of war can never justify the massacre of prisoners in cold blood, three days after the action has ceased; least of all, of those who had laid down their arms on the promise that their lives should be spared. The plea of expedience can never be admitted to extenuate a deed of cruelty. If it were, it would vindicate the massacres in the prisons of Paris, the carnage of St Bartholomew, the burning of Joan of Arc, or any of the other foul deeds with which the page of history is stained. Least of all should Napoleon recur to such an argument, for it justifies at once all the severities of which he so loudly complained, when applied in a much lighter degree to himself at St Helena. If the peril arising from dismissing a few thousand obscure Albanians justified their indiscriminate massacre, what is to be said against the exile of him who had wrapt the world in flames? Nothing was easier than to have disarmed the captives and sent them away; the Vendéans, in circumstances infinitely more perilous, had given a noble instance of such humanity, when they shaved the heads of eleven thousand of the Republican soldiers, who had been made prisoners, and gave them their liberty. Even if they had all taken refuge in Acre, it would, so far from strengthening, have weakened the defence of that fortress; the deed of mercy would have opened a wider breach than the Republican batteries. In reality, the iniquitous act was as short-sighted as it was atrocious; and, sooner or later, such execrable deeds, even in this world, work out their own punishment. It was despair which gave such resolution to the defenders of the Turkish fortress. Napoleon has said, that Sir Sidney Smith made him miss his destiny, and threw him back from the Empire of the East to a solitary island in the Atlantic; in truth, however, it was not alone the sword of his enemies, but also his own cruelty, which rendered the battlements of Acre invincible to his arms. If the fate of their comrades at Jaffa

had not rendered its garrison desperate, all the bravery of that gallant cavalier might have been exerted in vain; and, instead of perishing by a lingering death on the rock of St Helena, the mighty conqueror might have left to his descendants the throne of Constantinople.\*

82. After this hideous massacre, the French army swept round the promontory of Mount Carmel, and after defeating a large body of horse, under the command of Abdallah Pasha, on the mountains of Naplouse, appeared before ACRA on the 16th March. The long files of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, winding along the shore, realised to the amazed navigators of those solitary shores all that the fancy of Tasso had figured of the march of the Sultan of Egypt.† This town, so celebrated for its long siege, and the heroic exploits of which it was the witness, in the holy wars, is situated on a peninsula, which enables the besieged to unite all their means of defence on the isthmus which connects it with the mainland. A single wall, with curtains flanked by square towers and a wet ditch, constituted its sole means of defence; but these, in the hands of Ottoman soldiers, were not to be despised. The Pasha of Syria, Kara Yussuf, with all his treasures, arms, and artillery, had shut himself up in that stronghold, determined to make the most desperate resistance. But all his efforts would pro-

bably have proved unavailing, had it not been for the desperation inspired by the previous massacre at Jaffa, and the courage and activity of an English officer, Sir SIDNEY SMITH;‡ who at that

§ Sidney Smith was born in 1764, so that he was five years older than Napoleon. His father, Captain Smith, having designed him for his own profession, the navy, entered him in that service at the age of thirteen; and he was already a Lieutenant, at the age of sixteen, on board the *Aldida* 74. He was made commander in 1782; and, besides several lesser engagements, was engaged in the glorious victory of Rodney on 12th April. After the peace of 1783 he was so wearied of the monotony of pacific life, that he entered the Swedish service, where he became so distinguished in the wars with Russia, that he received from Gustavus the Grand Cross of the order of the Sword, and was made a knight on his return by his own sovereign. His ardent spirit, however, could not brook a pacific life; and after a short stay at home, as all Christendom was at peace, he entered the Turkish service, where he acquired that intimate acquaintance with the Ottoman character and mode of fighting, which he turned to such good account in the siege of Acra.

His heart, however, was still at home; and, on the breaking out of hostilities between France and England, he purchased one of the small-rigged craft of the Archipelago, got together at Smyrna a motley crew of English and foreign sailors, and with his vessel repaired to Lord Hood, then engaged in the defence of Toulon, and obtained the direction of the light craft intrusted with the destruction of the French fleet in the harbour, which he achieved with splendid success, and which, but for the blunders of the Spanish officers engaged with him in the enterprise, would have been complete. This brilliant exploit led to his being appointed, in 1794, to the command of the *Diamond* frigate of 44 guns; and, soon after, he so skilfully conducted a duty with which he was intrusted, of reconnoitering the Brest fleet under Villaret, which was putting to sea, that he got close to their squadron, and passed in the *Diamond* within hail of one of their seventy-fours without being discovered. In May 1794 he aided Sir R. Strachan in the destruction of a convoy of transports; in July of the same year he made a bold, though unsuccessful attempt, on two French ships and their convoy near La Hague; in the end of September he destroyed a corvette on the same station; and in March 1795 achieved a most brilliant exploit, having with his single frigate, a brig, and lugger, driven ashore, under a battery, a French squadron consisting of a corvette, four brigs, two sloops, and a lugger, stormed the battery, and burnt the enemy's whole vessels, with the exception of the lugger, which fought bravely and escaped.

These energetic actions rendered Sir Sidney the terror of the French coast, and he soon experienced the effects of that feeling, in the

\* Napoleon, and all his eulogists, admit the massacre, but assert that it was justifiable, because the garrison was partly composed of those who had been taken at El Arish. This is now proved to be false. No part of the garrison at El Arish was in Jaffa, but it was conveyed in the rear of the French army. —BOURNEVILLE, II. 216; and JOMINI, X. 408. —O'MEARA, I. 329.

† "The passengers to land-ward turn'd their sight,  
And there saw pitched many a stately tent;  
Soldier and footman, captain, lord, and knight,  
Between the shore and city came and went:  
Huge elephants, strong camels, coursers light,  
With horned hoofs the sandy waves out rent;  
And in the haven many a ship and boat  
(With mighty anchors fasten'd) swim and float."

TASSO, *Jerusalem Delivered*, xv. 11.

period commanded the squadron in the bay of Acre.

83. This celebrated man, who had been wrecked on the coast of France, and confined in the Temple, made his escape a few days after Napoleon left Paris to take the command of the Egyptian expedition. After a variety of adventures, which would pass for fabulous, if they had not occurred in real life, he arrived in England, where his enterprise and talents were immediately put in requisition for the command of the squadron in the Archipelago. Having received information from the Pasha of Syria that Acre was to be attacked, he hastened to the scene of danger, and arrived there just two days before the appearance of the French army, with the Tiger of eighty-four, treatment which he experienced from his enemies on a reverse of fortune. Being stationed off Havre-de-Grace in April 1796, he captured with his boats a large privateer; and the taken vessel was, by the flowing tide, floated into the mouth of the Seine above the forts. In endeavouring to haul their prize out of this dangerous situation, the British boats were suddenly attacked by an immensely superior force of the enemy, and Sir Sidney and eighteen of his followers were made prisoners, the Diamond being unable, from the dead calm, to render any assistance. He was immediately brought to Paris by the French government, who affected to treat him as a spy, and sent him to the Abbaye, where he was detained in close confinement with the utmost severity. An attempt to effect his escape by the aid of the wife of an emigrant, who was one of his fellow-prisoners, failed in consequence of the plan being discovered when on the eve of accomplishment, and he was confined with more rigour than ever. He succeeded in getting off, however, by means of fictitious orders which his friends procured, purporting to order his transference from the Abbaye to the Temple. The real stamp of the seal of the minister of the interior had been obtained by means of a bribe; and with such skill was the stratagem conducted by the French officers who were privy to it, that with them Sir Sidney succeeded in getting clear off in company with M. Philippeaux, who afterwards accompanied him to Acre, and was the chief engineer in the defence of that town against the assaults of Napoleon. After remaining some days in disguise in Rouen, he succeeded in getting over with Philippeaux to London in May 1798. His escape from the far-famed prison of the Temple was the subject of uncommon congratulation in England, and he was immediately appointed to the command of the Tiger of 80 guns, with which he was despatched to the coast of Syria, to aid in repelling the attack upon that province which was immediately expected

and Theseus of seventy-four guns, and some smaller vessels. This precious interval was actively employed by him in strengthening the works, and making preparations for the defence of the place. On the following day, he was fortunate enough to capture the whole flotilla despatched from Alexandria with the heavy artillery and stores for the siege of the town, as it was creeping round the headlands of Mount Carmel; and the guns, forty-four in number, were immediately mounted on the ramparts, and contributed, in the most important manner, to the defence of the place. At the same time, Colonel Philippeaux, a French officer of engineers, expatriated from his country by the Revolution, exerted his talents in repairing and arming the fortifications; and a large

from Napoleon. He took Philippeaux with him, who was appointed the chief engineer of Acre; and to the extraordinary skill and undaunted courage of these two men, the defeat of Napoleon at Acre, and the destruction of all his projects of Oriental conquest, is beyond all doubt mainly to be ascribed. Thus, the fate of the world was bound up in the escape of an English and French officer from the dungeons of the Temple.

After his splendid achievements at Acre, Sir Sidney Smith and some of his officers made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; and such was the veneration in which he was held by the Turks, that he was permitted to visit the Holy City armed,—a privilege never before granted to any save a Turk. He was subsequently engaged in the descent of the Turks, which afterwards terminated in such disaster at Aboukir. His effective naval co-operation compelled Kleber to accede to the Convention of El Arish; and by the vigour of his arm, he sustained the defence of Gaeta in 1806, when on the point of surrendering to the French. He commanded the light squadron in the same year which burned the Turkish frigates in the Dardanelles at the time of Sir John Duckworth's passage; and by the extraordinary vigour of his counsel, and activity of his conduct, he succeeded in extricating the Portuguese royal family from the grasp of Junot and the French army, when they approached Lisbon in 1808. Altogether, the life of this extraordinary man, both by sea and by shore, with Christians and with Mussulmans, in combating kings and emperors, in turning aside Napoleon from Asia, and fixing the first European royal family in America, was so extraordinary as would have passed for romance in any other age of the world; and, if report be true, he found that favour in the eyes of ladies of high degree, which was the brightest reward of the knights of chivalry.—*Life of Sir S. Smith, and Naval Biography*, 478, 498.

body of seamen and marines, headed by Sir Sidney himself, were landed to co-operate in the defence of the works. It is not the least curious fact in that age of wonders, that the engineer officer, whose talents so powerfully contributed, at this crisis, to change the fate of Napoleon, had been his companion at the Military School at Brienne, and passed his examinations with him, previous to their joining their respective regiments.

84. The irreparable loss sustained by the capture of the flotilla reduced the battering cannon of the assailants to four bombs, four twelve, and eight eight-pounders. Notwithstanding, however, these slender means, such was the activity and perseverance of the French engineers, that the works of the besiegers advanced with great expedition; a sally of the garrison was vigorously repulsed on the 26th, and a mine having been run under one of the principal towers which had been severely battered, the explosion took place two days after, and a practicable breach was effected. The grenadiers instantly advanced to the assault, and, running rapidly forward, arrived at the edge of the counterscarp. They were there arrested by a ditch, fifteen feet deep, which was only half filled up with the ruins of the wall. Their ardour, however, speedily overcame this obstacle; they descended into the fosse, and, mounting the breach, effected a lodgment in the tower; but the impediment of the counterscarp having prevented them from being adequately supported, the Turks returned to the charge, and, after a desperate struggle, succeeded in expelling them from that part of the ramparts, and driving them, with great slaughter, back into their trenches.\*

85. This repulse convinced the French that they had to deal with very different foes from those whom they had mas-

sacred at Jaffa. A second assault, on the 1st April, having met with no better success, the troops were withdrawn into the works, and the general-in-chief resolved to await the arrival of the heavy artillery from Damietta. Meanwhile the Ottomans were collecting all their forces on the other side of the Jordan, to raise the siege. Napoleon had concluded a sort of alliance with the Druses—a bold and hardy race of mountaineers, inhabiting the heights of Lebanon, who only awaited the capture of Acre to declare openly for his cause, and throw off the yoke of their Mussulman rulers. The Turks, however, on their side, had not been idle. By vast exertions they had succeeded in rousing the Mahometan population of all the surrounding provinces; the remains of the Mamelukes of Ibrahim Bey, the Janizaries of Aleppo and of Damascus, joined to an innumerable horde of irregular cavalry, formed a vast army, which had already pushed its advanced posts beyond the Jordan, and threatened soon to envelop the besieging force. The French troops occupied the mountains of Naplouse, Cana in Galilee, and Nazareth—names for ever immortal in holy writ, at which the devout ardour of the Crusaders burned with generous enthusiasm, but which were now visited by the descendants of a Christian people without either interest in, or knowledge of, the inestimable benefits which were there conferred upon mankind.

86. Napoleon now saw that he had not a moment to lose in marching to attack the cloud of enemies which were collecting in his rear, and preventing a general concentration of the hostile forces by sea and land against the camp before Acre. For this purpose he ordered Kleber, with his division, to join Junot; Murat, with a thousand infantry and two squadrons of horse, were stationed at the bridge of Jacob, and he himself set out from the camp before Acre with the division of General Bon, the cavalry, and eight pieces of cannon. Their arrival was not premature; for the advanced posts of the enemy had already crossed the Jordan, at the bridge of Jacob, and were pressing in vast multitudes towards the mountain-ridge

\* A striking instance of the attachment of the soldiers to Napoleon appeared on this occasion. In the trenches, a bomb, with the fuses burning, fell at his feet; two grenadiers instantly seized him in their arms, and, covering him with their bodies, carried him out of danger. They got him into safety before the explosion took place, and no one was injured.—*LAS CASES*, i. 235.

which separates the valley of that river from the maritime coast. Kleber, on his march from the camp at Acre to join Junot, encountered a body of four thousand horse on the heights of Loubi; but they were defeated and driven beyond the Jordan by the same rolling fire which had so often proved fatal to the Mamelukes in Egypt. On the day following, a grand sortie, headed by English officers, and supported by some marines from the fleet, took place from Acre, and obtained at first considerable advantages; but the arrival of reinforcements from the camp at length obliged the assailants to retire into the town.

87. Kleber had left Nazareth with all his forces, in order to make an attack on the Turkish camp; but he was anticipated by the enemy, who advanced to meet him with fifteen thousand cavalry and as many infantry, as far as the village of Fouli. Kleber instantly drew up his little army in squares, with the artillery at the angles; and the formation was hardly completed when the immense mass came thundering down, threatening to trample their handful of enemies under their horses' hoofs. The steady aim and rolling fire of the French veterans brought down the foremost of the assailants, and soon formed a rampart of dead bodies of men and horses; behind which they bravely maintained the unequal combat for six hours, until at length Napoleon, with the cavalry and fresh divisions, arrived on the heights which overlooked the field of battle, and, amidst the multitudes with which it was covered, distinguished his men by the regular and incessant volleys which issued from their ranks, forming steady flaming spots amidst the moving throng with which they were surrounded. He instantly took his resolution. General Letourcq was despatched, with the cavalry and two pieces of light artillery, against the Mamelukes who were in reserve at the foot of the mountains of Naplouse; while the division of Bon, divided into two squares under Rampon and Vial, advanced to the attack of the flank and rear of the multitude who were surrounding Kleber's division; and Napoleon, with the cannon

and Guides, pressed still further round their rear in the direction of Nain. A twelve-pounder, fired from the heights, announced to the wearied band of heroes the joyful intelligence that succour was at hand; the columns all advanced rapidly to the attack, while Kleber, resuming the offensive, extended his ranks, and charged with the bayonet the mass who had so long oppressed him.

88. The immense superiority of European discipline and tactics was then apparent. The Turks, attacked in so many quarters at once, and exposed to a concentric fire from all the squares, were unable to make any resistance; no measures, either to arrest the enemy or secure a retreat, were taken; and the motley throng, mowed down by the discharges of grape-shot, fled in confusion behind Mount Thabor, and, finding the bridge of Jacob seized by Murat, rushed in desperation, in the night, through the Jordan, where great numbers were drowned. General Junot had commanded one of these squares which heroically resisted the Ottomans. His valour and steadiness attracted the especial notice of Napoleon, who had the names of the three hundred men of which it was composed engraved on a splendid shield, which he presented to that officer, to be preserved among the archives of his family. This great victory, gained by six thousand veterans over a brave but undisciplined mass of thirty thousand Oriental militia, completely secured the flank and rear of Napoleon's army. The defeat had been complete; the Turkish camp, with all their baggage and ammunition, fell into the hands of the conquerors; the army which the people of the country called "innumerable as the sands of the sea or the stars of heaven," had dispersed, never again to reassemble. Kleber occupied in force the bridge of Jacob, the forts of Saffet and Tabariah; and, having stationed patrols along the banks of the Jordan, fixed his headquarters at the village of Nazareth, while Napoleon returned with the remainder of the army to the siege of Acre.

89. The French cruisers having at length succeeded in debarking three twenty-four and six eighteen-pounders



at Jaffa, they were forthwith brought up to the trenches, and a heavy fire opened upon the tower, which had been the object of such vehement contests. Mines were run under the walls, and all the resources of art exhausted to effect the reduction of the place, but in vain. The defence under Philippeaux was not less determined nor less skilful than the attack; he erected some external works in the fosse, to take the grenadiers in flank as they advanced to the assault; the mines of the besiegers were countermined, and constant sorties made to retard their approaches. In the course of these desperate contests, Caffarelli, who commanded the engineers of the assailants, was slain, and Philippeaux, who directed the operations of the besieged, died of fatigue. The vigour and resolution of the garrison increased with every hour the siege continued. Napoleon, by a desperate effort, for a time succeeded in effecting a lodgment in the ruined tower; but his men were soon driven out with immense loss, and the Turks regained possession of all their fortifications. The trenches had been open and the breach practicable for nearly two months, but no sensible progress was as yet made in the reduction of the place.

90. At length, on the evening of the 7th May, a few sails were seen from the towers of Acre, on the furthest verge of the horizon. All eyes were instantly turned in that direction, and the besiegers and besieged equally flattered themselves that succour was at hand. The English cruisers in the bay hastily, and in doubt, stood out to reconnoitre this unknown fleet; but the hearts of the French sank within them when they beheld the two squadrons unite, and, the Ottoman crescent joined to the English pendant, approach the roads of Acre. Soon after a fleet of thirty sail entered the bay, with seven thousand men, and abundance of artillery and ammunition from Rhodes. Napoleon, calculating that this reinforcement could not be disembarked for at least six hours, resolved to anticipate its arrival by an assault during the night. Accordingly, the division of Bon, at ten at night, drove the

enemy from their exterior works. The artillery took advantage of that circumstance to approach to the counterscarp, and batter the curtain. At daybreak, another breach in the rampart was declared practicable, and an assault ordered. The division of Lannes renewed the attack on the tower, while General Rambaud led the column to the new breach. The grenadiers, advancing with the most heroic intrepidity, made their way to the summit of the rampart, and the morning sun displayed the tricolor flag on the outer angle of the tower. The fire of the place was now sensibly slackened, while the besiegers, redoubling their boldness, were seen intrenching themselves, with sandbags and dead bodies, in the lodgments they had formed, the points of their bayonets only appearing above the bloody parapet. The troops in the roads were embarked in the boats, and were pulling as hard as they could across the bay; but several hours must elapse before they could arrive at the menaced point.

91. In this extremity, Sir Sidney Smith landed the crews of the ships, and led them, armed with pikes, to the breach. The sight reanimated the courage of the besieged, who were beginning to quail under the prospect of instant death, and they mounted the long-disputed tower, amidst loud shouts from the brave men who still defended its ruins. Immediately a furious contest ensued; the besieged hurled down large stones on the assailants, who fired at them within half pistol-shot; the muzzles of the muskets touched each other, and the spear-heads of the standards were locked together. At length the desperate daring of the French yielded to the unconquerable firmness of the British and the heroic valour of the Mussulmans; the grenadiers were driven from the tower, and a body of Turks, issuing from the gates, attacked them in flank while they crossed the ditch, and drove them back with great loss to the trenches. But while this success was gained in one quarter, ruin was impending in another. The division headed by Rambaud succeeded in reaching the summit of the rampart;

and, leaping down into the tower, attained the very garden of the Pasha's seraglio. Everything seemed lost; but at the critical moment Sir Sidney Smith, at the head of a regiment of Janizaries, disciplined in the European method, rushed to the spot. The progress of the assailants was stopped by a tremendous fire from the house-tops and the barricades which surrounded the seraglio; and at length the French, who had penetrated so far, were cut off from the breach by which they had entered, and driven into a neighbouring mosque, where they owed their lives to the humane intercession of Sir Sidney Smith. In this bloody affair the loss of lives was very great on both sides: Rambaud was killed, and Lannes severely wounded.

92. Notwithstanding this disaster, Napoleon was not yet sufficiently subdued by misfortune to order a retreat. "The fate of the East," said he, "is in yonder fort; the fall of Acre is the object of my expedition; Damascus will be its first fruit." Although the troops in the fleet were now landed, and the force in the place greatly increased, he resolved to make a last effort with the division of Kleber, which had been recalled in haste from its advanced post on the Jordan. Early on the 10th May, he advanced in person to the foot of the breach, and, seeing that it was greatly enlarged by the fire of the preceding days, a new assault was ordered. The summit of the ruined wall was again attained; but the troops were there arrested by the murderous fire which issued from the barricades and intrenchments, with which the garrison had strengthened the interior of the tower. In the evening the division of Kleber arrived, and, proud of its triumph at Mount Tabor, eagerly demanded to be led to the assault. "If St Jean d'Acre is not taken this evening," said one of the colonels, as he was marching at the head of his regiment to the assault, "be assured Venoux is slain." He kept his word: the fortress held out; but he lay at the foot of the walls.

93. A little before sunset, a dark massy column issued from the trenches, and advanced with a firm and solemn step to the breach. The assailants were

permitted to ascend unmolested to the summit, and descend into the garden of the Pasha; but no sooner had they reached that point, than they were assailed with irresistible fury by a body of Janizaries, who, with the sabre in one hand, and the dagger in the other, speedily reduced the whole column to headless trunks. In vain other columns, and even the Guides of Napoleon, his last reserve, advanced to the attack; they were all repulsed with dreadful loss. Among the killed in this last encounter was General Bon, and among the wounded, Crosier, aide-de-camp of the general-in-chief, and a large proportion of his staff. On this occasion, as in the assault on Roudschouk by the Russians, in 1808, it was proved that, in a personal struggle, the bayonet of the European is no match for the Turkish scimitar. Success being now hopeless, preparations were made for a retreat, after sixty days of open trenches; a proclamation was issued to the troops, announcing that their return was required to withstand a descent which was threatened from the island of Rhodes; and the fire from the trenches was kept up with such vigour to the last moment, that the Turks were not aware of the intentions of the besiegers. Meanwhile, the baggage, sick, and field-artillery were silently defiling to the rear, the heavy cannon were buried in the sand, and on the 20th May, Napoleon, for the first time in his life, ordered a retreat.

94. No event, down to the retreat from Moscow, so deeply affected Napoleon as the repulse at Acre. It had cost him three thousand of his bravest troops, slain or dead of their wounds; a still greater number were irrecoverably mutilated, or had in them the seeds of the plague, contracted during the stay at Jaffa. Worse than all, the illusion of his invincibility was dispelled. But these disasters, great as they were to an army situated as his was, were not the real cause of his chagrin. It was the overthrow of his dreams of Oriental conquest which cut him to the heart. Standing on the mount which still bears the name of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, on the evening of the

fatal assault when Lannes was wounded, he said to his secretary Bourrienne—"Yes, Bourrienne, that miserable fort has indeed cost me dear; but matters have gone too far not to make a last effort. If I succeed, as I trust I shall, I shall find in the town all the treasures of the Pasha, and arms for three hundred thousand men. I shall raise and arm all Syria, which at this moment unanimously prays for the success of the assault. I will march on Damascus and Aleppo; I shall swell my army as I advance with the discontented in every country through which I pass; I will announce to the people the breaking of their chains, and the abolition of the tyranny of the Pashas. Do you not see that the Druses wait only for the fall of Acre to declare themselves? Have I not been already offered the keys of Damascus? I have only lingered under these walls because at present I could derive no advantage from that great town. Acre taken, I will secure Egypt; on the side of Egypt cut off all succour from the Beys, and proclaim Desaix general-in-chief in that country. I will arrive at Constantinople with armed masses; overturn the empire of the Turks, and establish a new one in the East, which will fix my place with posterity: and perhaps I may return to Paris by Adrianople and Vienna, after having annihilated the House of Austria."

95. Boundless as these anticipations were, they were not the result merely of the enthusiasm of the moment, but were deliberately repeated by Napoleon, after the lapse of twenty years, on the rock of St Helena. "St Jean d'Acre once taken," said he, "the French army would have flown to Aleppo and Damascus; in the twinkling of an eye it would have been on the Euphrates; the Christians of Syria, the Druses, the Christians of Armenia, would have joined it; the whole population of the East would have been agitated." Some one said, he would soon have been reinforced by a hundred thousand men; "Say rather six hundred thousand," replied Napoleon; "who can calculate what would have happened? I would have reached Constantinople and the

Indies; I would have changed the face of the world." Splendid as his situation afterwards became, he never ceased to regret the throne which he relinquished when he retired from Acre, and repeatedly said of Sir Sidney Smith, "That man made me miss my destiny."

96. Napoleon, who had been hitherto accustomed to an uninterrupted career of victory, achieved frequently with inconsiderable means, did not evince in this siege the patience requisite for success; he began it with too slender resources, and wasted the lives of his brave soldiers in assaults which, against Turkish and British troops, were little better than hopeless. Kleber, whose disposition was entirely different, and who shared in none of the ardour which led him to overlook or undervalue these obstacles, from the beginning predicted that the siege would fail, and loudly expressed, during its progress, his disapprobation of the slovenly, insufficient manner in which the works of the siege were advanced, and the dreadful butchery to which the soldiers were exposed in so many hopeless assaults. Though grievously mortified by this failure, the French general evinced no small dexterity in the art with which, in his proclamation to his troops, he veiled his defeat:—"Soldiers! You have traversed the desert which separates Asia and Africa with the rapidity of the Arab horse. The army which was advancing to invade Egypt is destroyed; you have made prisoner its general, its baggage, its camels; you have captured all the forts which guard the wells of the desert; you have dispersed on the field of Mount Thabor the innumerable host which assembled from all parts of Asia to share in the pillage of Egypt. Finally, after having, with a handful of men, maintained the war for three months in the heart of Syria, taken forty pieces of cannon, fifty standards, and six thousand prisoners, razed the fortifications of Gaza, Jaffa, Caffa, and Acre, we are about to re-enter Egypt; the season of debarkation demands it. Yet a few days, and you would have taken the Pasha in the midst of his

palace; but at this moment such a prize is not worth a few days' combat; the brave men who would have perished in it are essential for further operations. Soldiers! we have dangers and fatigues to encounter; after having disabled the forces of the East, for the remainder of the campaign we shall perhaps have to repel the attacks of a part of the West."

97. The army occupied two days in the retreat to Jaffa, and remained there destroying the fortifications for three more. The field-artillery was embarked, in order to avoid the painful passage over the desert, but it all fell into the hands of Sir Sidney Smith, who followed the movements of the army, and harassed them incessantly with the light vessels of his squadron. All the horrors of war were accumulated on the troops and the inhabitants of the unhappy villages which lay on the line of the retreat. A devouring thirst, total want of water, a fatiguing march through burning sands, reduced the soldiers to despair, and shook the firmness even of the bravest officers. The seeds of the plague were in the army, and, independently of the number who were actually the victims of that dreadful malady, the sick and wounded suffered from the unbounded apprehensions of all who approached them. The dying, lain down by the side of the road, exclaimed with a faltering voice, "I am not sick of the plague, but only wounded;" and to prove the truth of what they said, tore their bandages asunder, and let their wounds bleed afresh. The heavens were darkened during the day by the smoke which rose from the burning villages; the march of the columns at night was illuminated by the flames which followed their steps. On their right was the sea, on their left and rear the wilderness they had made; before them the desert with all its horrors. In the general suffering, Napoleon set the example of disinterested self-denial; abandoning his horse, and those of all his equipage, for the use of the sick, he marched himself at the head of the troops on foot, inspiring all around him with cheerfulness and resolution.

98. At Jaffa he himself visited the plague hospital, inviting those who had sufficient strength to rise to raise themselves on their beds, and endeavour to get into the litters prepared for their use. He walked through the rooms, affected a careless air, striking his boot with his riding-whip, in order to remove the apprehensions which had seized all the soldiers in regard to the contagious nature of the malady. Those who could not be removed were poisoned by orders of the general; their numbers did not exceed four hundred; and, as the Turks were within an hour's march of the place, their recovery hopeless, and a cruel death awaiting them at the hands of those barbarians the moment they arrived, the painful act may perhaps be justified, not only on the ground of necessity but of humanity.\* Napoleon did not expressly admit the fact at St Helena; but he reasoned in such a manner as plainly implied that it was true. He argued, and argued justly, that, in the circumstances in which he was placed, it could not be considered as a crime. "What man," said he, "would not have preferred immediate death to the horror of being exposed to lingering tortures on the part of these barbarians? If my own son, whom I love as well as any man can love his child, were in such a situation, my advice would be, that he should be treated in the same manner; and if I were so myself, I would implore that the same should be done to me." While history, however, must acquit Napoleon of criminality in this matter, the more especially as the Turks murdered all the prisoners and sick who fell into their hands, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the British officers, it must record with admiration the answer of the chief of the medical

\* Sir Robert Wilson states the number of those poisoned at 580; Miot says merely, "If we are to trust the reports of the army and general rumour, which is often the organ of tardy truth, which power seeks in vain to suppress, some of the wounded at Mount Carmel, and a large part of the sick in the hospital of Jaffa, died of what was administered to them in the form of medicine."—WILSON, 176; MIOT, 204.

staff when the proposal for the poisoning was made by Napoleon to him, "My vocation is to prolong life, and not to extinguish it."

99. The army reached El-Ariah on the 1st of June, and, after a painful march over the desert, in the course of which numbers of the sick and wounded perished from heat and suffering, at length exchanged the privations and thirst of the wilderness for the riches and comforts of Egypt. During this march the thermometer in the shade rose to 38° of Reaumur, and when the globe of mercury was plunged in the sand, it stood at 45°, corresponding to 109° and 133° of Fahrenheit. The water to be met with in the desert was so salt, that numbers of horses expired shortly after drinking it; and, notwithstanding their repeated experiences of the illusion, such was the deceitful appearance of the mirage which constantly presented itself, that the men frequently rushed toward the glassy streams and lakes, which vanished on their approach into air. It is a curious fact, illustrative of the inconceivable effect of such seasons of horror on the human mind, that while the soldiers who were ill of the plague expressed the utmost horror at being left behind, and rose with difficulty from the bed of death to stagger a few steps after their departing comrades, their fate excited little or no commiseration in the more fortunate soldiers who had escaped the pestilence. "Who would not have supposed," says Miot, "that in such an extremity, the comrades of the unhappy sufferers would have done all they could to succour or relieve them! So far from it, they were the objects only of horror and derision. The soldiers avoided the sick as they did the pestilence with which they were afflicted, and burst into immoderate fits of laughter at the convulsive efforts which they made to rise. 'He has made up his accounts,' said one; 'He will not get on far,' said another; and when the poor wretch fell for the last time, they exclaimed, 'His lodging is secured.' The terrible truth must be told: in such a crisis, indifference and egotism are the ruling sentiments

of the army; and if you would stand well with your comrades, you must never need their assistance, and remain in good health." Facts of a similar description were very conspicuous during the Russian retreat, and in the Spanish war.

100. Though Egypt in general preserved its tranquillity during the absence of Napoleon, disturbances of a threatening character had taken place in the Delta. A chief in Lower Egypt, who had contrived to assemble together a number of Mamelukes and discontented characters, gave himself out for the angel El-Mody, and put to the sword the garrison of Damahour; and it was not till two different divisions had been sent against him, that the insurrection was suppressed, and its leader killed. Meanwhile Desaix, pursuing with indefatigable activity his gallant opponent, had followed the course of the Nile as far as Sleim, the extreme limit in that direction of the Roman empire, where he learned that Mourad Bey had ascended beyond the cataracts, and retired altogether into Nubia. A bloody skirmish afterwards took place near Thebes, between a body of French cavalry and a party of Mamelukes; and Mahommed-Elif, one of the most enterprising of their officers, sustained so severe a defeat at Souhama, on the banks of the Nile, that out of twelve hundred horse, only a hundred and fifty escaped into the Great Oasis in the desert. This success was counterbalanced by the destruction of the flotilla on the Nile, containing the wounded and ammunition of Desaix's division, and which, when on the point of being taken by the Arabs, was blown up by the officer commanding it. At length Davoust gave a final blow to the incursions of the Arabs by the defeat of a large body at Benyhady, when above two thousand men were slain. After this disaster, Upper Egypt was thoroughly subdued, and the French division took up its cantonments in the villages which formed the southern limits of the Roman empire. Such was the wisdom and equity of Desaix's administration in those distant provinces, that it procured for

him the appellation of "the Just Sultan." \*

101. Napoleon, ever anxious to conceal his reverses, made a sort of triumphal entry upon his return into Cairo, and published a deceitful proclamation, in which he boasted of having conquered in all his engagements, and ruined the fortifications of the Pasha of Acre. In truth, though he had failed in the principal object of his expedition, he had effectually prevented an invasion from the side of Syria by the terror which his arms had inspired, and the desolation which he had occasioned on the frontiers of the desert; and he had abundant reason to pride himself upon the vast achievements of the inconsiderable body of men whom he led to these hazardous exploits. Notwithstanding these advantages, however, the discontents of the army increased to the highest degree after the disastrous issue of the Syrian expedition. They did not arise from apprehensions of danger, but the desire to return home, which tormented their minds the further that their return seemed removed from the bounds of probability. Every day some generals or officers demanded, under various pretexts, leave of absence to return to Europe, which was always granted, though with such cutting expressions

\* Perhaps the private correspondence of few conquerors would bear the light; but unhappily the confidential letters and orders of Napoleon at this period bear evidence of great and unnecessary cruelty. On the 28th June 1799, he wrote to General Dugua:—"You will cause to be shot, citizen-general, Joseph, a native of Cherkene, near the Black Sea, and Selim, a native of Constantinople, both prisoners in the citadel." On the 12th July:—"You will cause to be shot Hassan, Joussef Ibrahim, Saleh, Mahomet Bekir, Hadj Saleh, Mustapha Mahomet, all Mamelukes." And on 18th July:—"You will cause to be shot Lachin and Emir Mahomet, Mamelukes." What crimes these persons had been guilty of towards the French army does not appear; but from the circumstance of their execution being intrusted to the French officers, and not to the civil authorities of the country, there seems no reason to believe that they had done anything further than taken a share in the effort to liberate their country from the yoke of the French; an attempt which, however much it might authorise measures of hostility in the field, could never justify executions in prison, without trial, in cold blood.—*Corresp. Confid. de Nap.* vi. 374, 392, 394.

as rendered the concession the object of dread to every honourable mind. Berthier himself, consumed by a romantic passion for a lady at Paris, twice solicited and obtained his dismissal, and twice relinquished the project, from a sense of honourable shame at abandoning his benefactor. With Kleber, the general-in-chief had several warm altercations; and to such a height did the dissatisfaction arise, that the whole army, soldiers and officers, for a time entertained the design of marching from Cairo to Alexandria, to await the first opportunity of returning home—a project which the great personal ascendancy of Napoleon alone prevented them from carrying into effect.†

102. Influenced by an ardent desire to visit the indestructible monuments of ancient grandeur at Thebes, Napoleon was on the point of setting out for Upper Egypt, when a courier from Marmont, governor of Alexandria, announced the disembarkation of a large body of Turks in Aboukir Bay. They had appeared there on the 10th July, and landed, under the protection of the British navy, on the following day. This intelligence was received by Na-

† It deserves notice, as an indication of the total disregard of Napoleon and the French army for the Christian religion, that all his proclamations and addresses to the powers or people of Egypt, or the East, at this period, set out with the words:—"In the name of the merciful God; there is but one God, and Mahomet is his prophet."—*Letters to Sultans Dargfour*, 30th June 1799, and 17th July 1799; *to the Sherif of Mecca*, 30th June 1799; *Proclamation to the people of Egypt*, 17th July 1799; *and to the Sultans of Morocco and Tripoli*, 16th August 1799.—*Corresp. Confid. de Nap.* vi. 377, 391, 402, 436. "After all," said he, at St Helena. "It is by no means impossible but that circumstances might have induced me to embrace Islamism; but I would not have done so till I came to the Euphrates. Henry IV. said, truly, Paris is worth a mass. Do you think the empire of the East, possibly the subjugation of all Asia, was not worth a turban and trousers: for, after all, the matter comes to that? The army would undoubtedly have joined in it, and would only have made a joke of its conversion. Consider the consequences; I would have taken Europe in rear; its old institutions would have been beaten on all sides; and who, after that, would have thought of interrupting the destinies of France, or the regeneration of the age?"—*Las Cases*, iii. 91.

poison on the evening of the 15th at Cairo; he sat up all night dictating orders for the direction of all the divisions of his army, and on the 16th, at four in the morning, he was on horseback, and all his troops in full march. On the 23d he arrived at Alexandria with the divisions of Murat, Lannes, and Bon, where he joined the garrison under Marmont, which had not ventured to leave its intrenchments in presence of such formidable enemies. The division of Desaix was at the same time ordered to fall back from Upper Egypt to Cairo; so that, if necessary, the whole French force might be brought to the menaced point. Mourad Bey, in concert with the Turks at Aboukir, descended from Upper Egypt with three thousand horse, intending to cut his way across to the forces which had landed at Aboukir; but he was met and encountered near the lake Natron by Murat, at the head of a body of cavalry, and after a severe action obliged to retrace his steps, and take refuge in the desert.

103. The army which landed at Aboukir, nine thousand strong, consisting of the forces which had arrived at the close of the siege of Acre from Rhodes, and had been transported thence to the mouth of the Nile by Sir Sidney Smith's squadron, though almost destitute of cavalry, was much more formidable than any which the French troops had yet encountered in the East. It was composed, not of the miserable Fellahs who constituted the sole infantry of the Mamelukes, but of intrepid Janisaries, admirably equipped, and well disciplined, accustomed to discharge their firelock and throw themselves on the enemy with a sabre in one hand and a pistol in the other. The artillery of those troops was numerous and well served; they were supported by the British squadron; and they had recently made themselves masters of the fort of Aboukir, after putting its garrison of three hundred men to the sword. This fort was situated at the neck of an isthmus of sand, on which the Turkish forces were disembarked: the peninsula there is not above four hundred toises in breadth; so that the posses-

sion of it gave them a secure place of retreat in case of disaster. It was the more necessary for Napoleon to get quit of this army, as there was reason to expect that a new host of invaders would ere long make their appearance on the side of Syria.

104. Napoleon arrived within sight of the peninsula of Aboukir on the 25th July, and, though his force did not exceed eight thousand men, including Kleber's division, which had just arrived and was in reserve, he no sooner saw the dispositions of the enemy, than he resolved to make an immediate attack. The Turks occupied the peninsula, and had covered the approach to it with two lines of intrenchments. The first, which ran across the neck of land, about a mile in front of the village of Aboukir, from the lake Maadieh to the sea, extended between two mounds of sand, each of which was strongly occupied and covered with artillery, and was supported in the centre by a village, which was garrisoned by two thousand men. The second, a mile in the rear, was strengthened in the centre by a redoubt, constructed by the French, and terminated at one extremity in the sea, at the other in the lake. Behind the two lines was placed the camp. In rear of all was the fort or castle of Aboukir. The first line was guarded by four thousand men, the second by five thousand, and supported by twelve pieces of cannon, besides those mounted on the fort. So strongly was the mind of Napoleon already impressed by the great destinies to which he conceived himself called, that when he arrived in sight of these intrenchments, he said to Murat—"This battle will decide the fate of the world."—"At least of this army," replied the other; "but you should feel confidence from the circumstance, that all the soldiers feel they must now conquer or die. The enemy have no cavalry—ours is brave; and be assured, if ever infantry were charged to the teeth by cavalry, the Turks shall be to-morrow by mine."

105. The dispositions of the general were speedily made. Lannes, with two thousand men, attacked the left of the first line; d'Estaing, with the like force,

the right; while Murat, whose cavalry was arranged in three divisions, was destined at once to pierce the centre and turn both wings, so as to cut off all communication with the reserve in the second intrenchment. These measures were ere long crowned with success. The Turks maintained their ground on the height on the left, till they saw it turned by Murat's cavalry; but the moment that was done, they fled in confusion to the second line, and, being charged in their flight by the French horse, rushed tumultuously into the water, where almost the whole were either drowned or cut down by grape-shot. The same thing occurred at the other extremity of the line. D'Estaing attacked the height on the right, while the other division of Murat's cavalry turned it. The Turks broke at the first onset, and were driven by Murat into the sea. Lannes and d'Estaing, now united, attacked the village in the centre. The Janizaries defended themselves bravely, calculating on being supported from the second line; but the column detached for that purpose from the fort of Aboukir having been charged in the interval between the two lines, and routed by Murat, the village was at length carried with the bayonet, and its defenders, who refused all quarter, put to the sword, or drowned in the water.

106. The extraordinary success of this first attack inspired Napoleon with the hope that, by repeating the same manoeuvre with the second, the whole remainder of the army might be destroyed. For this purpose, after allowing a few hours' repose to the troops, and establishing a battery to protect their operations, he commenced a new attack upon the interior and more formidable line of defence. On the right a trench joined the fort of Aboukir to the sea; but on the left it was not carried quite so far, leaving a small open space between the intrenchment and the lake Maadieh. Napoleon's dispositions were made accordingly. On his left d'Estaing was to attack the intrenchment, while the principal effort was directed against the enemy's left, where the whole cavalry, marching under cover of Lannes' divi-

sion, were to enter at the open space, between the trenches and the lake, and take the line in rear. At three o'clock the charge was beat, and the troops advanced to the attack. D'Estaing led his men gallantly forward, arranged in echelons of battalions; but the Turks, transported by their ardour, advanced out of their intrenchments to meet them, and a bloody conflict took place in the plain. In vain the Janizaries, after discharging their fusils and pistols, rushed to the attack with their formidable sabres in the air; their desperate valour at length yielded to the steady pressure of the European bayonet, and they were borne back, contesting every inch of ground to the foot of the intrenchments. Here, however, the plunging fire of the redoubt, and the sustained discharge of musketry from the top of the works, arrested the French soldiers: Letourcq was killed, Fugières wounded, and the column, in disorder, recoiled from the field of carnage towards the exterior line. Nor was Murat more successful on his side. Lannes indeed forced the intrenchments towards the extremity of the lake, and occupied some of the houses in the village; but when the cavalry attempted to pass the narrow defile between the works and the lake, they were assailed by such a terrible fire from the gun-boats, that they were repeatedly forced to retire. The attack had failed at both extremities, and Napoleon was doubtful whether he should continue the combat, or rest contented with the advantage already gained.

107. From this perplexity he was relieved by the imprudent conduct of the Turks themselves. No sooner did they see the column which had assailed their right retire, than they rushed out of the redoubt of Aboukir, in the centre, and began to cut off the heads of the dead bodies which lay scattered over the plain. Napoleon instantly saw his advantage, and quickly turned it to the best account. Advancing rapidly with his reserves in admirable order, he arrested the sortie of the centre, while Lannes returned to the attack of the intrenchments, now in a great measure denuded of their defenders, and d'Es-



taing re-formed his troops for another effort on the lines to the right. All these attacks proved successful; the whole line of redoubts, now almost destitute of troops, was captured, while several squadrons, in the confusion, penetrated through the narrow opening on the margin of the lake, and got into the rear of the second line. The Turks upon this fled in confusion towards the fort of Aboukir; but the cavalry of Murat, which now inundated the space between the second line and the fort, charged them so furiously in flank, that they were thrown into the sea, and almost all perished in the waves. Murat penetrated into the camp of Mustapha Pasha, where, with his own hand, he made that commander prisoner, and shut up the remnant of the army, amounting to about two thousand men, in the fort of Aboukir. Heavy cannon were immediately planted against the fort, which surrendered a few days after. Five thousand corpses floated in the Bay of Aboukir; two thousand had perished in the battle, and the like number were made prisoners of war in the fort. Hardly any escaped; a circumstance almost unexampled in modern warfare.

108. The day after this extraordinary battle, Napoleon returned to Alexandria. He had ample subject for meditation. Sir Sidney Smith, having despatched a flag of truce on shore to settle an exchange of prisoners, sent some files of English newspapers, which made him acquainted with the disasters experienced by the Directory in Europe, the conquest of Italy, the reverses in the Alps, the retreat at Zurich. At the same time he learned the capture of Corfu by the Russians and Turks, and the close blockade which promised soon to deliver over Malta to the enemy. His resolution was instantly taken. He determined to return alone, braving the English fleets, to Europe. All prospects of great success in Egypt were at an end, and he now only wished to regain the scene of his early triumphs and primitive ambition in France. Orders were immediately given that two frigates, the *Muiron* and the *Carrère*, should be made ready for sea; and Napoleon, preserv-

ing the utmost secrecy as to his intended departure, proceeded to Cairo, where he drew up long and minute instructions for Kleber, to whom the command of the army was intrusted, and immediately returned to Alexandria. On the 22d August he secretly set out from that town, accompanied by Berthier, Lannes, Murat, Marmont, Andréossy, Berthollet, Monge, and Bourrienne, and escorted only by a few of his faithful Guides. The party embarked on a solitary part of the beach, on board a few fishing-boats, which conveyed them out to the frigates which lay at a little distance from the shore. The joy which animated all these persons when they were told that they were to return to France, can hardly be conceived. Desirous to avoid a personal altercation with Kleber, whose rude and fearless demeanour led him to apprehend some painful sally of passion on receiving the intelligence, Napoleon communicated to him his resolution by letter, which he was aware could not reach Cairo till several days after his departure. Kleber afterwards expressed the highest indignation at that circumstance, and in a long and impassioned report to the Directory, charged Napoleon with leaving the army in such a state of destitution, that the defence of the country for any length of time was impossible.

109. It was almost dark when the boats reached the frigates, and the distant lights of Alexandria were faintly descried by the glimmering of the stars on the verge of the horizon. How different from the pomp and circumstance of war which attended his arrival on the same shore,—in the midst of a splendid fleet, surrounded by a powerful army, with the visions of hope glittering before his eyes, and dreams of Oriental conquest captivating his imagination! Napoleon directed that the ships should steer along the coast of Africa, in order that, if escape from the English cruisers became impossible, he might land on the deserts of Libya, and force his way to Tunis, Oran, or some other port, declaring that he would run any danger rather than return to Egypt. For three-and-twenty days they beat against adverse winds along the coast of Africa;

and at length, after passing the site of Carthage, a favourable wind from the south-east enabled them to stretch across to the western side of Sardinia, still keeping near the shore, in order to run aground, if necessary, to avoid the approach of an enemy. The sombre disquietude of this voyage afforded the most striking contrast to the brilliant anticipations of the former. His favourite aides-de-camp were all killed; Caffarelli, Bruéys, Casa-Bianca, were no more; the illusions of hope were dispelled, the visions of imagination extinguished; no more scientific conversations enlivened the weary hours of navigation, no more historical recollections glided the headlands which they passed. One only apprehension occupied every mind, the dread of falling in with British cruisers; an object of rational disquietude to every one on board, but of mortal anxiety to Napoleon, from the overthrow which it would insure of the fresh ambitious projects which already occupied his mind.

110. Contrary winds obliged the vessel which conveyed him to put into Ajaccio in Corsica, where he revisited, for the first time since his prodigious elevation, the house of his fathers and the scenes of his infancy. He there learned the result of the battle of Novi and the death of Joubert. This only increased the feverish anxiety of his mind; and he began to contemplate with horror the *ensui* of the quarantine at Toulon, where he proposed to land. His project at times was to make for Italy, take the command of the Italian army, and gain a victory, the intelligence of which he hoped would reach Paris as soon as that of his victory at Aboukir. At length, after a sojourn of eight days at the place of his nativity, he set sail with a fair wind. On the following evening, an English fleet of fourteen sail was descried in the midst of the rays of the setting sun. Admiral Gantheaume proposed to return to Corsica; but Napoleon replied—"No! Spread every sail; every man to his post; steer for the north west." This order proved the salvation of the ships; the English saw the frigates, and made signals to them; but concluding, from the view they got

with their glasses, that they were of Venetian construction, Venice being then at peace with Great Britain, they did not give chase. The night was spent in the utmost anxiety, during which Napoleon resolved, if escape otherwise was impossible, to throw himself into a boat, and trust for safety to his oars; but the morning sun dispelled these apprehensions, by disclosing the British fleet steering peaceably towards the north-east. All sail was now spread for France. At length, on the 8th October, the long-wished-for mountains of Provence appeared; and the frigates shortly after anchored in the Bay of Frejus. The impatience and enthusiasm of the inhabitants, when they heard of his arrival, knew no bounds; the sea was covered with boats eager to get a glimpse of the Conqueror of the East; the quarantine laws were, by common consent, disregarded; and Napoleon landed in a few hours, and set off the same day for Paris.

111. The expedition to Egypt demonstrates one fact of more importance to mankind than the transitory conquests of civilised nations over each other. It can no longer be doubted, from the constant triumphs of a small body of European troops over the whole forces of the East, that the invention of firearms and artillery, the improvement of discipline, and the establishment of regular soldiers as a separate profession, have given the European a decided superiority over the other nations of the world. The successes, under circumstances still more marvellous, of small bodies of British troops against the vast forces of Asia in Hindostan and the Punjaub, illustrate the same truth. Europe, in the words of Gibbon, may now contemplate without apprehension an irruption of the Tartar horse; barbarous nations, to overcome civilised, must cease to be barbarous. The progress of this superiority since the era of the Crusades is extremely remarkable. On the same ground where the whole feudal array of France, under St Louis, perished by the arrows of the Egyptians, the Mameluke cavalry was dispersed by half the Italian army of the Republic; and ten thousand veterans could with ease have wrested that

Holy Land from the hordes of Asia, which Saladin successfully defended against the united forces of France and England under Richard Cœur-de-Lion. Civilisation, therefore, has given Europe a decided superiority over barbaric valour; if it is a second time overwhelmed by savage violence, it will not be because the means of resistance are wanting, but because the courage to wield them has decayed.

112. It is a curious speculation, what would have been the fate of Asia and the world if Napoleon had not been arrested at Acre by Sir Sidney Smith, and had accomplished his project of arming the Christian population of Syria and Asia Minor against the Mussulman power. When it is recollected that, in the parts of the Ottoman empire where the Turkish population is most abundant, the number of Christians is in general equal to, sometimes double, and even triple, that of their oppressors, there can be little doubt that, headed by that great general, and disciplined by the French veterans, a force could have been formed which would have subverted the tottering fabric of the Turkish power, and possibly secured for its ruler a name as terrible as that of Genghis Khan or Tamerlane. "With the French infantry and the Mameluke horse," said Napoleon, "I would conquer the world." But there seems no reason to believe that such a sudden apparition, how splendid soever, would have permanently altered

the destinies of mankind, or that the oriental empire of Napoleon would have been more lasting than that of Alexander or Nadir Shah. With the life of the hero who had formed it, with the energy of the veterans who had cemented it, the vast dominion would have perished. The Crusades, though supported for above a century by the incessant tide of European enthusiasm, were unable to form a lasting establishment in Asia. It is in a different region, from the arms of another power, that we are to look for the permanent subjugation of the Asiatic powers, and the final establishment of the Christian religion in the regions where it first arose. The north is the quarter from whence all the great settlements of mankind have come, and by its inhabitants all the lasting conquests of history have been effected. Napoleon indirectly paved the way for a permanent revolution in the East; but it was destined to be accomplished, not by the capture of Acre, but by the conflagration of Moscow. The recoil of his ambition to Europe, which the defeat in Syria occasioned, still further increased by mutual slaughter the warlike skill of the European states; and from the strife of civilisation at last has arisen that gigantic power which now overshadows the Asiatic empires, and is pouring down upon the corrupted regions of the East the energy of northern valour and the blessings of Christian civilisation.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

### CAMPAIGN OF 1799.—FROM THE RENEWAL OF THE WAR, TO THE BATTLE OF THE TREBBIA.

1. THE cannon of Nelson, which destroyed the French fleet at Aboukir, re-echoed from one end of Europe to the other, and everywhere revived the spirit of resistance to the ambition of the Republic. That great event not

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only destroyed the charm of her invincibility, but relieved the Allies from the dread arising from the military talents of Napoleon and his terrible Italian army, whom it seemed permanently to sever from Europe. The sub-



jugation of Switzerland and the conquest of Italy were no longer looked upon with mere secret apprehension; they became the subject of loud and impassioned complaint over all Europe: and the Allied sovereigns, upon this auspicious event, determined to engage in open preparations for the resumption of hostilities.

2. Austria felt that the moment was approaching when she might regain her lost provinces, restore her fallen influence, and oppose a barrier to the revolutionary torrent which was overwhelming Italy. She had accordingly been indefatigable in her exertions to recruit and remodel her armies since the treaty of Leoben; and they were now, both in point of discipline, numbers, and equipment, on the most formidable footing. She had two hundred and forty thousand men, supported by an immense artillery, ready to take the field, all admirably equipped and in the finest order; and to these were to be added fifty thousand Russians, who were advancing under the renowned Suwarroff, flushed with the storming of Ismael and Warsaw, and anxious to measure their strength with the conquerors of southern Europe. The Emperor of Russia, though he had been somewhat tardy in following out the designs of his illustrious predecessor, had at length engaged warmly in the common cause; the outrage committed on the Order of Malta, which had chosen him for their protector, filled him with indignation; and he seemed desirous not only to send his armies to the support of the Germanic states, but to guarantee the integrity of their Confederation. Turkey had forgotten its ancient enmity to Russia, in animosity against France for the unprovoked attack upon Egypt; and its fleets and armies threatened to enclose the conqueror of the pyramids in the kingdom he had won. Thus, while the ambition of the Directory in Switzerland and Italy roused against them the hostility of the centre of Europe, their impolitic and perilous expedition to the shores of Africa arrayed against France the fury of Mussulman zeal and the weight of Russian power.

3. On the 29th December 1798, a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, was concluded between Great Britain and Russia, for the purpose of putting a stop to the further encroachments of France. By this treaty, Russia engaged to furnish an auxiliary force of forty-five thousand men, to act in conjunction with the British forces in the north of Germany; and England, besides an immediate advance of £225,000, was to pay a monthly subsidy of £75,000. The Emperor Paul immediately entered, with all the vehemence of his character, into the prosecution of the war. He gave an asylum to Louis XVIII., in the capital of Courland, behaved with munificence to the French emigrants who sought refuge in his dominions; accepted the office of Grand Master of the Knights of St John of Malta, and excited by every means in his power the spirit of resistance to the advances of republican ambition. All his efforts, however, failed in inducing the Prussian cabinet to swerve from the cautious policy it had adopted ever since the retreat of the Duke of Brunswick, and the neutrality it had observed since the treaty of Bâle. That power stood by in apparent indifference, while a desperate strife was raging between the hostile powers, in which her own independence was at stake, when her army, now two hundred thousand strong, might have interfered with decisive effect in the struggle; and she was rewarded for her forbearance by the battle of Jena.

4. Great Britain made considerable exertions to improve the brilliant prospects thus unexpectedly opened to her. Parliament met on the 20th November 1798, and shortly after entered on the arduous work of financial arrangement. To meet the increased expenses which the treaty with Russia, and the vigorous prosecution of the war in other countries, were likely to occasion, Mr Pitt proposed a new tax, hitherto unknown in this island—that on incomes. No income under £60 a year was to pay any duty at all; those from £100 to £105 only a fortieth part, and above £200 a tenth. The total income of the nation was estimated at £102,000,000,

including £20,000,000 as the rent of lands; and the estimated produce of the tax, on this graduated scale, was £7,500,000. This tax proceeded on the principle of raising by taxation as large a portion as possible of the supplies of the year within its limits, and compelling all persons to contribute, according to their ability, to the exigencies of the state—an admirable principle, if it could have been fully carried into effect, and one which, if practicable and uniformly acted upon, would have prevented all the financial embarrassments consequent on the war. But this was very far indeed from being the case. The expenses incurred so far exceeded the income, even in that very year, that a supplementary budget was brought forward on June 8, 1799, which very much augmented the annual charges. Between the two budgets, loans were contracted to the amount of £15,000,000; and the total expenditure—including £13,653,000 for the army, £3,840,000 for the navy, and a subsidy of £825,000 to Russia—amounted, exclusive of the charges of the debt, to no less than £31,000,000.

5. The principle of making the supplies of the year as nearly as possible keep pace with its expenditure, is the true system of public as well as private finance; which has suffered, in every country, from nothing so much as the convenient but ruinous plan of borrowing for immediate exigencies, and laying the permanent burden of interest upon the shoulders of posterity. But a greater error in finance never was committed than the introduction of the *income-tax*, without any graduation but that arising from amount of revenue to correct its manifold inequalities. In appearance the most equal, such a tax is in reality the most unequal of burdens; because it assesses at the same rate many classes whose resources are widely different. The landed proprietor, whose estate is worth thirty years' purchase of the rental at which it is assessed; the fundholder, whose stock is worth twenty or twenty-five of the same annual rate; the merchant, whose profits one year may be swallowed up by losses the next; the professional

man, whose present income is not worth five years' purchase; the young annuitant, whose chance of life is as twenty, and the aged spinster, in whom it is not two, are all assessed at the same annual rate. The tax, in consequence, falls with excessive and undue severity upon one class, and with unreasonable lightness upon others; it extinguishes the infant accumulations of capital, and puts an end to the savings of laborious industry; while it is comparatively unfelt by the great capitalists and the opulent landed proprietors. Unlike the indirect taxes, which are paid without being felt, or forgotten in the enjoyments of the objects on which they are laid, it brings the bitterness of taxation, in undisguised nakedness, home to every individual, and produces, in consequence, a degree of discontent and exasperation which nothing but the excitement of continual warfare, or a sense of uncontrollable necessity, can induce a nation possessing but the shadow of real freedom to bear for any considerable time.

6. A considerable addition was made to the army this year. The land forces were raised to 133,000 men; the sea to 120,000, including 20,000 marines; and 104 ships of the line were put in commission. Besides this, 80,000 men were embodied in the militia of Great Britain, and 40,000 in Ireland—an admirable force, which soon attained a very high degree of discipline and efficiency; proved, through the whole remainder of the war, the best nursery for the troops of the line; and was inferior only in the quality and composition of its officers to the regular army.

7. The forces with which France was to resist this formidable confederacy were by no means commensurate either with the ambition of the Directory, or the vast extent of territory which they had to defend. Both externally and internally the utmost discontent and dissatisfaction existed. The Republican armies, which in the outset roused division among the inhabitants of so many states by the delusive promises of liberty and equality, had excited universal hatred by the exactions which they had made, and the stern tyranny

to which they had everywhere subjected their new allies. Their most devoted adherents no longer attempted to palliate their conduct. From the frontier of the Jura to the extremity of Calabria, one universal cry had arisen against the selfish cupidity of the Directory, and the insatiable rapacity of its civil and military officers. The Swiss democrats, who had called in the French to revolutionise their country, made the loudest lamentations at the unrelenting severity with which the great contributions, to which they were so little accustomed, had been exacted from the hard-earned fruits of their industry. The Cisalpine republic was a prey to the most vehement divisions; furious Jacobinism reigned in its legislative assemblies; the authorities imposed on them by the French bayonets were in the highest degree unpopular; while in Holland, the whole respectable class of citizens felt the utmost dissatisfaction at the violent changes made, both in their government and representative body, by their imperious allies. From the affiliated republics, therefore, no efficient support could be expected; while the French government, nevertheless, was charged with the burden of their defence. From the Texel to Calabria, their forces were expanded over an immense surface, in great, but still insufficient numbers; while the recent occupation of Switzerland had opened up a new theatre of warfare hitherto untrod by the Republican soldiers.

8. During the two years which had elapsed since the termination of hostilities, the military force of France had signally declined. The fervour which had filled, the ardent spirit which had sustained, the armies of the Republic in the first years of hostilities, were no more. To them had succeeded the languor and depression which, in nations not less than individuals, invariably succeeds a vehement burst of passion. Sickness and desertion had greatly diminished the ranks of the army; twelve thousand discharges had been granted to the soldiers, but more than ten times that number had left their colours, and lived without disguise at their homes, in such numbers as rendered it neither

prudent nor practicable to attempt enforcing their return. Forty thousand of the best troops were exiled under Napoleon on a distant shore; and though the addition of two hundred thousand conscripts had been ordered, the levy proceeded but slowly, and some months must yet elapse before they could be in a condition to take the field. The result of the whole was, that for the actual shock of war, from the Adige to the Maine, the Directory could only count on one hundred and seventy thousand men; the remainder of their great forces being buried in the Italian peninsula, or too far removed from the theatre of hostilities to be able to take an active part in the approaching contest. The administration of the armies was on the most corrupt footing; the officers had become rapacious and insolent in the command of the conquered countries; and the civil agents either lived at free quarters on the inhabitants, or plundered without control the public money and stores which passed through their hands. Revolutionary energy had exhausted itself; regular and steady government was unknown; and the evils of a disordered rule, an unrestrained democracy, and an abandoned administration, were beginning to recoil on those who had produced them.

9. The disposition of the Republican armies was as follows:—Of one hundred and ten thousand men who were stationed in Italy, thirty thousand under Macdonald were lost in the Neapolitan dominions, and the remainder so dispersed over the extensive provinces of Lombardy, Tuscany, and the Roman states, that only fifty thousand could be collected to bear the weight of the contest on the Adige. Forty-two thousand, under General Jourdan, were destined to carry the war from the Upper Rhine, across the Black Forest, into the valley of the Danube. Massena, at the head of forty-five thousand, was stationed in Switzerland, and intended to dislodge the Imperialists from the Tyrol and the upper valley of the Adige. Thirty thousand, under Bernadotte, were destined to form a corps of observation on the Lower Rhine from Dis-

seldorf to Mannheim; while Brune, at the head of fifteen thousand French, and twenty thousand Dutch troops, was intrusted with the defence of the Batavian Republic. The design of the Directory was to turn the position of the Imperialists on the Adige by getting possession of the mountains which enclosed the upper part of the stream, and then to drive the enemy before them, with the united armies of Switzerland and Italy, across the mountains of Carinthia; while that of the Upper Rhine, descending the course of the Danube, was to unite with them under the walls of Vienna.

10. The forces of the Austrians were both superior in point of number, better equipped, and stationed in more advantageous situations. Their armies were collected behind the Lech, in the Tyrol, and on the Adige. The first, under the command of the Archduke Charles, consisted of fifty-four thousand infantry and twenty-four thousand cavalry; in the Grisons and Tyrol, forty-four thousand infantry and two thousand five hundred horse were assembled under the banners of Bellegarde and Laudon; twenty-four thousand foot-soldiers and one thousand four hundred horse, under the command of Hotze, occupied the Voralberg; while the army on the Adige, seventy-two thousand strong, including eleven thousand cavalry, obeyed the orders of Kray; and twenty-four thousand on the Maine, or in garrison at Würzburg, observed the French forces on the Lower Rhine. Thus two hundred and forty-six thousand men were concentrated between the Maine and the Po, their centre resting on the mountains of the Tyrol—a vast fortress which had often afforded a sure refuge in case of disaster to the Imperial troops, and whose inhabitants were warmly attached to the house of Austria. Above fifty thousand Russians were expected; but they could not arrive in time to engage in operations either on the Danube or the Adige at the commencement of the campaign.

11. These dispositions on both sides were made on the principle that the possession of the mountains insures

that of the plains, and that the key to the Austrian monarchy was to be found in the Tyrolese Alps—a great error, and one which has been since abundantly refuted by the campaigns of Napoleon, and the reasoning of the Archduke Charles. The true road to Vienna is the valley of the Danube; it is there that a serious blow struck is at once decisive, and that the gates of the monarchy are laid open by a single great defeat on the frontier. It was not in the valley of the Inn, nor in the mountains of the Grisons, but on the heights of Ulm and in the plains of Bavaria, that Napoleon prostrated the strength of Austria in 1805 and 1809; and of all the numerous defeats which that power experienced, none was felt to be irretrievable but that of Hohenlinden, on the banks of the Iser, in 1800. There is no analogy between the descent of streams from the higher to the lower grounds, and the invasion of civilised armies from mountains to the adjacent plains. Military strength ascends from plains and great rivers to the summits of the adjacent ridges; it does not descend like water from the mountains to the level fields at their feet. In tactics, or the art of handling troops on a field of battle, the case is different; the possession of the heights which command the plain is often of decisive importance; but the principle of strategy, or the directions of armies in a campaign, is in general just the reverse. A ridge of glaciers is an admirable fountain for the perennial supply of rivers, but the worst possible base for military operations.

12. By the invasion of Switzerland, the French government had greatly weakened, instead of having strengthened, their military position. Nothing was so advantageous to them as the neutrality of that republic, because it covered the only defenceless frontier of the state, and gave them the means of carrying on the campaigns in Germany and Italy, for which the fortresses on the Rhine and in Piedmont afforded an admirable base, without the fear of being taken in rear by a reverse in the mountains. But all these advantages were lost when the contest was conducted in the higher Alps, and the line

of the Rhine or the Adige was liable to be turned by a single reverse on the Aar or the St Gothard. The surface over which military operations were carried, was by this conquest immensely extended, without any proportionate addition either to the means of offensive or defensive warfare. The Tyrol was a great central fortress, in which the Imperialists had often found shelter in moments of disaster, but no such advantage could be hoped for by the Republicans from their possession of the hostile or discontented cantons of Switzerland; while no avenue to the heart of Austria was so difficult as that which lay through the midst of the brave and indomitable inhabitants of the former almost inaccessible province. Nor had the invasion of the Roman and Neapolitan states, and the banishment of Napoleon to the sands of Egypt, contributed less to weaken the formidable power with which, two years before, he had shattered the Austrian monarchy. Now was seen the sagacity with which he had chosen the line of the Adige for tenacious defence, and the wisdom of the declaration, that if he had listened to the suggestions of the Directory, and advanced to Rome, he would have endangered the Republic. Though the forces in the Peninsula were above one hundred and ten thousand, and were soon increased by the arrival of conscripts to one hundred and thirty thousand men, the Republicans were never able to meet the Imperialists in equal force on the Adige; and Italy was lost, and the retreat of the army from Naples all but cut off, while yet an overwhelming force, if it could only have been assembled at the decisive point, existed in the peninsula.

13. Notwithstanding the deficient state of their military preparations, and the urgent representations of all their generals, that the actual force under their command was greatly inferior to the amount which the Directory had led them to expect, the French government, led away by ill-founded audacity, and eager to replenish the now exhausted coffers of the Republic by the plunder of the adjoining states, resolved to commence hostilities. The

Austrian cabinet having returned no answer to the peremptory note, in which the Directory required the sending back of the Russian troops, Jourdan received orders to cross the Rhine, which was immediately done at Kehl and Huningen, and the Republicans advanced in four columns towards the Black Forest. A few days after, Bernadotte, with ten thousand men, took possession of Mannheim, and advanced against Philippsburg, which refused to capitulate, notwithstanding an angry summons from the Republican general. Upon receiving intelligence of these movements, the Archduke passed the Lech, and advanced in three columns towards Biberach, Waldsee, and Ravensberg, at the head of thirty-seven thousand infantry, and fifteen thousand cavalry; while Starray, with thirteen thousand men, was moved upon Neumarkt, and six thousand men were thrown into the fortifications of Ulm.

14. While the hostile armies were thus approaching each other, in the space between the Rhine and the Danube, the contest had commenced, on the most extended scale, in the mountains of the Grisons.\* During the night of the 5th March, Massena marched upon Sargantz, and having summoned the Austrian general, Auffenberg, to evacuate the district, his troops advanced at all points to cross the Rhine. The left wing, under OUDINOT,† after-

\* See the descriptions of the theatre of war in this memorable campaign in Switzerland and the Grisons in Chap XXXVIII. at the commencement.

† Charles Nicolas Oudinot, afterwards Duke of Reggio, was born at Bar-sur-Ornain, on the 25th April 1767. He was originally intended for commerce; but hardly had he attained his sixteenth year, when an invincible attraction drew him into the profession of arms. He entered, in 1781, into the regiment of Médoc; but, at the earnest entreaties of his old father, quitted it in 1787, and returned to his paternal home, where he remained till 1789. During the tumults of July in that year, which were so general in the kingdom, he distinguished himself by the energy and intrepidity with which, collecting a band of volunteers, he checked the depredations of a band of rioters who had begun to plunder Bar-sur-Ornain. In 1792, when the war with Austria broke out, he was, from his acquaintance with the military art, elected by his comrades chief of the third battalion of the Volunteers of the



wards Duke of Reggio, "a general," said Napoleon afterwards, "tried in a hundred battles," was destined to make a false attack on the post of Feldkirch, so as to hinder Hotze, who commanded at that important point, from sending any succour to the centre at Coire, and the left at Reichenau; the right wing, under Dumont, was destined to cross at the latter place, and turn the position of Coire by the upper part of the stream; while Massena himself, in the centre, was to force the passage opposite to Luciensteg, and carry the intrenchments of that fort. Subordinate to these principal attacks, Loison, with a brigade, was directed to descend from the valley of Usnau upon Disentis, and support the attack of Dumont. At the same time Leocourbe, who lay at Bellinzona, received orders to penetrate over the snowy summit of the Bernardino, and down the stupendous defile of the Vi-mala, by Tosis, into the Engadine, and open up a communication with the Italian army on the Adige.

15. These attacks were almost all successful. The Rhine, yet charged with melting snows, was crossed under a murderous fire; after an obstinate resistance, the fort of Luciensteg was carried by the intrepidity of the French

Meuse, in which capacity he distinguished himself by the defence of the fort of Ettech, and by several successful actions against the Prussians in the close of the campaign of that year. These services led to his obtaining the command as colonel of the regiment of Picardy, where his personal influence and entreaties had the effect of retaining in their command a large proportion of the officers who had intended to emigrate. On the 2d June 1794 he gloriously distinguished himself, at the head of his regiment, in resisting a greatly superior force of Austrian cuirassiers—a service which immediately procured for him the rank of general of brigade. In July of the same year he made himself master, by a bold advance, of the town of Trèves, of which he obtained the command, and remained there till the end of 1795, when he joined the army of the Rhine and Moselle. He took an active part in the campaign which followed in 1796, between Moreau and the Archduke Charles, and distinguished himself at Nordlingen, Donaueurth, and Ingolstadt. In the latter action he was severely wounded, but he soon rejoined his regiment, and charged, with his arm in a sling, at Ettenheim, where he made prisoners an entire battalion.—*Biographie des Hommes Vivants*, iv. 573-4.

chasseurs, who scaled an almost inaccessible height which commanded it, and eight hundred men, with five pieces of cannon, were made prisoners. Meanwhile Dumont, having forced the pass of Kunkel, and made himself master of the central point and important bridge of Reichenau, situated at the junction of the two branches of the Rhine, not only succeeded in maintaining himself there, but made prisoners an Austrian detachment which had resisted Loison at Disentis. The result of this movement was, that Auffenberg, who fell back slowly, contesting every inch of ground, towards Coire, found his retreat cut off by the Rhine: and, being surrounded there by superior forces, he had no alternative but to lay down his arms, with two thousand men, and ten pieces of cannon, while a battalion he had stationed at Emis underwent the same fate.

16. While these successes were gained on the centre and right, Oudinot advanced against Feldkirch. Hotze instantly collected his troops, and advanced to meet him, in order to preserve his communication with Auffenberg; but, after maintaining his ground for a whole day, he was at length driven back to the intrenchments of Feldkirch, with the loss of a thousand men and several pieces of cannon. At the same time, Leocourbe, having broken up from Bellinzona, crossed the Bernardino, yet encumbered with snow, and arrived at Tosis by the terrible defile of the Vi-mala, where he divided his forces into two columns, one of which moved over the Julian Alps, towards the sources of the Inn, while the other, under Leocourbe in person, began to ascend the wild and rocky valley of the Albul. The intention of the Republicans was to have supported this irruption by Dessoles, who received orders to debouch from the Valteline into the valley of the Upper Adige; but the march of the latter column across the mountains having been retarded by unavoidable accidents, General Bellegarde, who commanded the Austrian forces in that quarter, made preparations, by occupying all the passes in the neighbourhood, to envelop the invaders.

17. Martinsbruck in consequence was assailed by Lecourbe without success; but although Laudon, in his turn, made an attack with his own troops, combined with its garrison, in all fourteen thousand men, upon the French forces, he was unable to gain any decisive advantage; and the Republicans, awaiting their reinforcements, suspended their operations for ten days. At length, Dessoles having come up, and other reinforcements arrived, Lecourbe commenced a general attack on Laudon's forces, leading his division against Martinsbruck; while Dessoles was directed to cross the mountains into the Munsterthal, and cut off their retreat. To arrive at that valley, it was necessary for the division of the former to cross, amidst ice and snow, ridges which might have deterred the most intrepid chasseurs. With undaunted courage his soldiers ascended the glaciers of the Wurmser Joch, which separates the sources of the Adda from one of those of the Adige. After having turned the fortifications on the summit, which the Imperialists occupied in perfect security, he descended by the wild and rocky bed of the torrent of Rambach, amidst frightful precipices, where a handful of men might have arrested an army, surprised the post of Taufers, which Laudon had fortified with care, and totally routed its garrison, after a desperate resistance, with the loss of four thousand prisoners and all its artillery. The situation of the Austrian general was now altogether desperate; for while Dessoles was achieving this decisive success, Loison had seized upon Nauders, and Lecourbe forced the post and passage of Martinsbruck in his rear; so that all the avenues by which his retreat could be effected were cut off, and he had no resource but to throw himself, with three hundred men, into the glaciers of Gebach, from whence, after undergoing incredible hardships, he at length reached the valley of Venosta, and joined General Bellegarde, who was marching to his relief. After this glorious success, achieved with forces hardly half the number of the vanquished, and which cannot be appreciated but by those who have traversed

the rugged and inhospitable ridges among which it was effected, Dessoles advanced to Glurns; and the French found themselves masters of the upper extremities of the two great valleys of the Tyrol, the Inn and the Adige. But here their advance was arrested by General Bellegarde, who had collected nearly forty thousand men to oppose their progress, and by the intelligence of events in other quarters, which restored victory to the Imperial standards.

18. The intelligence of the first success in the Grisons reached Jourdan on the 11th, and induced him to move forward. On the 12th he passed the Danube, and advanced in four marches to Pfullendorf and Mengen, between that river and the lake of Constance. Judging, however, that he was not in sufficient strength to attempt anything until the post of Feldkirch was carried, the French general urged Massena to renew his attacks in that quarter. That important town, situated on a rocky eminence in the middle of the valley, and supported by intrenchments extending from the river Ill, which bathed its feet, to inaccessible cliffs on either side, was repeatedly assaulted by Oudinot, at the head of the French grenadiers, with the utmost impetuosity; but all his efforts recoiled before the steady courage of the Imperialists. Massena, conceiving this post to be of the last importance, from its commanding the principal passage from the Vorarlberg into the Tyrol, united the whole division of Menard to the troops of Oudinot, and advanced in person to the attack. But the great strength of the works, and the invincible tenacity of the Austrians, defeated all his efforts. In vain the French sought to establish themselves on the right of the position; the Tyrolese sharpshooters ascended the adjacent eminences, and assailed the Republicans with such a close and destructive fire, as rendered it impossible for them to maintain their ground; and Massena, after beholding the flower of his army perish at the foot of the intrenchments, was obliged to draw off his forces, with the loss of three thousand men, to Luciensteg and Coire,

while Oudinot recrossed the Rhine, and established himself at Rheineck.

19. While the war was thus furiously raging amidst the precipices of the Alps, events of still greater importance had taken place under the Archduke in person, between the Upper Rhine and the Danube. Jourdan, to compensate the inferiority of his force, had taken up a strong position between the Lake of Constance and the Danube. Two torrents, the Ostrach and the Aach, flowing in opposite directions—the one into the Danube, the other into the lake—from a marsh in his centre, ran along the front of his position. St-Cyr, with the left, was stationed at Mengen; Souham, with the centre, at Pfullendorf; Ferino, with the right, at Barnsdorf; while Lefebvre, with the advanced guard, occupied the heights behind the village of Ostrach. That point was the most accessible of the line: placed at the source of the two torrents, it was to be reached by a chaussée, which crossed the marshy ground from which they descended. It was against this part of the line that the principal efforts of the Imperialists were directed, while subordinate attacks were simultaneously commenced on the right and left against St-Cyr and Ferino. The force brought to bear against Ostrach, under the Archduke in person, was long resisted, notwithstanding the great superiority of numbers in the attacking columns, by the Republicans under Jourdan; but at length the left, under St-Cyr, having been outflanked at Mengen, and the centre being on the point of sinking under the increasing masses of the assailants, a general retreat was ordered; and such was the danger of the left wing that it was continued, without intermission, on the day following, till they reached the position of STOCKACH.

20. This affair did not cost above two thousand men to the vanquished party, and the loss of the victors was nearly as great; but it had the most important effect upon the fate of the campaign. It broke the charm of Republican invincibility, compelled the French standards openly to retreat before the Imperial, and gave to the Austrians all

the advantages of a first success. Now appeared the good use which they had made of their time during the short interval of peace. Their cannon, well served and formidable, were much more numerous in proportion to the troops engaged than they had been in the former war; and the light artillery in particular, formed on the French model, had attained a degree of perfection which entirely deprived the Republicans of their advantage in that important weapon of modern warfare.

21. Jourdan clearly saw the importance of the village of Stockach, where all the roads to Suabia, Switzerland, and the valley of the Neckar, unite, and beyond which he could not continue his retreat, without abandoning his communications with Massena and the Grisons. Perceiving that the Archduke was preparing an attack, he resolved to anticipate him, and obtain the advantage of the initiative, always an object of importance in the commencement of a campaign. The Austrians were by this time in great force on the Stockach, a small stream which flows in a winding channel before the village of the same name, and terminates its devious course in the Lake of Constance; their centre occupied the plateau of Nellenberg in front of the river, their right extended along the same plateau towards Liptingen, their left from Zollbruck to Wahlweis. On the side of the Republicans, Souham commanded the centre, Ferino the right, and St-Cyr, whose vanguard was led by Soult, the left wing. This last body was destined to attack Liptingen, where Meerfeld was stationed; and it was in that quarter that the principal effort was to be made, with a view to turn the Austrians, and force them to retreat by the single chaussée of Stockach in their rear, where they of necessity must, in case of disaster, have lost all their artillery. At five in the morning all the columns were in motion, and the advanced guard of Soult soon came in sight of the videttes of Meerfeld. The Imperialists were soon attacked so vigorously by that general and St-Cyr, that they were driven from Liptingen, and thrown back in confu-

sion into the woods which lay along the road to Stockach. Speedily they were expelled from that stronghold; the infantry in great disorder retreated to Stockach, and the cavalry on the road towards Mœskirch. Meanwhile the two armies were engaged along the whole line. Souham and Ferino in the centre and right repulsed the light troops of the enemy as far as Wahlweis and Orsingen on the Stockach, and menaced the plateau of Nellenberg. A violent cannonade was heard along the whole front of the army; a decisive success had been gained on one point, the Austrian right was turned, the victory seemed already decided.

22. No sooner, however, did the Archduke perceive the impression which the French had made on his right wing, than he set off at the gallop for that quarter of the field, followed by twelve squadrons of cuirassiers, after whom succeeded six battalions of grenadiers; while a powerful body of cavalry was stationed on the plateau of Nellenberg to protect the retreat of the army, in case of its becoming necessary to have recourse to that extremity. These dispositions, rapidly adopted at the decisive moment, changed the fortunes of the day; and their effect was increased by a faulty step of Jourdan, who, instead of supporting the menaced point with all his disposable force, sent orders to St-Cyr to advance to Mœskirch, in the idea of cutting off the retreat of the Imperialists. A violent struggle now ensued in the woods near Liptingen, which Soult had gained in the first moment of success. The Archduke attacked them with fresh troops, the Republicans defended them with heroic valour; and one of the most furious combats that occurred in the whole war continued, without intermission, in those coops for several hours. Three times the French advanced out of the wood to meet their enemies, and three times, notwithstanding the most vigorous efforts, they were repulsed by the obstinate perseverance of the Germans. At length the Imperialists became the assailants; the Archduke charged in person at the head of the Hungarian grenadiers. Prince Furstemberg and

Prince Anhalt-Bernburg were killed while leading on their respective regiments, and the flower of the army on both sides perished under the terrible fire which overspread the field of battle. Jourdan, who felt that St-Cyr had gained what, if properly supported, might have become a decisive success, long and obstinately maintained his ground; but at length, finding that the principal effort of the Austrians was directed against his left wing, and that their reserves were coming into action, he ordered Soult to evacuate the wood, and retire into the plain of Liptingen. This perilous movement was performed by that able officer in presence of a victorious enemy, and when his rearguard was almost enveloped by their cuirassiers, with admirable steadiness; but, when they reached the open country, they were charged by Kollowrath, at the head of the six battalions of grenadiers and twelve squadrons of cuirassiers, which the Archduke had brought up from the reserve. This effort proved decisive. In vain Jourdan charged the Austrian cavalry with the French horse; they were broken and driven back in disorder by the superior weight and energy of the cuirassiers, and the general-in-chief narrowly escaped being made prisoner in the flight. This overthrow constrained the infantry to a disastrous retreat, during which two regiments were enveloped and made prisoners; and St-Cyr, who was now entirely cut off from the centre of his army, only escaped total destruction by throwing himself across the Danube, the sole bridge over which he was fortunate enough to find unoccupied by the enemy.

23. This great success, and the consequent separation of St-Cyr from the remainder of the army, was decisive of the victory. Souham and Ferino, with the centre and right, had maintained their position, notwithstanding the superiority of force on the part of their opponents; but they had gained no advantage, and they were totally unequal, now that the left wing of the army was separated, and unable to render any assistance, to maintain their ground against the victorious troops of the Archduke. Although, therefore, the French had

bravely withstood the superior forces of the enemy, and the loss on both sides was nearly equal, amounting to about five thousand men to each party, yet, by the separation of their left wing, they had sustained all the consequences of a serious defeat; and it became necessary, renouncing all idea of co-operating with the Republicans in Switzerland, which could not be accomplished without the sacrifice of St-Cyr and his wing, to endeavour to reunite the scattered divisions of the army by a retreat to the passes of the Black Forest. Jourdan was so much disconcerted with the result of this action, that, after reaching the defiles of that forest, he surrendered the command of the army to Ernouf, the chief of the staff, and set out for Paris, to lay in person his complaints as to the state of the troops before the Directory.

24. With superior forces, and twenty thousand cavalry in admirable order, the Austrians had now an opportunity of overwhelming the French army in the course of its retreat to the Rhine, such as never again occurred to them till the battle of Leipsic. The Archduke clearly perceived that there was the important point of the campaign; and had he been the unfettered master of his actions, he would, in all probability, have constrained the enemy's army to a retreat as disastrous as that from Würzburg in 1796. But the Aulic Council, influenced by the erroneous idea that the key to ultimate success was to be found in the Alps, forbade him to advance towards the Rhine till Switzerland was cleared of the enemy. He was compelled, in consequence, to put his army into cantonnements between Engen and Wahlweis; while the Republicans leisurely effected their retreat through the Black Forest, by the valley of Kinzig and that of Hell, to the Rhine, which stream they crossed at Old Brisach and Kehl a few days after, leaving only posts of observation on the right bank. This retreat compelled Bernadotte, who, with his little army of eight thousand men, had already commenced the siege of Philippsburg, to abandon his works with precipitation, and regain the left bank; so that, in a month after the

campaign had been commenced with so much presumption and so little consideration by the Directory, their armies on the German frontier were everywhere reduced to the defence of their own territory. The bad success of their armies at the opening of this campaign, to which the French had been so little accustomed since the brilliant era of Napoleon's victories, might have proved fatal to the government at Paris, had it not been for an unexpected event which occurred at this time, and restored to the people much of the enthusiasm and vigour of 1793. This was the massacre of the French plenipotentiaries at the Congress of Rastadt.

25. Though at war with Austria, France was yet at peace with the German empire, and the Congress at Rastadt was still continuing, under the safeguard of neutrality, its interminable labours. When the victory of Stockach had placed that city in the power of the Imperialists, the cabinet of Vienna ordered the Count Lehrbach, their minister plenipotentiary, to endeavour to obtain intelligence of the extent to which the princes of the empire had made secret advances to the Directory. The Count conceived the most effectual way would be to seize the papers of the French embassy at the moment of their leaving the city; and for this purpose he solicited and obtained from his court authority to require an armed force from the Archduke Charles. That gallant officer refused, in the first instance, to comply with the request, alleging that his soldiers had nothing to do with the concerns of diplomacy; but fresh orders from Vienna obliged him to submit, and a detachment of the hussars of Szeckler was in consequence placed at the disposal of the Imperial plenipotentiary.

26. Towards the end of April, the communications of the ministers at Rastadt having been interrupted by the Austrian patrols, the Republicans addressed an energetic note on the subject to the Austrian authorities, and the remonstrance having been disregarded, the Congress declared itself dissolved. The departure of the diplomatic body was fixed for the 28th April, but the Austrian colonel gave

them orders to set out on the 19th, as the town was to be occupied on the following day by the Imperial troops, and refused to grant the escort which they demanded, upon the plea that it was wholly unnecessary. The French plenipotentiaries, in consequence, Jean Debry, Bonnier, and Roberjot, set out on the same evening for Strassburg; but they had scarcely left the gates of Rastadt, when they were attacked by some drunken hussars of the regiment of Szeckler, who seized them, dragged them out of their carriages, slew Bonnier and Roberjot, notwithstanding the heroic efforts of the wife of the latter to save her husband, and struck down Jean Debry, by sabre blows, into a ditch, where he escaped destruction only by having the presence of mind to feign that he was already dead. The assassins seized and carried off the papers of the legation, but committed no other spoliation; and leaving two of their victims lifeless, and one desperately wounded, on the ground, disappeared in the obscurity of the night. Jean Debry, whose wounds were not mortal, contrived to make his way, after their departure, into Rastadt, and presented himself, bleeding and exhausted, at the hotel of M. Goertz, the Prussian envoy.

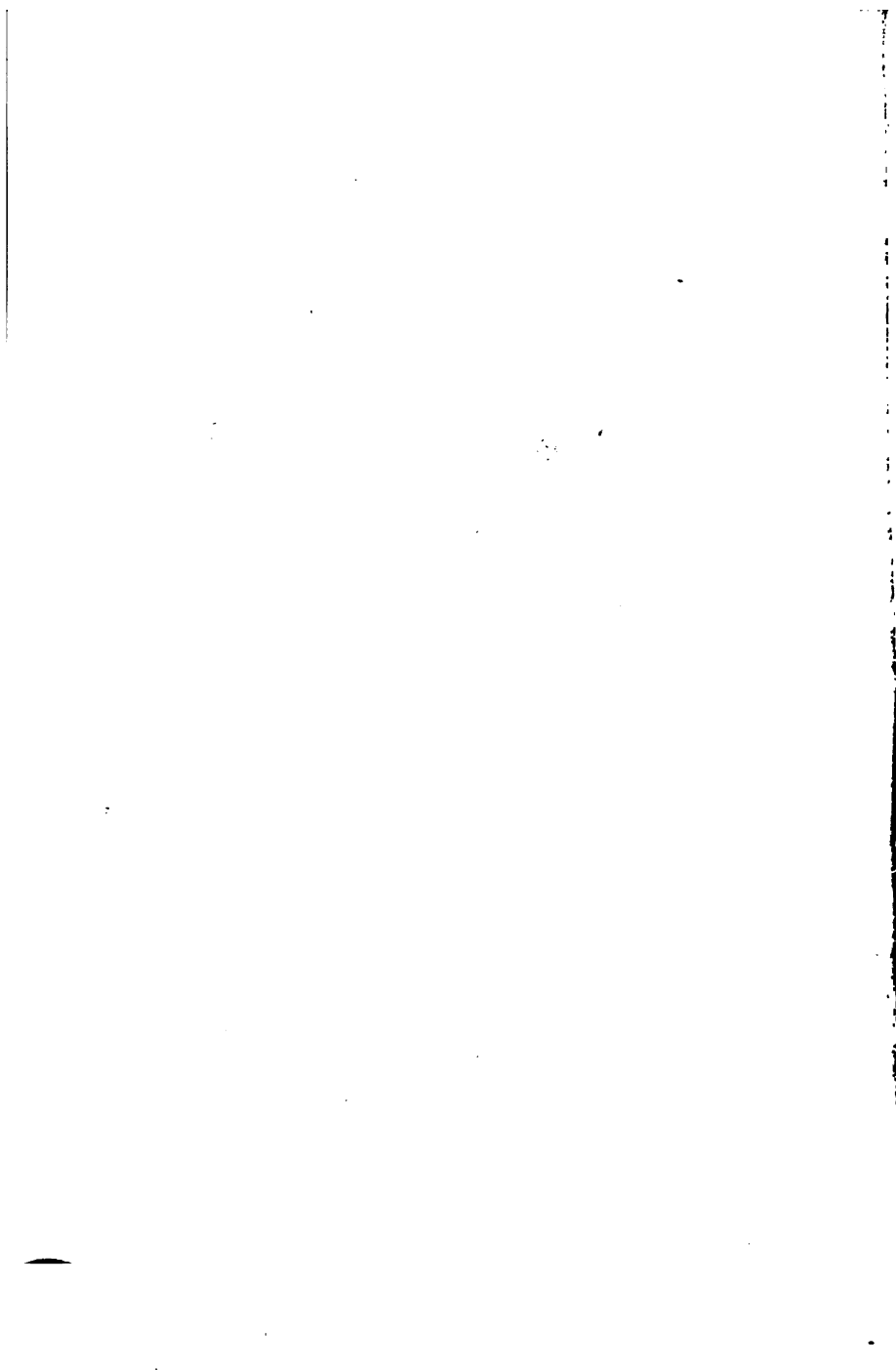
27. This atrocious violation of the law of nations excited the utmost indignation and horror throughout Europe. The honour of the Germans felt itself seriously wounded by the calamitous event, and the members of the deputation who remained at the Congress unanimously signed a declaration expressive of detestation at its authors. It is, perhaps, the strongest proof of the high character and unstained honour of the Emperor Francis and the Archduke Charles, that although the crime was committed by persons in the Austrian uniform, and the hussars of Szeckler had been detached from the army of the Archduke to the environs of Rastadt, no suspicion fell upon either of these exalted persons as having been accessory to the nefarious proceeding. That it was committed for political purposes, and not by common robbers, is evident from their

having taken nothing but state papers; and although the Directory has not escaped the suspicion of having been the secret authors of the crime, in order to inflame the national spirit of the French, there seems no ground for imputing to them so atrocious a proceeding, or ascribing it to any other cause than an unauthorised excess by drunken or brutal soldiers in the discharge of a duty committed to them by their government, requiring more than ordinary discretion and forbearance. But though Austria has escaped the imputation of having been accessory to the guilt of murder, she cannot escape from the disgrace of having been remotely the cause of its perpetration; of having authorised an attack upon the sacred persons of ambassadors, which, though not intended to have been followed by assassination, was at best a violation of the law of nations, and a breach of the slender links which unite humanity together during the rude conflicts of war, and of having taken guilt to herself by adopting no judicial steps for the discovery of the perpetrators of the offence.\* As such, it is deserving of the severest reprobation, and, like all other unjustifiable actions, its consequences speedily recoiled upon the head of its authors. The military spirit of the French, languid since the recommencement of hostilities, was immediately roused to the highest pitch by this outrage upon their ambassadors. No difficulty was any longer experienced in completing the levies of the conscription; and to this burst of national feeling is, in a great measure, to be ascribed the rapid augmentation of Massena's army, and the subsequent disasters which overwhelmed the Imperialists at the conclusion of the campaign.

28. While an implacable war was thus breaking out to the north of the

\* The Queen of Naples was the real instigator of this atrocious act, though the catastrophe in which it terminated was as little intended by her as by the single-hearted general who detached from his army the hussars by whom it was committed.—D'ARRANTES, ii. 304.







Alps, reverses of a most serious character attended the first commencement of hostilities in the Italian plains. The approach of the Russians, under Suwarroff, who, it was expected, would reach the Adige by the middle of April, rendered it an object of the last importance for the Republicans to force their opponents from the important line formed by that stream before the arrival of so powerful a reinforcement; but by the senseless dispersion of their vast armies, suggested by the desire of plunder, through the whole peninsula, they were unable to collect a sufficient body of men in the plains of the Minicio, in the commencement of the campaign to effect that object. The total force commanded by Scherer on the Adige was now raised, by the arrival of conscripts, to fifty-seven thousand men; Macdonald was at the head of thirty-four thousand at Rome and Naples; ten thousand were in the Cisalpine republic, the like number in Piedmont, five thousand in Liguria; but these latter forces were too far removed to be able to render any assistance at the decisive point; while, on the other hand, the Imperial troops consisted of fifty-eight thousand combatants, including six thousand cavalry, cantoned between the Tagliamento and the Adige, besides a reserve of twenty thousand infantry and five thousand horse in Carinthia and Croatia. Their field-artillery amounted to a hundred and eighty pieces; the park of the army to a hundred and seventy more; and a heavy train of eighty battering-guns, admirably provided with horses and ammunition, was ready at Palma-Nuova, for the siege of any of the fortresses that might be attacked. The summary is sufficient to demonstrate the erroneous principles on which the Directory proceeded in their plan of the campaign, and their total oblivion of the lessons taught by Napoleon as to the importance of the line of the Adige to the fate of the peninsula. While the Imperialists were collecting all their forces for a decisive blow in that quarter, half the French troops lay inactive and scattered along the whole extent of its surface, from Piedmont to Calabria.

29. The Austrians had, with great foresight, strengthened their position on the Adige during the cessation of hostilities. Legnago, commanding a bridge over that river, had become a formidable fortress; the castles of Verona were amply supplied with the means of defence; a bridge of boats at Polo enabled them to communicate with the intrenched camp of Pastrengo, on the eastern slope of the Monte-Baldo; Venice, placed beyond the reach of attack, contained their great magazines and reserves of artillery stores; all the avenues by which it could be approached were carefully fortified; a flotilla of forty boats, carrying three hundred pieces of cannon, was prepared, either to defend the Laguna of that capital, or carry the supplies of the army up the Po: while bridges, established over the Piave and the Tagliamento, secured the communication of the army in the field with the reserves by which it was to be supported. Scherer had obtained the command of the French army—an officer who had served with distinction in the Pyrenees and the Alps during the campaign of 1795; but, being unknown to the Italian army, he possessed the confidence neither of the officers nor soldiers; while Moreau, the commander of the retreat through the Black Forest in 1796, occupied the unworthy situation of inspector of infantry. On the side of the Austrians, Melas had obtained, upon the death of the Prince of Orange, the supreme command—an officer of considerable experience and ability, but whose age, above seventy years, rendered him little competent to cope with the enterprising generals of the Republic. Until his arrival, however, the troops were under the orders of General Kray, a Hungarian by birth, and one of the most distinguished officers of the Empire. Active, intrepid, and indefatigable; gifted with a cool head and an admirable *coup-d'œil* in danger, he was one of the most illustrious generals of the Imperial army, and, after the Archduke Charles, has left the most brilliant reputation in its military archives of the last century.

30. The plan of the Directory was

for Scherer to pass the Adige, near Verona, drive the Austrians over the Piave and the Brenta, while the right wing of Massena's army, commanded by Lecourbe, was to form a junction with a corps detached from the Italian army into the Valteline, and fall, by Brixen and Botzen, on the right flank of the Imperial army. But at the very time that they meditated these extensive operations, they detached General Gauthier, with five thousand men, to occupy Tuscany—a conquest which was indeed easily effected, but was as unjustifiable as it was inexpedient, both by weakening the effective force on the Adige, and affording an additional example of that insatiable desire for conquest and plunder which the Allied powers so loudly complained of in the Republican government. Meanwhile Scherer, having collected his forces, established himself on the right bank of the Adige, opposite to the Austrian army, the right at Sanguinetto, the left at Peschiera; and immediately made preparations for crossing the river. At the same time Kray threw eight thousand men into the intrenched camp of Pastrengo, under Generals Gottesheim and Elnitz, while the divisions Kaim and Hohenzollern, twenty thousand strong, were established round Verona, with detachments at Arcola; Frölich and Mercantin, with an equal force, were encamped near Bevilacqua; and Klenau, with four thousand, was stationed near Arqua; and the reserves, under Ott and Zoph, received orders to draw near to the Brenta.

31. The French general having been led to imagine that the bulk of the Austrian forces were encamped at Pastrengo, between Verona and the lake of Garda, resolved to make his principal effort in that quarter. With this view, the three divisions of the left wing, commanded by Serurier, Delmas, and Grenier, were moved in that direction; while Moreau, with the divisions of Hatry and Victor, received orders to make a false attack near Verona, and on the extreme right Montrichard was to advance against Legnago. Kray, on his part, being led to believe that their principal force was directed against

Verona, repaired in haste to Bevilacqua, where he concerted with Klenau an attack on the right flank of the Republicans. Thus both parties mutually deceived as to each other's designs, manœuvred as if their object had been reciprocally to avoid each other; the bulk of the Austrian forces being directed against the French right, and the principal part of the Republicans against the Imperial left.

32. At three in the morning of the 26th March, the whole French left wing was in motion, while the flotilla on the lake of Garda set sail during the night to second their operations. In this quarter they met with brilliant success. The redoubts and intrenchments of Pastrengo were carried, Rivoli fell into their hands; and the garrison of the intrenched camp, crossing in haste the bridge of Polo, left fifteen hundred prisoners and twelve pieces of cannon in the hands of the Republicans. In the centre, the action did not begin till near ten o'clock, but it soon became there also extremely warm. The villages in front of Verona were obstinately contested, but, after a desperate resistance, the Republicans pressed forward, and nearly reached the walls of that town. At this sight, Kaim, who was apprehensive of being attacked in the town, made a general attack on the front and flanks of the assailants with fresh forces; and the village of San Massimo, taken and retaken seven times during the day, finally remained in the possession of the Austrians till night separated the combatants. The Imperialists sensibly lost ground, however, upon the whole, in that quarter; and the post of Saint Lucie, also the theatre of obstinate contest, was carried by the Republicans. But while fortune favoured their arms on the left, and divided her favours in the centre, the right was overwhelmed by a superior force, conducted by Kray in person. General Montrichard advanced in that quarter to Legnago, and had already commenced a cannonade on the place, when Frölich debouched in three columns, and commenced a furious attack along the dikes which led to the French column, while the divi-

sion of Mercantin advanced as a reserve. The Republicans were speedily routed; attacked at once in front and both flanks, they lost all their artillery, and were driven with great loss behind Torre on the road to Mantua.

33. The loss of the French in this battle amounted to four thousand men, while that of the Imperialists was nearly seven thousand; but nevertheless, as the success on the left and centre was in some degree balanced by the disaster on the right, the former were unable to derive any decisive advantage from this large difference in their favour. The capture of the camp at Pastrengo and of the bridge of Polo was of little importance, as the Austrians held Verona, and the only road from thence to the plain passed through that town. Kray, abandoning the pursuit of Montrieux, hastened to Verona with the divisions of Mercantin and Frolisch, leaving a few battalions only to guard the line of the Lower Adige; while the Republicans recrossed the upper part of that river above Verona, and retired towards Peschiera. Thus the bulk of the forces on both sides were assembled near Verona, which was felt to be the key to the Adige equally by the Imperialists and Republicans. Already the courage of the Austrians was elevated by the balanced success which they had obtained; and, from the hesitation of the enemy in following up his advantage at Pastrengo, they perceived with pleasure that the genius of Napoleon had not been inherited by his successor.\*

34. After much irresolution, and assembling a council of war, Scherer resolved to descend the Adige with the bulk of his forces, to attempt a passage between Verona and Legnago at Ronco or Albaredo; while Serurier, with one division, was thrown across the upper stream, at Polo, to distract the attention of the enemy. Preparatory to this design, the army was countermarched from left to right, a complicated opera-

tion, which fatigued and embarrassed the soldiers without any adequate advantage. At length, on the 30th March, while the main body of the army was descending the river, Serurier crossed with seven thousand men at Polo, and boldly advanced towards Verona on the high-road leading to Trent; Kray, debouching from the central point at Verona, assailed the advancing columns with fifteen thousand men of the divisions Frolisch and Elnitz, and attacking the Republicans with great vigour, drove them back in disorder to the bridge, and pressing forward, approached so near, that it would have fallen into his hands, if the French had not sunk the boats of which it consisted. The situation of Serurier was now altogether desperate: part of his men dispersed and saved themselves in the mountains; a few escaped over the river at Rivoli; but above fifteen hundred were made prisoners, and the total loss of his division was nearly three thousand men.

35. Notwithstanding this severe check, Scherer persisted in his design of passing the Adige below Verona. After countermarching his troops, without any visible reason, he concentrated them below Villa-Franca, between the Adige and the Tartaro; his right encamped near Porto-Legnago, the remainder in the position of Magnano. Kray, perceiving the defects of their situation, wisely resolved to bring the weight of his forces to bear on the Republican left, so as to threaten their communications with Lombardy. For this purpose he directed Hohenzollern and St Julien to the Monte-Baldo and the road to Trent; while Wukaseowich, who formed part of Bellegarde's corps in the Tyrol, was to move on La Chiesa, by the western side of the lake of Garda, and he himself debouched from Verona, at the head of the divisions of Kaim, Zoph, and Mercantin, right against the Republican centre at Magnano. The peril of the left wing of the French was now extreme, and it became indispensable to move the right and centre towards it, in order to avoid its total destruction. Had Kray, whose army was now raised, by the arrival of his reserves, to forty-five thousand, attacked

\* "The courage of the Saguntines increased, because they had succeeded in their resistance beyond their hopes; while the Carthaginian, because he had not conquered, felt as vanquished."—Livy, xxi. 9.

on the 4th April, he would have surprised the French in the midst of their lateral movements, and probably have destroyed two of their divisions; but by delaying the action till the day following, the perilous change of position was completed, and the opportunity lost.

36. It was just when the lateral movement was on the point of being accomplished that the hostile armies encountered each other on the plains of MAGNANO. The French force amounted to thirty-four thousand infantry and seven thousand cavalry; the Austrians were superior, having nearly forty-five thousand in the field, of whom five thousand were horse. Mercantin was intrusted with the attack of the French right; Kaim of the centre, and Zoph of the left; while Frölich, at the head of a powerful reserve, was to follow the steps of Kaim, and Hohenzollern was moved forward against Villa Franca on the road to Mantua. The marshy plain to the south of Magnano is intersected by a multitude of streams, which fall into the Tartaro and the Menago, and render the deploying of infantry difficult, that of cavalry impossible. The right wing of the French, commanded by Victor and Grenier, overwhelmed the division of Mercantin to which it was opposed. But while this success attended the Republicans in that quarter, the Austrian centre, under Kaim, penetrated, without opposition, between the rear of Montrichard and the front of Delmas, who were in the act of completing their lateral movement from right to left, and occupied a salient angle in the centre of the French position. Had the Imperialists been in a situation to have supported this advantage by fresh troops, it would have been decisive of the fate of the day; but Kray, alarmed at the progress of the Republican right, was at the moment hastening to support Mercantin with the reserve of Frölich; and thus time was given to Moreau and Delmas, not only to restore affairs in that quarter, by causing their rear and vanguards to form in line to resist the further progress of the enemy, but even to attack and carry the village of Buttapreda, notwithstanding the most vigorous resistance from Kaim's division. On the left,

Moreau, having arrived at the open plain, favourable to the operations of cavalry, executed several brilliant charges, and drove the Austrians from all the villages which they occupied, almost into the walls of Verona.

37. Victory on every side seemed to incline to the Republican standards, though decisive success was no longer to be expected from the insulated situation of all the divisions, and the unconnected operations which they were severally carrying on. But Kray changed the fortune of the day by a decisive operation against the French right. Placing himself at the head of the reserve of Frölich, supported by two batteries of heavy artillery, he fell unawares upon the division of Grenier, and put it to the rout; Victor, trying to restore the combat, was charged in flank by the Imperial horse, and driven back in disorder, while the overthrow of that wing was completed by the attack of Mercantin's division, which had now rallied in its rear. Meanwhile, Moreau continued to maintain his ground in the centre, and Serurier made himself master on the left of Villa Franca, and advanced near to Verona. But the rout of the right wing, which was now driven a mile and a half from the field of battle, so as to leave the centre entirely uncovered, was decisive of the victory. Before night, Scherer drew off his shattered forces behind the Tartaro, carrying with them two thousand prisoners and several pieces of cannon—a poor compensation for the loss of four thousand, killed and wounded, four thousand prisoners, seven standards, eight pieces of cannon, and forty caissons, which had fallen into the hands of the Imperialists.

38. This victory, one of the most glorious in the annals of the Austrian monarchy, was decisive of the fate of Italy. Thenceforth, the French fell from one disaster into another, till they were driven over the Maritime Alps, and expelled from the whole peninsula—a striking example of the importance of early victory to the whole fate of a campaign, and of the facility with which the confidence and vigour resulting from long-continued triumphs may, by a single well-timed

success, be exchanged for the depression and irresolution which are the sure forerunners of defeat. The advantages gained by the Imperialists were mainly owing to the possession of the fortified posts of Verona and Legnago, and the interior line of operations which they afforded them on the Adige—another instance, among the many which this war exhibited, of the inestimable importance of a central position in the hands of one who can avail himself of it, and the degree to which it may sometimes, in the hands of a skilful general, counterbalance the most decided superiority in other respects. The Republicans, thrown into the deepest dejection by this defeat, retired on the following day behind the Mincio; and not feeling themselves in security there, even with the fortress of Mantua on one flank and that of Peschiera on the other, Scherer continued his retreat behind the Oglio, and then the Adda. This retrograde movement was performed in such confusion, that it entirely lost that general the little consideration which remained to him with his troops, and they loudly demanded the removal of a leader who had torn from their brows the laurels of Rivoli and Arcola. The Austrians, astonished at their own success, and fearful of endangering it by a precipitate advance, moved slowly after the beaten army. Eight days after the battle elapsed before they crossed the Mincio, and established themselves at Castellarò, after detaching Elnitz, with ten thousand men, to observe Mantua, and three battalions to form the investment of Peschiera.

39. While the Republican fortunes were thus sinking in Italy, another disaster overtook them in the capture of Corfu, which surrendered to the combined forces of Russia and Turkey, shortly after the commencement of hostilities; and thus they were deprived of their last footing in the Ionian isles. Thus on every side the star of the Republic seemed to be on the wane, while that of Austria was rising to the ascendant.

40. While these important events  
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were in progress to the south of the Alps, the Austrians evinced an unpardonable tardiness in following up their success at Stockach. In vain the Archduke urged the Aulic Council not to lose the precious moments. Desirous not to endanger the advantages which they had already gained, they peremptorily enjoined him to confine his operations to clearing the right bank of the Danube by detached parties. After several engagements, the French were finally expelled from the German side; but in their retreat they, with needless barbarity, burned the celebrated wooden bridge at Schaffhausen, the most perfect specimen of that species of architecture that existed in the world. Massena, to whom the command of the army on the Rhine, as well as of that in the Alps, was now intrusted, found himself, by these disasters, under the necessity of changing entirely the disposition of his forces. Turned on the one flank by the Imperialists on the lake of Constance, and on the other by the advance of Kray beyond the Adige, he was compelled to retire into the central parts of Switzerland; and the Directory soon found how grievous an error they had committed in attacking that country, and rendering its rugged frontiers the centre of military operations.

41. Deprived of the shelter which they had hitherto found for their flanks in the neutral ridges of the Alps, the Republicans were now compelled to maintain one uninterrupted line of defence from the Texel to the gulf of Genoa, and any considerable disaster in one part of that long extent weakened their operations in every other. Massena was well aware that a mountainous country, in appearance the most easy, is frequently in reality the most difficult of defence; because the communication from one part of the line to another is often so much obstructed, and it is so easy for a skilful adversary to bring an overwhelming force to bear against an unsupported part. Impressed with these ideas, he drew back his advanced posts at Taufers, Glurns on the Adige, and Finster-

münz on the Inn, and arranged his forces in the following manner. The right wing was composed of the division Lecourbe in the Engadine, that of Menard in the Grisons, and that of Lorges in the valley of the Rhine, as far down as the lake of Constance; the centre, consisting of four divisions, supported by an auxiliary Swiss corps, occupied the line of that river as far as Huningen. Headquarters were established at Bâle, which was put in a respectable posture of defence. The left wing, scattered over Huningen, Old Brisach, Kehl, and Mannheim, was destined to protect the line of the Rhine below that place. The whole of these forces amounted to one hundred thousand men, of whom about two-thirds were stationed in Switzerland and in the Grisons.

42. Three impetuous streams, each flowing within the other, descend from the snowy ridges of the Alps towards the north, and form, by their junction, the great river of the Rhine. The first of these is the Rhine itself, which, rising in the glaciers near the St Gothard, and flowing through the Grisons to the north, loses itself in the great lake of Constance; issues from it at Stein, and flows to the westward as far as Bâle, where it commences its majestic and perpendicular course towards the sea. This river covers the whole of Switzerland against an enemy advancing from the eastward, and contains within the ample circuit of its course all the secondary streams. The second is formed by the course of the Linth, which, rising in the Alps of Glarus and the Wallenstätter See, forms in its course the charming lake of Zurich, and issuing from its northern extremity at the town of the same name, under the appellation of the Limmat, falls into the Aar, not far from the junction of that river with the Rhine. That line only covers a part of Switzerland, and is of much smaller extent than the former; but it is more concentrated, and offers a far more advantageous position for defence. Lastly, there is the Reuss, which, descending from the St Gothard through the precipitous valley of Schollenen, swells

into the romantic lake of the Four Cantons at Aldorf, and, leaving its wood-clad cliffs at Luzern, falls into the Aar, near its junction with the Rhine. All these lines, shut in on either side in the upper part of their course by enormous mountains, strengthened by deep rivers, and intersected by vast lakes and ridges of rock, present the greatest advantages for defence. Massena soon found that the exterior circle, that of the Rhine, could not be maintained, with the troops at his disposal, against the increasing forces of the Austrians, and he retired to the inner line, that of the Limmat and Linth, and established his headquarters at Zurich, in a position of the most formidable strength.

43. Meanwhile Hotze and Bellegarde were combining a general attack upon the whole line of the Republicans in the Grisons. Towards the latter end of April, their forces were all in motion along the immense extent of mountains from the valley of Coire to the Engadine. After a vigorous attack, Bellegarde was repulsed by Lecourbe, from the fortified post of Ramis, in the Lower Engadine; while a detachment sent by the Col de Toherfs to Zernetz was cut to pieces, with the loss of six hundred prisoners, among whom was the young Prince de Ligne. But, as the Imperialists were advancing through the valleys on his flanks, Lecourbe retreated in the night, and next day was attacked by Bellegarde at Suss, whence, after an obstinate resistance, he was driven with great loss to the sources of the Albula. At the same time a general attack was made, in the valley of the Rhine, on the French posts; but though the Imperialists were at first so far successful as to drive back the Republicans to Luciensteg and the heights of Mayenfeld, yet, at the close of the day, they were obliged to fall back to their former position.

44. This general attack upon the French line in the Grisons was combined with an insurrection of the peasants in their rear and in the small cantons, where the desire for revenge, on account of the cruelties of the Republicans during the preceding year, had become extremely strong. This

feeling had been worked up to a perfect fury by an attempt of the Directory to complete the auxiliary force of eighteen thousand men, which Switzerland was bound to furnish, by levies from the militia of the different cantons. Determined to combat rather against than for the destroyer of their liberties, ten thousand men took up arms in the small cantons and adjoining districts of the Grisons, and fell with such rapidity upon the French posts in the rear, that they not only made themselves masters of Disentis and Ilantz, but surprised the important bridge of Reichenau, which they strongly barricaded, thus cutting off all communication between the divisions of Lecourbe, at the sources of the Albula, and the remainder of the army. Had the attack of Hotze and Bellegarde succeeded at the same time that this formidable insurrection broke out in their rear, it is highly probable that Massena's right wing would have been totally destroyed; but the check of Hotze at Luciensteg gave the Republicans time to crush it before it had acquired any formidable consistency. Massena, aware of the vital importance of early success in subduing an insurrection, acted with the greatest vigour against the insurgents; Menard moved towards Reichenau, which was abandoned at his approach, and pursued the peasants to Ilantz and Disentis. At this latter place they stood firm, in number about six thousand; and, though destitute of artillery, made a desperate resistance. At length, however, they were broken, and pursued with great slaughter into the mountains, leaving about one thousand men slain on the spot. At the same time, Soult proceeded with his division to Schwytz, where he overthrew a body of peasants; and, embarking on the lake of Luzern, landed, in spite of the utmost resistance, at Altdorf, and cut to pieces a column of three thousand men, supported by four pieces of cannon, who had taken post in the defiles of the Reuss about that place. The broken remains of this division fled by Wasen to the valley of Schöllenen, but there they were met and entirely dis-

persed by Lecourbe, who, after subduing the insurrection in the Val-levantina, had crossed the St Gothard, and fallen upon the fugitives in rear.

45. In this affair, above two thousand peasants were killed and wounded; and such was the consternation excited by the military executions which followed, that the people of that part of Switzerland made no further attempt, during the progress of the campaign, to take a part in hostilities. They saw that their efforts were of little avail amidst the immense masses of disciplined men by whom their country was traversed; and, suffering almost as much, in the conflicts which followed, from their friends as from their enemies, they resigned themselves, in indignant silence, to be the spectators of a contest, from which they had nothing to hope, everything to fear, and which they had no power to prevent. These movements, however, rendered it indispensable for the French to evacuate the Engadine, as great part of the troops who formed the line of defence had been drawn in to the rear to quell the insurrection. Loison retired from Tirrano, and joined Lecourbe at St Giacomo; and as the Imperialists, who were now far advanced in Lombardy, were collecting forces at Lugano, evidently with the design of seizing upon the St Gothard, and so turning the flank of Massena's position, that active general instantly crossed the Bernardino, and descending the Misocco, advanced to Bellinzona, in order to protect the extreme right of his interior line, which rested on the St Gothard, the lake of Zurich, and the Limmat.

46. The Archduke, convinced that it was by turning the right of Massena in the mountains, that he would be most easily forced from this strong line of defence, strengthened Hotze by fresh troops, and combined a general attack on Lecourbe for the 14th May. The forces they brought into action on that day were very considerable, amounting to not less than thirty thousand men; while those of Menard, since the greater part of Lecourbe's division had retreated to Bellinzona,

did not exceed fourteen thousand. Luciensteg, since it fell into the hands of the Republicans, had been greatly strengthened; a narrow defile, bounded by the precipices of the Alps on one side, and a rocky eminence bathed by the Rhine on the other, was crossed by strong intrenchments, mounted with a formidable artillery; but the intelligence which the Archduke received of the approach of thirty thousand Russians to support his army, who had already arrived in Gallicia, determined him without delay to commence offensive operations. Accordingly, on the 12th May, the columns were everywhere put in motion on the mountains, and two days afterwards this important post was attacked. The assailants were divided into four columns; one was destined to engage the attention of the enemy by a false attack in front; the second to make a circuit by the Alps of Mayenfeld, and descend on the intrenchments in rear; a third to cross the Suvisir Alps; and the fourth, to which the cavalry and artillery were attached, to assail the pass called the Slapiner Joch. Hotze commanded in person the attack in front, while Jellachich directed the other columns. After twelve hours of fatiguing march, the latter succeeded in bringing his troops in rear to attack the intrenchments. When the animating sound of their hurra was heard, Hotze pressed forward to assail the works in front, and, after a stout resistance, the barriers were burst open, and the fort carried, with the loss to the Republicans of fifteen hundred prisoners.

47. This important success occasioned the immediate retreat of the French armies from the Grisons. Their left fell back by Sargans to Wallenstatt; the centre by the gorge of Vettis; the right by Reichenau, Ilantz, and Disentis, into the valley of Unsern. The centre of the army was forced; and had Bellegarde been at hand to follow up the successes of Hotze, it would have been all over with the Republicans in Switzerland. As it was, they did not effect their retreat from the Grisons without sustaining a loss of three thousand men in prisoners alone;

while the total loss of the Imperialists was only seventy-one men—an extraordinary, but well-authenticated proof of the immense advantage of offensive operations in mountain warfare, and the great disasters to which even the best troops are subjected by being exposed, when acting on the defensive, to the loss of their communications, by their adversary turning their position. This catastrophe obliged Massena to alter entirely his line of defence. The right wing in the Alps being driven back, it was no longer possible to maintain the line of the lake of Constance and the Rhine from Stein to Eglisau. In consequence, he fell back from the Rhine behind the Thur; Lecourbe received orders to evacuate the St Gothard, and concentrate his forces below the Devil's Bridge, in the valley of the Reuss; while the bulk of his army was assembled round the headquarters at Zurich, all the approaches to which were fortified with the utmost care.

48. Notwithstanding the strength of this position, Lecourbe would have been unable to have maintained his ground with the right wing against the impetuous attacks of Hotze, had that enterprising general been supported by Bellegarde. But the Aulic Council, conceiving that Italy was to be the theatre of decisive operations, directed the latter to descend into Lombardy, and reinforce the army there, now commanded by Suwarroff, leaving only ten thousand men to guard the Valtelline and gain possession of the St Gothard. In pursuance of these orders he crossed the Splügen, and proceeded by the lake of Como to Milan; while Hotze vigorously pursued the retreating enemy in the valley of the Rhine, and everywhere drove them back to the Swiss frontiers. Encouraged by these successes, and the near approach of the Russian auxiliaries, to push the war with vigour, the Archduke published a proclamation to the Swiss, in which he announced that he was about to enter their territory to deliver them from their chains, and exhorted them to take up arms against their oppressors. At the same time the Rhine was passed



at all points : a large column crossed at Stein, under Nauendorf; another at Eglisau; while Hotze crossed the upper part of the stream in the Grisons, and penetrated, by the source of the Thur, into the Toggenberg. To prevent the junction of the Archduke and Hotze, Massena left his intrenchments on the Limmat; and commenced an attack on the advanced guard of Nauendorf. A desultory action ensued, which was maintained with great vigour on both sides; fresh troops continually came up to reinforce those who were exhausted with fatigue; and, though undecided upon the whole, Oudinot gained a considerable advantage over an Austrian division, commanded by Petrasch, which was defeated with the loss of fifteen hundred prisoners. Notwithstanding that check, however, the object was gained; the Archduke marched on the following day towards Winterthur, while Hotze descended with all his forces to support him. The important post called the Steigpass was attacked at noon, and carried by that intrepid general; while the Archduke effected his junction with the left wing of his army at Winterthur and Nestenbach. Massena, upon this, fell back to Zurich, and the Republicans confined themselves to their defensive position on the Limmat.

49. While the French centre was thus forced back to their interior line of defence, the right wing, under Lecourbe, was still more severely pressed by the Imperialists. No sooner had Bellegarde arrived in Lombardy, than Suwarroff, who had now arrived and assumed the general command in Italy, detached General Haddick, with ten thousand men, to drive the French from the St Gothard. Loison's division, defeated at the Monte Cenero by Hohenzollern, retired up the valley of the Tessino to Airolo, where it was reinforced by several additional battalions, in order to maintain the passage of the St Gothard, and give time for the baggage and artillery to defile to Altdorf. Overwhelmed by numbers Loison was at length driven over the snowy summit of that rugged mountain, through the smiling valley of Unsern, and down the deep descent below the Devil's Bridge, to Wasen, with the

loss of six hundred prisoners. An Austrian brigade even chased him from Wasen down to Amsteg, within three miles of Altdorf, on the lake of Luzern; but Lecourbe, justly alarmed at so near an approach, sallied forth from that place, at the head of a considerable body of troops, and attacked them with such vigour, that they were obliged to retrace their steps in confusion up the whole valley of Schollenen, and could only prevent the interruption of the enemy into the valley of Unsern, by cutting an arch of the Devil's Bridge. At the same time, General Xaintrailles, at the head of a strong French division which Massena had despatched to the support of the army of Italy, attacked and routed a body of six thousand peasants, who had taken post at Leuk, in the upper Valais, and made himself master of Brieg, the well-known village at the foot of the Simplon.

50. Meanwhile, the bulk of the Austrian forces were concentrated in the environs of Zurich, where Massena still maintained, with characteristic obstinacy, his defensive position. The French lines extended from the intrenched heights of Zurich, through those of Regensberg, and thence to the Rhine, in a direction nearly parallel to the course of the Aar. The camp around Zurich was strengthened by the most formidable redoubts, at which the army had laboured for above a month; while the whole country by which it could be approached, situated between the Glatt, the Limmat, and the Aar, filled with wooded heights, and intersected by precipitous ravines, presented the greatest obstacles to an attacking army. On the 5th June, the Archduke, having assembled all his forces, assailed him along the whole line. The chief weight of his attack was directed against Massena's centre and right. At the latter point, Hotze gained at first what seemed an important success; his advanced posts even penetrated into the suburbs of Zurich, and carried the whole intrenchments which covered the right of the army. But before the close of the day, Soult, coming up with the reserve, regained the lost ground, and forced back the Imperialists, after a

desperate struggle, to the ground they had occupied at the commencement of the action. The combat, at the same time, raged in the centre with uncertain success; and at length the Archduke, seeing the repulse of Hotze, and deeming the Zurichberg the decisive point, detached General Wallis, with a portion of the reserve, to renew the attack, while the Prince of Lorraine made a simultaneous effort on the side of the Attisberg. Wallis at first made a great impression, carried the farm of Zurichberg, and, after a vehement struggle, arrived at the palisades of the intrenchments; but Massena, seeing the danger, flew to the spot at the head of a column of grenadiers, and assailed the Imperialists in flank, while a tremendous fire of grape and musketry from the summit of the works tore down the foremost of their ranks. Notwithstanding all their efforts, the Austrians were unable to force the intrenchments; Hotze himself was severely wounded; and, after a bloody conflict, they retired over the Glatt, leaving three thousand killed and wounded on the field of battle.

61. Noways discouraged by this check, the Archduke, after a day's repose, made arrangements for a renewal of the attack; and, taught by experience, adopted such dispositions as must have insured success. Before daybreak on the morning of the 6th, two columns, of eight thousand men each, were destined to assault the Zurichberg and the Wipchengerberg, while all the left, the reserve, and part of the centre, were to support their attack. But Massena, apprehensive of the result, retreated during the night, defiled over the bridges of Zurich and Wettingen, and took post, between Luzern and Zurich, on Mount Albis, a rocky ridge stretching from the lake of Zurich to the Aar, in a position even stronger than the one he had left. The retreat was effected without loss under cover of night; but the great arsenal of Zurich, containing a hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, and immense warlike stores, fell on the day following into the hands of the Imperialists. The evacuation of the intrenched camp at Zurich drew after it the dissolution of the forces of the Swiss Confederacy in

the interest of France. The battalions of Berne and Soleure, already much weakened by desertion, were entirely dissolved by that event; while those of Zurich and Turgovia, menaced with military execution on their dwellings if they continued longer with the enemy, made haste to abandon a cause of which they were already ashamed in their hearts. In a week the battalions of the Pays de Vaud, and a few hundreds of the most ardent of the Zurich democrats, alone remained of the eighteen thousand auxiliaries first assembled under the tricolor standard. At the same time, the provisional government of Helvetia, no longer in safety in Luzern, set off for Berne; the long file of its carriages excited the ironical contempt of the peasantry, still ardently attached to the institutions of their fathers, in the rural districts through which they passed.

52. The details which have now been given of the campaign of the Alps, though hardly intelligible to those who have not traversed the country, or studied the positions with care in an excellent map, offer the most remarkable spectacle, in a military point of view, which the revolutionary war had yet exhibited. From the 14th May, when the attack on the fort of Luciensteg commenced, to the 6th June, when the intrenched camp at Zurich was abandoned, was nothing but one continual combat, in a vast field of battle, extending from the snowy summits of the Alps to the confluence of the great streams which flow from their perennial fountains. Posterity will hardly believe that great armies could be maintained in such a situation, and the same unity of operations communicated to a line one hundred and fifty miles long, extending from Bellinzona to Bâle, across the highest mountains in Europe, as to a small body of men manœuvring on the most favourable ground for military operations. The consumption of human life during these actions, prolonged for twenty days—the forced marches by which they were succeeded—the sufferings and privations which the troops on both sides endured—the efforts necessary to find provisions for large bodies in those in-

hospitable regions, in many of which the traveller or the chamois-hunter can often hardly find a footing, combined to render this warfare both the most memorable and the most animating which had occurred since the fall of the Roman empire.

53. While success was thus attending the Imperial standards on the Rhine and the Alps, events of a still more decisive character occurred on the Italian plains. A few days after the important battle of Magnano, twenty thousand Russians, under Suwarroff, joined the Imperial army, still encamped on the shores of the Mincio. Thus were the forces of the north, for the first time since the commencement of the Revolution, brought into collision with those of the south, and that desperate contest begun which was destined to inflict such terrible wounds on both empires; to wrap in flames the towers of the Kremlin, to bring the Tartars of the desert to the shores of the Seine, and ultimately to establish a new balance of power in Europe, by arraying all its forces under the banners either of Asiatic despotism or European ambition. The Emperor Paul, who now entered, with all the characteristic impetuosity of his character, into the alliance against France, had embraced the most extensive and visionary ideas as to the ulterior measures which should be adopted upon the overthrow of the French revolutionary power. He laboured to accomplish the formation, not only of a cordial league between all the sovereigns of Europe, to stop the progress of anarchy, but of a system which should effect the restoration of all the potentates and interests which had been subverted by the French arms, and the closing of the great schism between the Greek and Catholic Churches, which had so long divided the Christian world. He went even so far as to contemplate the union of the Catholics and Protestants, the stilling of all the controversies which distracted the latter body, and the assemblage of the followers of Christ, of whatever denomination, under the banners of one Catholic Church. Captivating ideas, which will never cease to attract the enthusiastic

and benevolent in every age, but which the experienced observer of human events will dismiss to the regions of imagination, and class with the Utopia of Sir Thomas More, or the probable extinction of death which amused the reveries of Condorcet.

54. The troops thus brought against the Republicans, though very different from the soldiers of Eylau and Borodino, were still formidable by their discipline, their enthusiasm, and their stubborn valour. Their cavalry, indeed, was poorly equipped, and their artillery inferior in skill and science to that of the French; but their infantry, strong, hardy, and resolute, yielded to none in Europe in the energy and obstinacy so essential to military success. Field-marshal SUWARROFF, who commanded them, and now assumed the general direction of the allied army, though the singularity of his manner and the extravagance of his ideas in some particulars have detracted, in the estimation of foreigners, from his well-earned reputation, was yet unquestionably one of the most remarkable generals of the last age. Impetuous, enthusiastic, and impassioned, brave in conduct, invincible in resolution, endowed with the confidence and ardour which constitute the soul of the conqueror, rather than the vigilance or foresight which are requisite to the general, he was better fitted to sweep over the world with the fierce tempest of Scythian war, than to conduct the long and cautious contests which civilised nations maintain with each other. No man ever understood so well the peculiar character of the troops he was called to command, or turned to such good account that ardent spirit and mingled enthusiasm and superstition which distinguish the Slavonic character. His favourite weapon was the bayonet; his system of war incessant and vigorous attack; and his great advantage the impression of superiority and invincible power which a long course of success under that method had taught to his soldiers. The first orders he gave to General Chastelar, chief of the staff to the Imperialists, were singularly characteristic, both of

his temper of mind and system of tactics. That general having proposed a reconnoissance, the marshal answered warmly, "Reconnoissance! I am for none of them; they are of no use but to the timid, and to inform the enemy that you are approaching. It is never difficult to find your opponents when you really wish it. Form column; charge bayonet; plunge into the centre of the enemy: these are my reconnoissances;" words which, amid some exaggeration, unfold more of the real genius of war than is generally supposed.

55. Pierre Alexis Wasiltowich, Count Suwarroff, was born in 1730 at Suskoi, in the Ukraine; so that, when he took the field against the French in 1799, he was already sixty-nine years of age. His father was an officer, and sent him early to the school of young cadets at St Petersburg. At the age of seventeen he entered the army, and made his first campaign against the Swedes in 1748. But his energy and valour was soon called to a greater theatre, and in combating the Prussians under the great Frederick during the Seven Years' War, he found an enemy alike worthy of his imitation, and fit to arouse his rivalry. He took an active part in the terrible battle of Cunnnersdorf, where the invincible steadiness of the Russian troops first became known to all Europe, and was with the detachment which afterwards gained possession of Berlin. He distinguished himself subsequently in several lesser affairs in the same war, particularly at Landsberg, near Schweidnitz, when he made General Corbière and a considerable body of the Prussians prisoners. On the conclusion of peace between the cabinets of St Petersburg and Berlin in 1762, he returned to his own country, where he was soon promoted to the rank of colonel, which was ere long exchanged for that of brigadier-general.

56. His genius for military affairs having now become known to the war-office at St Petersburg, he was employed, when hostilities next broke out, in more important commands. In 1768 he commanded a brigade which, in the first Polish war, took Cracow by assault;

and by the rapidity of its marches, and the ability with which it was conducted, rendered the most essential service during the campaign. When the Turkish war broke out in 1773, he was intrusted with the command of a separate corps, with which he swam across the Danube, attacked and beat the enemy in two encounters, and gained a victory at Hirsova. Soon after, under Kaminiski's orders, he contributed to the decisive victory of Korlidgie; and in 1782 effected the reduction of the Nogay Tartars, who had revolted against the government of Catherine. War having again broken out with the Turks in 1785, he was unexpectedly attacked by a large body of Osmanli horse, in the town of Kinburn, when his corps, dispersed in the adjoining country, could ill concentrate, and in consequence they gained at first great success over one of his generals. Instead of showing any agitation when the news arrived, he went instantly to church, caused "Te Deum" to be chanted as for a decisive victory, in which he fervently joined; and having meanwhile collected a small body of troops, he sallied forth when the service was concluded, attacked the enemy, who were already approaching in strength, and, by the vehemence of his onset, drove them back to a considerable distance. In the middle of his success, however, he was wounded, and his soldiers, discouraged by the disappearance of their beloved commander, again fell into confusion and fled, upon which Suwarroff leapt from the litter in which he was carried, mounted bleeding as he was on horseback, and exclaiming, "My children, I am still alive," again led them against the enemy. The attack was now so vigorous that the Turks were driven down to the water's edge, and all killed or taken, to the number of six thousand men.

57. Shortly after this glorious exploit, he took part under Potemkin in the siege of Oczakoff, on which memorable occasion he commanded the right wing of the army, and received a severe wound in the neck, and was soon after nearly killed by the blowing-up of a powder magazine. These injuries confined him for some months to bed. In

1789, however, being recovered from his wounds, he again commanded a division of the Muscovites on the Danube, and gained the brilliant victory of Fokschany. Shortly after, the Turks having received immense reinforcements, the Grand Vizier advanced at the head of a hundred thousand men against the Austrian army under Cobourg, which was reduced by sickness and the losses of the campaign to eighteen thousand combatants. Their destruction appeared inevitable; for the Osmanlis, who had entirely surrounded the Austrian general, had regained all their ancient audacity, and confidently anticipated his immediate surrender. But Suwarroff no sooner heard of his danger than he flew at the head of ten thousand Russians to his relief; and, skilfully concealing his march from the enemy, combined his attack with Cobourg with such ability, that he gained a complete victory. The victorious Russians immediately invested Ismael, which was carried by storm after a dreadful struggle, in which twelve thousand of the victors, and twenty-four thousand of the vanquished, fell. The booty was immense; but Suwarroff, without retaining an article to himself, surrendered his whole share to his soldiers. His despatch to the Empress announcing this triumph was laconic and characteristic—"Mother,\* Ismael is at your feet."

58. The conquest of Poland and sack of Praga, which was the next achievement of the conqueror of Ismael, has affixed a darker spot on his memory, for the carnage was terrific, and fell in great part on the citizens. Yet, even on that dreadful day, when the Vistula ran red with Christian blood, and Poland expiated the popular insanity of five centuries, impartial justice must admire the skill of his design, the irresistible fury of his attacks, the iron arm which terminated a war and extinguished a nation in a single day. "You know," said Catherine, in reply to his despatch announcing this decisive triumph, "that I never promote an officer before his turn; I am incapable of doing injustice to his senior;

\* The usual expression of the soldiers in addressing the Empress.

but you have made yourself field-marshal by the conquest of Poland." Shortly after, the Empress died; and Suwarroff, who had the most profound veneration for her, was far from being equally submissive to her successor Paul, whose minute and peremptory regulations about the soldier's dress, proved exceedingly vexatious to the old field-marshal. "Hair-powder," said he, "is not gunpowder, and pig-tails to the hair are not bayonets." These, and a variety of similar sallies, occasioned his banishment from the court; but the army loudly murmured at his disgrace, and, on the breaking out of the war with France in 1799, he was almost as a matter of course placed at the head of the army.

59. Suwarroff was not only a general of the very highest order, but he was a man of a character and turn of mind peculiar to Russia, and which belong perhaps exclusively to the Sclavonic race. He united, in the most eminent degree, the enthusiastic ardour with the nice perception and address in manner which distinguishes that great family of mankind. Eminently national in his ideas and attachments, he often affected the dress, habits, and manners of his Tartar ancestors; and the bizarre contrast which this afforded to the refinements of a luxurious court and elegant nobility, frequently gave occasion among foreigners to misconception and surprise. But although, to maintain his influence over his troops, to whom such peculiarities were inexpressibly dear, he retained these habits, he had the whole diplomatic finesse of the Russian in his character. He was highly educated, polished in his manners, could speak and write seven languages with facility, had read much, especially on the art of war, and no one, when necessary, could assume a more refined and courtly address. When introduced to the Empress-Catherine, he often, to amuse her, spoke at first in the uncouth strains of the soldiers, and sometimes like a mere buffoon; but when she said, "Come now, general, we have had enough of this, let us proceed to business," no one brought forward more lucid views, or more clearly

struck at the essential points of the subject. He had the greatest admiration of Napoleon, and was peculiarly captivated by the vehemence and daring of his campaign in Italy, which was entirely in accordance with his own fiery temperament in war. Alone, perhaps, of all the statesmen and warriors in Europe, he saw the necessity of straining every nerve to arrest his dangerous ascendancy. In 1797, he said to General Koves, "They should instantly send me to combat Buonaparte; if not, he will ere long pass over the body of Germany, and will end by coming to seek us at our hearths."

60. No general, in ancient or modern times, understood better the spirit of the soldier and the moral incitements which have so material an influence in war. He had also, like Alexander and Hannibal, that great quality which is perhaps of still higher importance in gaining their affections, a constitution of iron, and a patience under privation which enabled him to share without difficulty all their hardships. Often, when provisions were scarce, he proclaimed a fast for a day, telling his soldiers that their sins called for such a mortification; and it was cheerfully obeyed, for he set the first example of abstaining from food during the prescribed period himself. Like Napoleon, he frequently shared the soldier's bivouac, and partook of his fare; he marched on foot with the infantry, rode at the head of the cavalry, laboured in the trenches with the pioneers, and often strove to pull a gun out of the mud with the artillerymen. To inspire confidence in his men was his great object. When the Grand Vizier threatened him with an immediate attack at Rimniski, and the danger was imminent, as the Austrians under Cobourg had not yet arrived, seeing that two hours must elapse before the action commenced, he retired to a warm bath after his dispositions were made, and when the intelligence arrived that the heads of the Austrian columns were in view, he came out, dressed in presence of the soldiers, and led them to the attack. And when his leading files were repulsed at the foot of the St

Gothard by the French posted in the rocks, he desired a grave to be dug, and ordered his soldiers to place him in it, for he would not survive his children's discomfiture. He was perhaps the only general, after Marlborough, recorded in history, who never sustained a defeat; a fact which speaks volumes as to his military capacity, for none ever exceeded him in the daring and hardihood of his attacks.

61. Fearless and impetuous in conversation as action, the Russian veteran made no secret of the ultimate designs with which his imperial master had entered into the war. To restore everything to the state in which it was before the French Revolution broke out; to overturn the new republics, re-establish, without exception, the dispossessed princes, restrain universally the spread of revolutionary ideas, punish the authors of fresh disturbances, and substitute for the cool policy of calculating interest, a frank, generous, disinterested system, was the only way, he constantly maintained, to put down effectually the Gallic usurpation. The Austrian officers, startled at such novel ideas, carefully reported them to the cabinet of Vienna, where they excited no small disquietude. To expel the French from the whole Italian peninsula, and, if possible, raise up an effectual barrier against any future incursions in that quarter from their ambition, was, indeed, a favourite object of their policy; but it was no part of their designs to sanction a universal restitution of the possessions acquired since the commencement of the war, or exchange the distant and rebellious province of Flanders for the rich and submissive Venetian territories adjoining the Hereditary States, and affording them at all times a secure entrance into the Italian plains. Hence a secret jealousy and distrust speedily arose between the coalesced powers; and experienced observers already began to predict, from the very rapidity of the success with which their arms were at first attended, the evolution of such causes of discord as would ultimately lead to the dissolution of the confederacy.

62. The plan of operations concerted between the Archduke and Suwarroff was to separate entirely the French armies of Switzerland and Italy, and to combine the movements of the two allied armies by the conquest of the Italian Alps, Lombardy, and Piedmont, in order to penetrate into France on its most defenceless side, by the Vosges mountains and the defiles of the Jura—the same quarter on which the great invasion of 1814 was afterwards effected. It was on this principle that they maintained so vigorous a contest under Bellegarde and Hotze, in the Vallevantina and the Grisons; and by their successes the right wing of Massena was forced to retire: the Imperialists were interposed in a salient angle between the Republican armies, and the one of these thrown back on the line of the Po, the other on that of the Aar. Moreau succeeded Scherer in the command of the army of Italy at this momentous crisis. He found it reduced by sickness and the sword to twenty-eight thousand combatants; and, after a vain attempt to maintain the line of the Oglio, the troops retired towards Milan, leaving the immense military stores and reserve artillery parks at Cremona to the conquerors; while a bridge equipage, which was descending the Mincio from Mantua, with a view to gain the Po, also fell into the hands of the Allies.

63. Moreau, finding himself cut off from his connection with Massena in the Alps, and being unable to face the Allies in the plains of Lombardy, resolved to retire towards the mountains of Genoa, in order to facilitate his junction with Maedonald, who had received orders to evacuate the Parthenopeian republic, and retire upon the Apennines. Mantua was blockaded; and all the frontier towns of the Cisalpine republic were abandoned to their own resources. Soon after, Peschiera was invested, Ferrara besieged, and Brescia summoned. Kray, to whom the right wing was intrusted, carried the latter town without opposition; and the garrison, eleven hundred strong, who had retired into the castle, soon after surrendered at discretion. The French now

retired behind the line of the Adda, a rapid stream, which, descending from the lake of Lecco, runs in a deep and swift torrent, over a surface of twenty-four leagues, to the Po. The right bank is almost everywhere so lofty as to command the left; and the bridges at Lecco, Cassano, Lodi, and Pizzighitona are defended either by fortified towns or strong *îlles-de-pont*. On the 25th April the Allies approached this formidable line; and a sharp skirmish ensued between the Russians, under Prince Bagration, destined to meet a glorious death on the field of Borodino, and the French, before the walls of Lecco, in which the former were repulsed; commencing thus a contest which was never destined to be finally extinguished till the Russian standards waved on the heights of Montmartre.

64. Suwarroff left twenty thousand men, under Kray, to besiege Peschiera and blockade Mantua, and prepared to force the passage of the Adda. To frustrate this intention, Moreau accumulated his troops in masses on that part of the river which seemed chiefly threatened. But while actively engaged in this design, the Austrian division of General Ott succeeded in throwing over a bridge during the night at Trezzo, and before morning his whole troops had crossed over to the right; while, at the same time, Wukassowich surprised the passage at Brivio. The French line was thus divided into three parts; and Serurier's division, eight thousand strong, which formed the extreme left, was not only cut off from all support, but even from receiving any orders from the remainder of the army. The divisions of Ott and Zoph commenced a furious attack on Grenier's men, and, after a brave resistance, drove them back towards Milan, with a loss of two thousand four hundred men, including eleven hundred prisoners; while Serurier, whose division was entirely isolated by the passage of Wukassowich at Brivio, took post at Verderio, in a strong position, determined to defend himself to the last extremity. Guillet, with the brigade under his orders, who was returning from the Valteline, escaped destruc-

tion by embarking on the Lake of Como, steering for Menagio, and making his way to the Lake of Lugano by the beautiful valley, so well known to travellers, which leads from that place to Porlezza. By remaining in his position at Verderio while the allied army was advancing, Serurier necessarily was soon enveloped by their columns; evincing thus rather the courage of a soldier who disdains to retire, than the conduct of an officer who knows how to extricate his men from difficulties. He was soon surrounded on all sides by the Imperialists; and, after an honourable resistance, finding his retreat cut off, and the assailants triple his own force, laid down his arms with seven thousand men. At the same time, Melas carried the *tête-de-pont* at Cassano, and pursued the fugitives with such vigour that he passed the bridge pell-mell with them, and pushed on before night to Gorgonzale, on the road to Milan.

65. The situation of the French was now in the highest degree critical. In these engagements they had lost above eleven thousand men, and could now, even with all the reinforcements which they received, hardly muster in their retreat twenty thousand to meet the great army of the Allies, above sixty thousand strong, which was advancing in pursuit. In these disastrous circumstances, Milan was abandoned, and the army withdrawn behind the Tessino. Suwarroff, the same day, made his triumphal entry into that capital, amidst the transports of the Catholic and aristocratic party, and the loud applause of the multitude, who greeted him with the same acclamations which they had lavished, on a similar occasion, on Napoleon three years before. The Republican army, having left a garrison of two thousand men in the castle, moved slowly in two columns towards Turin in deep dejection, and heavily burdened with the numerous families compromised by the Revolution, who now pursued their mournful way towards the frontiers of France.

66. Nothing now remained to Moreau but to retire to such a position, as might enable him to rally to his stan-

dards the yet unbroken army which Macdonald was bringing up from the south of the peninsula. For this purpose he divided his forces into two columns, one of which, under his own command, escorting the parks of artillery, the baggage, and military chest took the road to Turin, while the other, consisting of the divisions of Victor and Laboissière, moved towards Alessandria, with a view to occupy the defiles of the Bochetta and the approaches to Genoa. Having effected the evacuation of the town and the arsenal of Turin, provided for the defence of the citadel, in which he left a garrison of three thousand men, under General Fiorilla, and secured the communications with the adjacent passes of the Alps, the French general moved the remainder of his army into the plain between the Po and the Tanaro, at the foot of the northern slope and principal debouches of the Apennines, where they encircle the Bay of Genoa and join the Maritime Alps. This position,—extending only over a front of four leagues, supported on the right by Alessandria, and on the left by Valence, affording the means of manœuvring either on the Bormida or the Po, and covering at once the roads from Asti to Turin and Coni, and those from Acqui to Nizza and Savona,—was better adapted than any other that could have been selected to enable the Republicans to maintain their footing in Italy, until they were reinforced by the army of Macdonald, or received assistance from the interior of France.

67. Master of all the plain of Lombardy, and at the head of an overwhelming force, Suwarroff did not evince that activity in pursuing the broken remains of his adversary which might have been expected from the general vigour of his character. For above a week he gave himself up to festivities at Milan, while an army hardly a third of his own was in full retreat, by diverging columns, before him. At length, finding his active disposition wearied with triumphal honours, he set out for Alessandria, leaving Latterman to blockade the castle of Milan with four thousand men. At the same



time Orzi, Novi, Peschiera, and Pizzighitone surrendered to the Allies, with a hundred pieces of cannon, twenty gunboats, a siege equipage, and immense stores of ammunition and provisions; an advantage which enabled Kray to draw closer the blockade of Mantua, and despatch Hohenzollern to assist at the siege of the castle of Milan. On the 9th the Allies reached Tortona, blew open the gates and drove the French into the citadel; while their advanced posts were pushed to San Julianò, Garofalo, and Novi. Meanwhile, though a reinforcement of six thousand Russians arrived at Tortona, Moreau remained firm in his position behind the Po and the Tanaro. To divert his attention, the Russian general extended his left from Novi to Serravalle and Gavi, threatening thereby his communications with Genoa and France; but this was a mere feint, intended to mask his real design, which was to cross the Po, turn Moreau's left, and force him to a general and decisive action.

68. The right, or southern bank of the Po, from the junction of the Tanaro to Valence, is more lofty than the northern, which is low, marshy, and approachable only on dykes. Some large islands opposite Mugarone having afforded facilities for the passage, Rosenberg, who commanded one of Suwarroff's divisions directed against Valence, was induced, by his military ardour, to attempt to cross it in that quarter. In the night of the 11th, he threw six thousand men across the principal arm into a wooded island, from whence they shortly passed over, some by swimming, others by wading, with the water up to their armpits, and took possession of the village of Mugarone. Moreau no sooner heard of this descent, than he directed an overwhelming force to the menaced point; the Russians, vigorously attacked in the village, were soon compelled to retire; in vain they formed squares, and, under Prince Rosenberg and the Archduke Constantine, defended themselves with the characteristic bravery of their nation; assailed on every side, and torn to pieces by a murderous fire of grape-shot, they were driven back,

first into the island, then across to the northern bank, with the loss of eight hundred killed and wounded, four pieces of cannon, and seven hundred prisoners. No sooner was Suwarroff informed of the first success of Rosenberg's attack, than he pushed forward two divisions to support him, while another was advanced towards Marengo to effect a diversion; but the bad success of the enterprise, which failed because it was not combined with sufficient support at the first, rendered it necessary that they should be recalled, and the allied army was concentrated anew in the intrenched camp of Garofalo. A few days after this, Suwarroff raised his camp at San Julianò, with the design of crossing the Po near Casa Tenia, and marching upon Sesia. The attempt was not attended with decisive success. A warm action ensued between the division of Victor, which had crossed the Bormida near Alessandria, and the Russian advanced-guard, nine thousand strong, under the orders of Generals Bagrathion and Lusignan. Victory was long doubtful, and although the French were at length forced to retreat under shelter of the cannon of Alessandria, the demonstration led to no serious impression at the time on the position of the Republican general.

69. Tired with the unsatisfactory nature of these manœuvres, Suwarroff resolved to march with the bulk of his forces upon Turin, where the vast magazines of artillery and military stores of the French army were assembled, in the hope that, by reducing its citadel, and occupying the plains of Piedmont to the foot of the Alps, the position of Moreau on the Po and the Tanaro might be rendered no longer tenable, from the interruption of his communications with France. By a singular coincidence, not unusual in war, at the very time that the Russian marshal was adopting this resolution, Moreau had resolved, on his part, to retire by Asti, upon Turin and Coni, and, abandoning the line of the Apennines, concentrate his forces upon the inhospitable ridges which connect them with the Alps for the preservation of his

communication with France on the one hand, and with Macdonald's army, approaching through Tuscany from the south of Italy, on the other. Invincible necessity compelled him to adopt this retrograde movement. Great part of Piedmont was in a state of insurrection; a large body of peasants had recently occupied Ceva, another had made themselves masters of Mondovi, which closed the principal line of retreat for the army, the only one then practicable for artillery and carriages. The recent success of the Russians towards Alessandria led him to believe that the weight of their force was to be moved in that direction, and that he would soon be in danger of having his communications with France cut off. Influenced by these considerations, he detached the division of Victor, without artillery or baggage, by the mountain paths, towards Genoa, in order to maintain the crest of the Apennines, and reinforce, when necessary, the army of Macdonald, which was approaching from Naples; while he himself, having first thrown three thousand men into Alessandria, retired by Asti towards Turin, with the design of maintaining himself, if possible, at Coni, the last fortified place on the Italian side of the Alps, until he received the promised reinforcements from the interior of France.

70. No sooner was Suwarroff informed of the retreat of Moreau, than he occupied Valence and Casale, which had been abandoned by the Republicans; and, after having moved forward a strong body under Schiwakowsky to form the investment of Alessandria, advanced himself with the main body of the army towards Turin. Wukasovich, who commanded the advanced-guard, with the aid of some inhabitants of the town who favoured his designs, surprised one of the gates, and rapidly introducing his troops, compelled the French to take refuge in the citadel. The fruits of this conquest were two hundred and sixty-one pieces of cannon, eighty mortars, sixty thousand muskets, besides an enormous quantity of ammunition and military stores, which had been accumulating in that

city ever since the first occupation of Italy by the arms of Napoleon. This great stroke, the success of which was owing to the celerity and skill of the Russian generals, deprived Moreau of all his resources, and rendered the situation both of his own army and that of Macdonald in the highest degree critical. At the same time, intelligence was received of the fall of the castle of Milan, after four days of open trenches—an advantage which permitted the division of Hohensollern to reinforce the besieging army before Mantua; while the artillery was despatched to Tortona, the citadel of which was now closely invested.

71. Unable from these disasters to maintain his ground in the basin of Piedmont, Moreau now thought only of regaining his position on the ridge of the Apennines, and covering the approaches to the city of Genoa—the only rallying point where he could still hope to effect a junction with Macdonald, and which covered the principal line of retreat for both armies into France. For this purpose he retired to Savigliano, having first moved forward an advanced guard, under Grouchy, to clear the road he was to follow, by retaking Mondovi and Ceva, into the latter of which the Austrians had succeeded in throwing a small garrison to support the insurgents who had occupied it. That general retook Mondovi; but all his efforts failed before the ramparts of Ceva. The closing of the great road through this town rendered Moreau's situation apparently hopeless. Suwarroff, with a superior force, was close in his rear; the only route practicable for artillery by which he could regain the Apennines was blocked up; and he could not retire by the Col de Tende into France, without abandoning all prospect of rejoining Macdonald, and leaving the army of that general to certain destruction. From this desperate situation, the Republicans were extricated by the skill and vigour of their chief, aided by the resources of Guilleminot and the engineer corps under his directions. By their exertions, and the indefatigable efforts of one-half of the French army, a mountain path, leading across the Apen-

nines from the valley of Garesio to the coast of Genoa, was, in four days, rendered practicable for artillery and chariots; and as soon as this was done, the blockade of Ceva was raised, three thousand men were thrown as a garrison into Coni, which was abandoned to its own resources; and the remainder of the army, after a strong rear-guard had been posted at Murialto to cover the passage, defiled over the narrow and rocky path, and arrived in safety at Loano, on the southern side of the mountains. No sooner were they arrived there than they formed a junction with Victor, who had successfully accomplished his retreat by Acqui, Spigno, and Dego, and occupied all the passes leading towards Genoa over the Apennines; Victor was intrusted with the important post of Portemoli, while the other divisions placed themselves on the crest of the mountains from Loano to the Bochetta.

72. Suwarroff, on being informed of the retreat of Moreau from the plain of Piedmont, spread his troops over its rich surface, and up the glens which run from thence into the heart of the Alps. The Russian divisions entered into the beautiful valleys of Suza, St Jean de Maurienne, and Aosta. Frolich pushed his advanced posts to the neighbourhood of Coni: Pignerol capitulated; Suza surrendered at discretion; and the advanced posts of the Allies, everywhere appearing on the summit of the Alpine passes, spread consternation over the ancient frontiers of France. At the same time the citadel of Turin was closely invested; the sieges of Tortona and Alessandria were pushed with vigour; while intelligence was received that a detachment, sent by Kray from before Mantua, had made itself master of Ferrara; that a flotilla from Venice had surprised Ravenna, and an insurrection had broken out in the mountainous parts of Tuscany and the Ecclesiastical States, which threatened Ancona, and had already wrested Arezzo and Lucca from the Republicans.

73. Thus, in less than three months after the opening of the campaign on the Adige, the French standards were driven back to the summit of the Alps;

the whole plain of Lombardy was regained, with the exception of a few of its strongest fortresses; the conquests of Napoleon had been lost in less time than it had taken to make them; and the Republican armies, divided and dispirited, instead of carrying the thunder of their victorious arms over the Italian peninsula, were reduced to a painful and hazardous defence of their own frontiers. A hundred thousand men were spread over the plain of Lombardy, of whom forty thousand were grouped under Suwarroff round Turin. History has not a more brilliant or decisive series of triumphs to record; and they demonstrate on how flimsy and insecure a basis the French dominion at that period rested; how much it was dependent on the genius and activity of a single individual; how inadequate the revolutionary government was to the long-continued and sustained efforts which were requisite to maintain the contest from their own resources; and how easily, by a combined effort of all the powers at that critical period, when Napoleon was absent, and time and wisdom had not consolidated the conquests of democracy, they might have been wrested from their grasp, and the peace of Europe established on an equitable foundation. But, notwithstanding all their reverses, the European governments were not as yet sufficiently awakened to the dangers of their situation. Prussia still kept aloof in dubious neutrality; Russia was not irrevocably engaged in the cause; and Great Britain, as yet confining her efforts to the subsidising of other powers, had not descended as a principal into the field, or begun to pour forth, on land at least, those streams of blood which were destined to be shed before the great struggle was brought to a termination.

74. These successes, great as they were, were yet not such as might have been achieved, if the Russian general, neglecting all minor considerations, and blockading only the principal fortresses, had vigorously followed up with his overwhelming force the retreating army of the Republicans, and driven it over the Maritime Alps. Unable to withstand so formidable an assailant, they

must have retired within the French frontier, leaving not only Mantua and Genoa, but the army which occupied the Neapolitan territory, to its fate. This bold and decisive plan of operations was such as suited the ardent character of the Russian general, and the one which, if left to himself, he would unquestionably have adopted; but his better judgment was overruled by the cautious policy of the Aulic Council, who, above all things, were desirous to secure a fortified frontier for their Venetian acquisitions, and compelled him, much against his will, to halt in the midst of the career of victory, and besiege in form the fortresses of Lombardy. Something was no doubt gained by their reduction; but not to be compared with what might have been expected if an overwhelming mass had been interposed between the French armies, and the conquerors of Naples had been compelled to lay down their arms between the Apennines and the Po.\*

75. While these disastrous events were in progress in the north of the Peninsula, the affairs of France were not in a more favourable train in its southern provinces. The Parthenopean republic, established at Naples in the first fervour of revolutionary success, had

\* A Russian officer of Suwarroff's staff at this juncture wrote to Count Rostopchin at St Petersburg:—"Our glorious operations are thwarted by those very persons who are most interested in their success. Far from applauding the brilliant triumphs of our arms, the cursed cabinet of Vienna seeks only to retard their march. It insists that our great Suwarroff should divide his army, and direct it at once to several points, which will save Moreau from total destruction. That cabinet, which fears a too rapid conquest of Italy, from designs which it dares not avow, as it knows well those of our magnanimous Emperor, has, by the Aulic Council, forced the Archduke Charles into a state of inactivity, and enjoined our incomparable chief to secure his conquests rather than extend them; that the army is to waste its time and strength in the siege of fortresses which would fall of themselves if the French army were destroyed. What terrifies them even more than the rapidity of our conquests, is the generous project, openly announced, of restoring to every one what he has lost. Deceived by his ministers, the Emperor Francis has, with his own hand, written to our illustrious general to pause in a career of conquest of which the very rapidity fills him with alarm."—HARD, vii. 242, 250.

been involved in those consequences, the invariable attendant on a sudden concession of power to the people—spoliation of the rich, misery among the poor, destruction of credit, and inextricable embarrassment in the finances of the state. In truth, the Directory, pressed by extreme pecuniary difficulties, looked to nothing so much in their conquests as in indemnifying themselves for the expenses of their expeditions, and invariably made it the first condition with all the revolutionary states which they established, that they should pay the costs of the war, and take upon themselves the sole support of the armies which were to defend them. In conformity with these instructions, the first fruits of democratic ascendancy in Naples were found to be bitter in the extreme. The successive contributions of twelve and fifteen millions of francs levied on the capital and provinces, of which mention has already been made, excited the utmost dissatisfaction, which was greatly increased soon after by the experienced insolence and rapacity of the civil agents of the Directory. A provisional government was established, which introduced innovations that excited general alarm; the Jacobin clubs speedily began to diffuse the arrests and terror of revolutionary times; the national guard totally failed in producing any efficient force to insure the public safety; while the confiscation of the church property, and the abolition of its festivals, spread dismay and horror through that large portion of the population who were still attached to the Catholic faith, or lived on its charities. These circumstances speedily produced partial insurrections. Cardinal Ruffo, in Calabria, succeeded in exciting a revolt, and led to the field an army, fifteen thousand strong, composed of the descendants of the Brutians and Lucanians; while another insurrection, hardly less formidable, broke out in the province of Apulia. But these tumultuary bodies, imperfectly armed, and totally undisciplined, were unable to withstand the veteran troops of France. Trani, where the principal force of the insurgents of the latter province had established

themselves, was carried by assault with great slaughter; but, on the other hand, Ruffo, in Calabria, defeated an attack on Castelluccio by the democratic bands of the new republic; and, encouraged by this success, marched into Apulia, where his forces were soon greatly augmented, and he was reinforced by some regular troops despatched from Sicily.

76. Affairs were in this dangerous state in the Neapolitan dominions, when orders reached Macdonald to evacuate, without loss of time, the south of Italy, in order to bring his army to support the Republican arms in Lombardy. He immediately assembled all his disposable forces, and after having left garrisons in fort St Elmo, Capua, and Gaeta, set off for Rome at the head of twenty thousand men. His retreat, conducted with great rapidity and skill, was exposed to serious dangers. The peasantry, informed by the English cruisers of the disasters experienced by the French in Upper Italy, broke out into insurrection in every quarter. Duhesme left Apulia in open revolt, and had a constant fight to maintain before he reached Capua; a few hundred English landed at Salerno, and, aided by the peasantry, advanced to Vietri and Castel-a-Mare; while the insurgents of the Roman and Tuscan states, becoming daily more audacious, interrupted all the communications with the north of Italy. Notwithstanding these menacing circumstances, Macdonald effected his retreat in the best order, and without sustaining any serious loss. He arrived at Rome on the 16th, where he reinforced his army by the divisions of Grenier, continued his route by Acquapendente to Florence, where he rallied to his standards the division of Gauthier and Montrieux, who were in the environs of Pistoia and Bologna, and established his headquarters at Lucca in the end of May. The left wing, composed of the Polish division Dombrowsky, took post at Carzana and Aulla; the centre occupied the great road from Florence to Pistoia; the right, the high-road to Bologna, and all the passes into Modena, with an advanced guard in the city of Bologna itself.

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77. In this situation, Moreau and Macdonald were in open communication; and it was concerted between them that the chief body of their united forces should be brought to bear upon the Lower Po, with a view to threaten the communications of the Allies, disengage Mantua, and compel their retreat from the plain of Lombardy. For this purpose it was agreed that Macdonald should cross the Apennines and advance towards Tortona, his left resting on the mountains, his right on the right bank of the Po, while Moreau, debouching by the Bochetta, Gavi, and Serravalle, should move into the plain of that river. As the weight of the contest would in this view fall upon the former of these generals, the division of Victor, which formed the eastern part of Moreau's army, was placed under his orders, and a strong division directed to descend the valley of the Trebbia, in order to keep up the communication between the two armies, and support either as occasion might require.

78. The positions of the allied armies, when these well-combined preparations were making to dislodge them from their conquests, were as follows:—Kray, who commanded the whole forces on the Lower Po, had twenty-four thousand men under his orders, of whom one-half were engaged in the siege of Mantua, while five thousand, under Hohenzollern, had been despatched to cover Modena, and six thousand, under Ott, watched the mouths of the lateral valleys of the Taro and the Trebbia. The main body of the army, consisting of the divisions Zoph, Kaim, and the Russians, amounting to twenty-eight thousand men, was encamped in the neighbourhood of Turin, with its advanced posts pushed into the entrance of the Alpine valleys. Froelich, with six thousand men, observed Coni; Wukassowich, with five thousand seven hundred, occupied Mondovi, Ceva, and Salicetto; Lusignan, with three thousand combatants, blockaded Fenestrelles; Bagrathion, with a detachment of fifteen hundred men, was posted in Cesanna, and the

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Col de l'Asietta; Schwiekowsky, with six thousand men, invested Tortona and Alessandria; the corps of Count Bellegarde, fifteen thousand strong, detached from the Tyrol, was advancing from Como to form the siege of these two fortresses: while that of Haddick, numbering fourteen thousand bayonets, which kept up the communication between the rear of the army and the left wing of the Archduke Charles, was preparing to penetrate into the Valais by the Simplon and the pass of Nufenen.

79. Thus, though the Allies had above a hundred thousand men in the field, they could hardly assemble thirty thousand men at any one point; so immensely had they extended themselves over the plains of Lombardy, and so obstinately had the Aulic Council adhered to the old system of establishing a cordon of troops all over the territory which they occupied. This vast dispersion of force was attended with little danger as long as the shattered army of Moreau alone was in the field; but the case was widely different when it was supported by thirty-five thousand fresh troops, prepared to penetrate into the centre and most unprotected part of their line. Had Macdonald been able to push on as rapidly from Florence as he had done in advancing to it, he might have crushed the divisions of Klenau, Hohenzollern, and Ott, before they could possibly have been succoured from other quarters; but the time consumed in reorganising his army in Tuscany, and concerting operations with Moreau, gave Suwarroff an opportunity of repairing what was faulty in the disposition of his forces, and assembling a sufficient body of men to resist the attack at the menaced point.

80. Macdonald, having at length completed his preparations, raised his camp in the neighbourhood of Pistoia on the 7th June, with an army, including Victor's division, of thirty-seven thousand men, and marched across the Apennines to Bologna. Hohenzollern, who commanded in the adjoining territory, Modena, withdrew his posts into the town of the same name, where he was attacked in a few days, and, after

a bloody engagement, driven out with the loss of fifteen hundred men. Had the right wing of the Republicans punctually executed their instructions, and occupied the road to Ferrara, during the combat round the town, the whole of the Imperialists would have been made prisoners. Immediately after this success, Macdonald advanced to Parma, driving the Austrian cavalry before him; while Ott, who was stationed at the entrance of the valley of the Taro, seeing that his retreat was in danger of being cut off, retired to Placentia, leaving the road open to Victor, who upon that debouched entirely from the Apennines, and effected his junction with Macdonald at Borgo San Donino, to the north of the mountains. On the day following, Placentia was occupied by the Republicans, and their whole army established in the neighbourhood of that city.

81. No sooner was Suwarroff informed of the appearance of Macdonald's army in Tuscany, than he adopted the same energetic resolution by which Napoleon had repulsed the attack of Wurmser on the Adige three years before. All his advanced posts in Piedmont were recalled; the brigade of Lusignan near Fenestrelles, the divisions Frelich, Bagrathion, and Schwiekowsky, began their march on the same day for the general rendezvous at Asti; and Kray received orders instantly to raise the siege of Mantua, despatch his artillery with all imaginable speed to Peschiera and Verona, and hasten with all his disposable force to join the main army in the neighbourhood of Placentia. The vigour of the Russian general communicated itself to all the officers of his army. These movements were all punctually executed, notwithstanding the excessive rains which impeded the movements of the troops; the castles of Milan and Pizzighitone were provisioned, a great intrenched camp was formed near the *île-de-pont* of Valence, and all the stores recently captured, not necessary for the siege of the citadel, were removed from Turin. By these means the allied army was rapidly reassembled, and on the 15th June, although Kray with the troops

from Mantua had not yet arrived, thirty thousand infantry and six thousand cavalry were encamped at Garofalo, on ground they had occupied six weeks before.

82. The intelligence of Suwarroff's approach induced Macdonald to concentrate his forces; but, nevertheless, he flattered himself that he would succeed in overwhelming Ott before he could be supported by the succours which were advancing. Three torrents, flowing parallel to each other in a northern direction from the Apennines to the Po, intersected the plain occupied by the French army; the Nura, the TREBBIA, and the Tidone. The bulk of the Republican forces were on the Nura; the divisions Victor, Dombrowsky, and Rusca, were in advance on the Trebbia, and received orders to cross it, in order to overwhelm the Austrian division stationed behind the Tidone. For this purpose, early on the morning of the 17th, they passed both the Trebbia and the Tidone, and assailed the Imperialists with such vigour and superiority of force, that they were speedily driven back in great disorder; but Suwarroff, aware, from the loud sound of the cannonade, of what was going forward, despatched Chastellar, with the advanced-guard of the main army, which speedily re-established affairs. By degrees, as their successive troops came up, the superiority passed to the side of the Allies; the Austrians rallied, and commenced a vigorous attack on the division of Victor, while the Russian infantry, under Bagrathion, supported the left of the Imperialists. Soon after, Dombrowsky, on the left, having brought up his Polish division, by a sudden charge captured eight pieces of cannon, and pushed forward to Caramel; but at this critical moment Suwarroff ordered a charge in flank by Prince Gortschakoff, with two regiments of Cossacks, and four battalions, while Ott attacked them in front. This movement proved decisive; the Poles were broken, and fled in disorder over the Tidone. Meanwhile the right of the Republicans, composed of Victor's division, withstood all the efforts of Bagrathion, and

was advancing along the Po to gain possession of the bridge of St Giovanni, when the rout of Dombrowsky's division obliged them to retire. This retreat was conducted in good order, till the retiring columns were charged in flank by the Cossacks who had overthrown the Poles; in vain the French formed squares, and received the assailants with a rolling fire; they were broken, great part cut to pieces, and the remainder fled in disorder over the Trebbia. The Russians, in the heat of the pursuit, plunged like the Romans of old into that classic stream; but they were received with so destructive a fire of musketry and grape-shot from the batteries of the main body of the French on the other side, that they were forced to retire with great loss; and the hostile armies respectively bivouacked for the night on the same ground which had been occupied two thousand years before by the troops of Hannibal and the Roman legions.\*

83. During the night, Suwarroff brought up all his forces, and, encouraged by the success of the preceding day, made his dispositions for a general action. Judging, with great sagacity, that the principal object of Macdonald would be to maintain his ground on the mountains, by which his communication with Moreau was to be preserved, he directed towards his own right, which was to assail that quarter, his best infantry, consisting of the divisions Bagrathion and Schwie-kowsky, under the orders of Prince Rosenberg. These troops received orders to pass the Trebbia, and advance

\* It is remarkable that the fate of Italy has thrice been decided on the same spot; once in the battle between the Romans and Carthaginians, again, in 1746, in that between the Austrians and French, and in 1799, between the French and Russians. A similar coincidence will frequently again occur in the course of this work, particularly at Vitoria, Leipsic, Lutzen, Fleurus, and many others; a striking proof how permanent are the operation of the causes, under every variety of the military art, which conduct hostile nations, at remote periods from each other, to the same fields of battle.—See *ARCADEUM* CHARLES, ii. 61. The author visited this field in 1818, along with his valued friend, Captain Basil Hall: the lapse of nearly two thousand years had altered none of the features described by the graphic pen of Livy.

by Settimo to St Giorgio, on the Nura, in order to interpose between the French left and the mountains. Melas commanded the centre, supported by a powerful reserve under Frölich; while Ott, with a small corps, formed the left, and was established on the high-road to Placentia, rather to preserve the communication with its castle, than to take any active part in the engagement. The day was the anniversary of the battle of Kolin; and Suwarroff, to stimulate the ardour of the Austrians, gave for the watchword, "Theresa and Kolin," while the general instructions to the army were to combat in large masses, and as much as possible with the bayonet.

84. Macdonald, who intended to have delayed the battle till the day following, had only the divisions Victor, Dombrowsky, and Rusca, with the brigade of Salm, in position on the Trebbia; those of Olivier and Montrichard could not arrive in time till noon. A furious action commenced at six o'clock, between the troops of Bagration and Victor's division, which formed the extreme left of the French, and rested on the mountains. The French general, seeing he was to be attacked, crossed the Trebbia, and advanced against the enemy. A bloody conflict ensued on the ground intersected by the Torridella, till at length, towards evening, the steady valour of the Russians prevailed, and the Republicans were driven back with great slaughter over the Trebbia, followed by the Allies, who advanced as far as Settimo. On the French right, Salm's division, enveloped by superior forces, retreated with difficulty across the river. In the middle of the day, the divisions of Olivier and Montrichard arrived to support the centre; but though they gained at first a slight advantage, nothing decisive occurred, and at the approach of night, they retired at all points over the Trebbia, which again formed the line of separation between the hostile armies.

85. Worn out with fatigue, the troops on both sides lay down round their watchfires, on the opposite shores of the Trebbia, which still, as in the

days of Hannibal, flows in a gravelly bed, between banks of considerable height, clothed with stunted trees, brambles, and underwood.\* The corps of Rosenberg alone had crossed the stream, and reached Settimo, in the rear of the French lines; but, disquieted by its separation from the remainder of the army, and ignorant of the immense advantages of its position, it passed an anxious night, in square, with the cavalry bridled and the men sleeping on their guns, and before day-break withdrew to the Russian side of the river. Towards midnight, three French battalions, misled by false reports, entered, in disorder, into the bed of the Trebbia, and opened a fire of musketry upon the Russian videttes, upon which the two armies immediately started to their arms; the cavalry on both sides rushed into the river, the artillery played, without discrimination, on friends and foes, and the extraordinary spectacle was exhibited of a nocturnal combat by moonlight, carried on by hostile bodies up to the middle in water. At length the officers succeeded in putting an end to this useless butchery, and the rival armies, separated only by the stream, sank into sleep within a few yards of each other, amidst the dead and the dying.

86. The sun arose for the third time on this scene of slaughter; but no disposition appeared on either side to give up the contest. Suwarroff, reinforced by five battalions and six squadrons, which had come up from the other side of the Po, again strengthened his right, renewed to Rosenberg the orders to press vigorously on in that quarter, and directed Melas to be ready to support him with the reserve. Hours, even minutes, were of value; for the Russian general was aware that Moreau had left his position on the Apennines, and that the force opposed to him was totally inadequate to arrest his progress. In extreme anxiety, he was in momentary expectation of hearing the

\* "Between the armies was a rivulet, bordered on each side with very high banks, and covered around with marshy plants, and with the brushwood and brambles with which uncultivated places are generally overspread."

—Livy, xxi. 64.



distant sound of his cannon in the rear of the army. Everything, therefore, depended on a vigorous prosecution of the advantages gained on the two preceding days, so as to render the co-operation of the Republican armies impossible. On the other hand, Macdonald, having now collected all his forces, and reckoning on the arrival of Moreau on the following day, resolved to resume the offensive. His plan was to turn at once both flanks of the enemy; a hazardous operation at all times, unless conducted by a greatly superior army, by reason of the dispersion of force which it requires, but doubly so in the present instance, from the risk of one of his wings being driven into the Po. The battle was to be commenced by Dombrowsky moving in the direction of Niviano to out-flank the corps of Rosenberg, while Rusca and Victor attacked it in front; Olivier and Montrichard were charged with the task of forcing the passage of the river in the centre; while the extreme right, composed of the brigade of Salm and the reserve of Watrin, were to drive back the Russian left by interposing between it and the river Po.

87. Such was the fatigue of the men on both sides, that they could not commence the action before ten o'clock. Suwarroff at that hour was beginning to put his troops in motion, when the French appeared in two lines on the opposite shore of the Trebbia, with the intervals between the columns filled with cavalry; and instantly the first line, exactly as the Romans had done, crossed the river with the water up to the soldiers' arm-pits,\* and advanced fiercely to the attack. Dombrowsky pushed on to Rivalta, and soon out-flanked the Russian right; and Suwarroff, seeing the danger in that quarter, ordered the division Bagrathion to throw back its right in order to face the enemy, and, after a warm contest, that general succeeded in driving the Poles across the river. But that man-

\* "But when, in pursuit of the flying Numidians, they entered the water, (and it was swollen by rain in the night *as high as the breasts*), then in truth the bodies of all, on landing, were so benumbed that they were scarcely able to hold their arms"—Livy, xxi. c. 54.

oeuvre having uncovered the flank of the division Schwiekowsky, it was speedily enveloped by Victor and Rusca, driven back to Casaleggio, and only owed its safety to the invincible firmness of the Russian infantry, who formed square, faced about on all sides, and by an incessant rolling fire maintained their ground till Bagrathion, after defeating the Poles, came up in the enemy's rear, and Chastellar brought up four battalions of the division of Forster to attack them in front. The Poles, entirely disconcerted by their repulse, remained inactive; and, after a murderous strife, the French were overwhelmed, and Victor and Rusca driven, with great loss, over the Trebbia.

88. In the centre, Olivier and Montrichard had crossed the river, and attacked the Austrians under Melas, with such vigour that they made themselves masters of some pieces of artillery, and threw the line into disorder. Already Montrichard was advancing against the division Forster, in the middle of the Russian line, when the Prince of Lichtenstein, at the head of the reserve, composed of the flower of the allied army, which at that moment was defiling towards the right to support Schwiekowsky, suddenly fell upon their flank, already somewhat disordered by success, and threw them into confusion, which was soon increased into a defeat by the heavy fire of Forster on the other side. This circumstance decided the fate of the day. Forster was now so far relieved as to be able to succour Suwarroff on the right, while Melas was supported by the reserve, who had been ordered, in the first moment of alarm, in the same direction. Prince Lichtenstein now charged the division of Olivier with such fury, that it was forced to retire across the river. At the extreme left of the Allies, Watrin advanced, without meeting any resistance, along the Po; but he was ultimately obliged to retreat, to avoid being cut off and driven into the river by the victorious centre. Master of the whole left bank of the river, Suwarroff made several attempts to pass it; but he was constantly repulsed by the firmness of the French reserves, and

night at length closed on this scene of carnage.

89. Such was the terrible battle of the Trebbia, the most obstinately contested and bloody which had occurred since the commencement of the war, since, out of thirty-six thousand men in the field, the French, in the three days, had lost above twelve thousand in killed and wounded, and the Allies nearly as many. It shows how much more fierce and sanguinary the war was destined to become when the iron bands of Russia were brought into the field; and how little all the advantages of skill and experience avail, when opposed to the steady perseverance and heroic valour of northern states. But though the losses on both sides were nearly equal, the relative situation of the combatants was very different at the termination of the strife. The Allies were upon the whole successful, and soon expected great reinforcements from Hohenzollern and Klenau, who had already occupied Parma and Modena, and would more than compensate their losses in the field; whereas the Republicans had exhausted their last reserves, were dejected by defeat, found themselves cut off from Moreau, and had no second army to fall back upon in their misfortunes. These considerations determined Macdonald; he decamped during the night, and retired over the Nura, directing his march with the view of re-entering the Apennines by the valley of the Taro.

90. Early on the following morning, a despatch was intercepted from the French general to Moreau, in which he represented the situation of his army as almost desperate, and gave information as to the line of his retreat. This information filled the allied generals with joy, and made them resolve to pursue the enemy with the utmost vigour. For this purpose, all their divisions were instantly despatched in pursuit; Rosenberg, supported by Forster, moved rapidly towards the Nura, while Melas, with the divisions Ott and Frœlich, advanced to Placentia. Victor's division, which formed the rear-guard on the Nura, was speedily assailed by superior forces both in front

and flank, and, after a gallant resistance, broken, great part made prisoners, and the remainder dispersed over the mountains. Melas, on his side, quickly made himself master of Placentia, where the French wounded, five thousand in number, were taken prisoners, including the generals Olivier, Rusca, Salm, and Cambray; and had he not imprudently halted the division Frœlich at that town, the whole troops of Watrin would have fallen into his hands. Macdonald, on the following day, retired to Parma, from whence he dislodged Hohenzollern, and with infinite difficulty rallied the remains of his army behind the Larda, where they were reorganised in three divisions. The melancholy survey showed a chasm in his ranks of above fifteen thousand men since crossing the Apennines. At the same time Lapoype, defeated at Casteggio by a Russian detachment, was driven from the high-road, and with great difficulty escaped by mountain paths into the neighbourhood of Genoa. All the French wounded fell into the hands of the Allies; they made prisoners in all, during the battle and in the pursuit, four generals, five hundred and six officers, and twelve thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight private soldiers. The pursuit of Suwarroff was not continued beyond the Larda, in consequence of intelligence which there reached him of the progress of Moreau. Macdonald retired, therefore, unmolested to Modena and Bologna, where he repulsed General Ott, who made an attack on his army at Sassecolo, and regained the positions which he had occupied before the advance to the Trebbia.

91. In effect, the return of Suwarroff towards Tortona had become indispensable, and the dangerous situation of matters in his rear showed the magnitude of the peril from which, by his rapid and decided conduct, he had extricated his army. Moreau on the 16th debouched from the Apennines by Gavi, and moved in two columns towards Tortona, at the head of fourteen thousand men. He advanced, however, with such circumspection, that on the 18th he had not passed Novi

and Seravalle; and on that day the fate of Macdonald's army was determined on the banks of the Trebbia. Bellegarde, unable with four brigades to arrest his progress, retired to a defensive position near Alessandria, leaving Tortona uncovered, the blockade of which was speedily raised by the French general. Immediately after, Moreau attacked Bellegarde with forces immensely superior, and defeated him, after a sharp action, with a loss of fifteen hundred prisoners and five pieces of cannon. The Austrians, in disorder, sought refuge behind the Bormida, intending to fall back under the cannon of Valence; and Moreau was advancing towards Placentia, when he was informed of the victory of Suwarroff and the fall of the citadel of Turin.

92. The vast military stores found by the Allies in the city of Turin had enabled them to complete their preparations for the siege of its citadel with great rapidity. A hundred pieces of heavy cannon speedily armed the trenches; forty mortars were shortly after added; the batteries were opened on the night of the 10th June, and on the 19th the second parallel was completed. Without intermission the besiegers from that time thundered on the walls from above two hundred pieces of artillery; and such was the effect of their fire, that the garrison capitulated within twenty-four hours after it commenced, on condition of being sent back to France. This conquest was of immense importance. Besides disengaging the besieging force of General Kaim, which instantly set out to reinforce Bellegarde, and rendering the Allies masters of one of the strongest fortresses in Piedmont, it put into their hands 618 pieces of cannon, 40,000 muskets, and 50,000 quintals of powder, with the loss of only fifty men.

93. No sooner was Suwarroff informed, upon the Larda, of the advance of Moreau and the defeat of Bellegarde, than, without losing an instant, he wheeled about, and marched with the utmost expedition to meet this new adversary. But Moreau fell back as rapidly as he approached, and after re-occupying Tortona, retired by Novi

and Gavi to his former defensive position on the Apennines. The Allies occupied Novi, and pushed their advanced posts far up the valleys into the mountains, while the blockade of Tortona was resumed; and the besieging force, which had been removed from the lines before Mantua, sat down again before that important fortress. Macdonald commenced a long and painful retreat over the Apennines into Tuscany and the Genoese territory; a perilous lateral operation at all times in presence of an enemy in possession of the plain of the Po, and doubly so after the recent disaster which had been experienced. Fortunately for the French, Suwarroff had received at this time positive orders from the Aulic Council, ever attached to methodical proceedings, to attempt no operation beyond the Apennines till the fortresses of Lombardy were reduced; in consequence of which he was compelled to remain in a state of inactivity on the Orba, while his antagonist completed his hazardous movements. Macdonald arrived, leaving only a detachment on the Apennines near the sources of the Trebbia, at Genoa by Lerici, in the middle of July, in the most deplorable state—his artillery dismantled or broken down, the cavalry and caissons without horses, the soldiers half-naked, without shoes or linen of any sort, more like spectres than men. How different from the splendid troops which, three years before, had traversed the same country, in all the pomp of war, under the standards of Napoleon!

94. Mutual exhaustion, and the intervening ridge of the Apennines, now compelled a cessation of hostilities for above a month. Suwarroff collected forty-five thousand men in the plain between Tortona and Alessandria, to watch the Republicans on the mountains of Genoa, and cover the sieges of those places and of Mantua, which were now pressed with activity. The French, in deep dejection, commenced the reorganisation of their two armies into one; Macdonald was recalled, and yielded the command of the right wing to St Cyr; Perignon was intrusted with the centre, and Lemoine, who brought

up twelve fresh battalions from Krance, put at the head of the left. Montrichard and Lapoype were disgraced, and Moreau continued in the chief command. Notwithstanding all the reinforcements he had received, this skilful general was not able, with both armies united, to reckon on more than forty thousand men for operations in the field; the poor remains of above a hundred thousand that might have been assembled for that purpose at the opening of the campaign.

95. The remarkable analogy must strike the most inattentive observer, between the conduct of Suwarroff previous to the battle of the Trebbia, and that of Napoleon on the approach of Wurmser to succour Mantua. Imitating the vigour and activity of his great predecessor, the Russian general, though at the head of an army considerably inferior to that of his adversaries, was superior everywhere at the decisive point. The citadel of Turin, with its immense magazines, was captured by an army of only forty thousand men, in presence of two whose united force exceeded fifty thousand; for although Suwarroff ordered up great part of the garrison of Mantua to reinforce his army previous to the battle of the Trebbia, they were prevented from joining by an autograph order of the Emperor, who deemed the acquisition of that fortress of greater importance than any other consideration to the Austrian empire. The Russian general, therefore, had to contend not only with the armies of Macdonald and Moreau, but with the obstacles thrown in his way by the Imperial authorities; and when this is considered, his defeat of the Republicans, by rapidly interposing the bulk of his forces between them, and turning first on the one, and then on the other, must be regarded as one of the most splendid feats which the history of the war afforded.

96. During these critical operations at the foot of the Apennines, the Directory had succeeded in assembling a great naval force in the Mediterranean. Already convinced by the disasters they had experienced, of the impolicy of the eccentric direction of so considerable a

part of their force as had resulted from the expedition to Egypt, they exerted all their efforts to accomplish their return, or at least to open a communication with that far-famed, now isolated army. No sooner was intelligence received of the defeat of Jourdan at Stockach, than Bruix, minister of marine, repaired to Brest, where he urged, with the utmost diligence, the preparations for the sailing of the fleet. Such was the effect of his exertions, that, in the end of April, he was enabled to put to sea, with twenty-five ships of the line, at the time when Lord Bridport with the Channel fleet was blown off the coast. As soon as intelligence was received that they had sailed, the English admiral steered for the southern coast of Ireland; while Bruix, directing his course straight to Cadiz, raised the blockade of that harbour, which Admiral Leith was maintaining with fifteen ships of the line, and passed the straits of Gibraltar. The entrance of the combined fleet into the Mediterranean seemed to announce decisive events, but nevertheless it came to nothing. The immense armament, amounting to fifty ships of the line, steered for the bay of Genoa, where it entered into communication with Moreau, and for a time powerfully supported the spirits of his army. But after remaining some weeks on the Italian coast, Bruix sailed for Cadiz, from whence he returned to Brest, which he reached in the middle of August, without either having fallen in with any of the English fleets, or achieved anything whatever, with one of the most powerful squadrons that ever left a European harbour.

97. The retreat of Macdonald was immediately followed by the recovery of his dominions by the King of Naples. The army of Cardinal Ruffo, which was soon swelled to twenty thousand men, advanced against Naples, and having speedily dispersed the feeble bands of the revolutionists who opposed his progress, took possession of that capital; and a combined force of English, Russians, and Neapolitans having a few days after entered the port, the Fort St Elmo was so vigorously besieged,

that it was obliged to capitulate, the garrison returning to France, on condition of not again serving till exchanged. Capua was next attacked, and surrendered, by capitulation, to Commodore Troubridge; and this was followed, two days after, by the reduction of the important fortress of Gaeta, on the same terms, which completed the deliverance of the Neapolitan dominions. The French, who surrendered in the last-mentioned fortresses, gave up unconditionally to their indignant enemies the revolted Neapolitans who had taken a part in the late revolution. A special commission was immediately appointed, which, without much formality, and still less humanity, condemned to death the greater part of those who had been engaged in the insurrection; and a dreadful series of executions, or rather massacres, took place, which but too clearly evinced the relentless spirit of Italian revenge. But the executions at Naples were of more moment, and peculiarly call for the attention of the British historian, because they have affixed the only stain that exists upon the character of the greatest naval hero of his country. The garrisons of the Castello Nuovo, and the Castello del Uovo, had capitulated to Cardinal Ruffo, who commanded the Neapolitan forces as vicar-general, on the 23d June, on the express condition that they themselves, and their families, should be protected, and that they should have liberty either to retire to Toulon, or remain in Naples, as they should feel inclined; but in this latter case they were to experience no molestation in their persons or property.\* This capitulation was subscribed by Cardi-

nal Ruffo, as viceroy of the kingdom; by Kerandry, on the part of the Emperor of Russia, and by Captain Foote, on the part of the King of Great Britain; and the cardinal, in the name of the King, shortly after published a proclamation, in which he granted an entire amnesty to the republicans; guaranteeing to them perfect security if they remained at Naples, and a free navigation to Marseilles, if they preferred following the fortunes of the tricolor standard. In terms of this treaty, two vessels, containing the refugees from Castel-a-Mare, had already arrived safe at Marseilles.

98. But these wise and humane measures were instantly interrupted by the arrival of the king and queen, with the court, on board of Nelson's fleet. They were animated by the strongest feelings of revenge against the republican party; and unfortunately the English admiral, who had fallen under the fascinating influence of Lady Hamilton, the celebrated wife of the British ambassador at the court of Naples, who shared in all the feelings of that court, was too much inclined to adopt the same principles. He instantly declared the capitulation null, which had not been carried into execution at that time, owing to the want of vessels to convey the persons in the forts to Marseilles. The ground assigned was, that it had been entered into by Cardinal Ruffo without sufficient authority, and that the king refused to ratify it. Soon after, entering the harbour at the head of his fleet, he made all those who had issued from the castles, in virtue of it, prisoners, and had them chained, two and two, on board his own fleet. The king, whose weakness could not endure the sight of the punishments which were preparing, returned to Sicily, and left the administration of justice in the hands of the queen and Lady Hamilton. Nelson was made aware, soon after his arrival on the evening of the 24th, that the capitulation had been signed by the Russian admiral and Captain Foote on the part of Great Britain; but he at once condemned the treaty as infamous, and intimated to the rebels they must surrender at discretion. Cardinal

\* "1. The troops composing the garrisons shall keep possession of their forts until the vessels, which shall be spoken of hereafter, destined to convey such as are desirous of going to Toulon, are ready to sail. 2. The garrisons shall march out with the honours of war, each with five pieces of artillery. 3. Persons and property, both movable and immovable, of every individual of the two garrisons, shall be respected and guaranteed. 4. All the said individuals shall have their choice of embarking on board of carts, which shall be furnished them to go to Toulon, or of remaining at Naples, without being molested either in their persons or families."—See the capitulation in *Nelson Despatches*, iii. 487.

Ruffo strongly protested against this, and refused to be a party to the suspension of the capitulation. In this debate between Cardinal Ruffo and Nelson, Sir William and Lady Hamilton acted as interpreters. On the 26th Nelson took possession of the Castello del Uovo and the Castello Nuovo; and the prisoners, who had no means of resistance, suffered great hardships during their removal to the fleet in the roads. Some petitioned Nelson for mercy; others indignantly referred to the capitulation. But it was of no avail. Numbers were immediately condemned and executed; the vengeance of the populace supplied what was wanting in the celerity of the criminal tribunals; neither age, nor sex, nor rank was spared; women as well as men, youths of sixteen, and gray-headed men of seventy, were alike led out to the scaffold, and children of twelve years of age sent into exile. The republicans behaved, in almost every instance, in their last moments, with heroic courage, and made men forget, in pity for their misfortunes, the ingratitude or treason of which they had previously been guilty. The fate of the Neapolitan admiral, Prince Francis Caraccioli, was particularly deplorable. He had been one of the principal leaders of the revolution, and after the capitulation of the castles had retired to the mountains, where he was betrayed by a domestic, and brought bound on board the British admiral's flag-ship. A naval court-martial was there immediately summoned, composed of Neapolitan officers, by whom he was condemned to death. In vain the old man entreated that he might be shot, and not die the death of a malefactor; his prayers were disregarded, and, after being strangled by the executioner, he was thrown from the vessel into the sea. Before night his body was seen erect in the waves from the middle upwards, as if he had risen from the deep to reproach the English hero with his unworthy fate.

99. For these acts of cruelty no sort of apology can or ought to be offered. Whether the capitulation should or should not have been granted, is a dif-

ferent and irrelevant question. Suffice it to say, that it had taken place, and that, in virtue of its provisions, the allied powers had gained the command of the castles of Naples. To assert in such a case that the king had not ratified the capitulation, and that without such a sanction it was null, is a quibble, which, though frequently resorted to by the Continental powers, and sometimes by the French, is unworthy of a generous mind, and destitute of any support in the law of nations. Cardinal Ruffo, who concluded the capitulation, was not merely the commander-in-chief of the royal Neapolitan forces, but the vicar-general of the king, and signed it as such. His powers unquestionably extended to concluding such a treaty, and the deed of the king has never been produced, restraining his powers *ab ante* in this particular. The capitulation, when Nelson arrived in the bay of Naples, had not been fully executed, but matters had arrived at that point that it could not be rescinded. The British line-of-battle ships lay alongside of the transports which were to convey away the prisoners, who were for the most part on board. The deserted fortresses were at their mercy. When Nelson intimated to them that the capitulation would not be observed, they had no alternative but submission, for their means of defence were at an end. The capitulation of the vanquished should ever be held sacred in civilised warfare—for this reason, if no other existed, that, by acceding to it, they have deprived themselves of all chance of resistance, and put the means of violating it with impunity into the hands of their adversaries: it then becomes a debt of honour which should be paid. The sovereign power which takes benefit from one side of a capitulation, by gaining possession of the fortress which the capitulants held, is unquestionably bound to perform the other part of the bilateral engagement, by whomsoever entered into, seeing it has, by that very act, so far from repudiating, homologated and acquiesced in it. If the Neapolitan authorities were resolutely determined to commit such a breach of public faith, the English admiral, if he

had not sufficient influence to prevent it, should at least have taken no part in the iniquities which followed, nor stained the standard of England by judicial murders committed under its shadow. In every point of view, therefore, the conduct of Nelson in this tragic affair was inexcusable: his biographer may perhaps with justice ascribe it to the fatal ascendancy of female fascination; but the historian, who has the interests of humanity and the cause of justice to support, can admit of no such palliation, and will best discharge his duty by imitating the conduct of his eloquent annalist, and with shame acknowledging the disgraceful deeds.\*

100. The events of this campaign demonstrate, in the most striking manner, the vast importance of assuming the offensive in mountain warfare; and how frequently a smaller force, skilfully led, may triumph over a greater in such a situation, by the simple expedient of

turning its position by the lateral valleys, and appearing unexpectedly in its rear. The nature of the ground is singularly favourable to such an operation, by the concealment which lofty intervening ridges afford to the turning column, and the impossibility of escape to the one turned, shut in on both sides by difficult, perhaps impassable ridges, and suddenly assailed in rear when fully occupied in front. The brilliant successes of Lecourbe at Glarus and Martinsbruck, and of Hotze at Luciensteg, were both achieved, in opposition to superior forces, by the skilful application of this principle. Against such a danger, the intrenchments usually thrown up in the gorge or at the summit of mountain passes, afford but little protection; for, open behind, they are easily taken by the column which has penetrated into the rear by a circuitous route, and, destitute of casemates, they afford no sort of protection against a

\* It deserves to be recorded to the honour of Napoleon, that he endeavoured to palliate Nelson's share in these dark transactions, ascribing it to misinformation, and the fascinating ascendancy of Lady Hamilton.—*O'MEARA*, i. 308.

Volumes have been written on the subject of Nelson's proceedings at Naples, but all the essential facts of the case will be found in the preceding narrative. Sir Nicholas Harris has attempted a laboured vindication in the appendix to the third volume of his valuable edition of the *Nelson Despatches*; but no zeal or ability can overcome the facts above stated. The substance of Nelson's defence is to be found in the following letter to Mr Stephens, which will be given in his own words: "Neither Cardinal Ruffo nor Captain Foote, nor any other person, had any power to enter into any treaty with the rebels; even the paper they signed was not acted upon. I happily arrived at Naples, and prevented such an infamous transaction from taking place: therefore, when the rebels surrendered, they came out of the castles as they ought, without any of the honours of war, and trusting to the judgment of their sovereign. I put aside, and sent them notice of it, the infamous treaty, and the rebels surrendered, as I have before said."—*Nelson to ALEXANDER STEPHENS, Esq.*, Feb. 10, 1803; *Nelson Despatches*, iii. 520. This contains Nelson's whole vindication, and therefore has been given in his own words. But it is evidently insufficient to exculpate him, for the following reasons:—1. In the first place, it does not appear that Nelson held any commission in the Neapolitan service; at least none such has ever been referred to or alleged to exist, though from his great influence

and reputation he seems to have by common consent become vested with the supreme direction of affairs. He had no right, therefore, to declare null, or infringe upon the treaty concluded in the king's name by his vicar-general or viceroy. 2. Cardinal Ruffo's powers as vicar-general beyond all question extended to concluding a capitulation with the rebels; a power inherent in a mere general of the royal forces. 3. Though Nelson asserts that Cardinal Ruffo had no power to conclude such a capitulation, he does not allege that his powers as viceroy had been restrained by any express prohibition in this particular, which alone could have prevented him from concluding it legally. 4. If Nelson had the king's authority to refuse to sanction the capitulation, what he should have done was to have reinstated the rebels in the full possession of the forts, and drawn his own ships out of the range of shot, and given them full time for their preparation before hostilities were renewed, as Schwartzberg offered to St Cyr's men, when he refused to sanction the capitulation of Dresden in Nov. 1813.—*INTRA*, Chap. LXXXII. § 36. Even if such an offer had been made, it is more than doubtful whether it would have justified a breach of the capitulation; for it is impossible to restore a garrison which has surrendered to the *status quo* before the surrender, for their minds are depressed, and their destitution has become known to the besiegers. But even such an illusory offer as this was not made; the garrison were simply told they must surrender at discretion, a demand which, as their defence was abandoned, and commanded by the British, they could not resist.—*Nelson Despatches*, iii. 520.

plunging fire from the heights on either side.

101. Nor did this memorable struggle evince in a less convincing manner the erroneous foundation on which the opinion then generally received rested, that the possession of the mountains insured that of the plains at their feet; and that the true key to the south of Germany and north of Italy was to be found in the Alps which were interposed between them. Of what avail was the successful irruption of Massena into the Grisons, after the disaster of Stockach brought back the Republicans to the Rhine; or the splendid stroke of Lecourbe in the Engadine, when the disaster of Magnano caused them to lose the line of the Adige? In tactics, or the lesser operations of strategy, the possession of mountain ridges is often of decisive importance, but in the great designs of extensive warfare it is seldom of any lasting value. He that has gained a height which commands a field of battle is often secure of the day; but the master of a ridge of lofty mountains is by no means equally safe against the efforts of an adversary, who, by having acquired possession of the entrance of all the valleys leading from thence into the plain, is enabled to cut him off both from his communications and his resources. Water descends from the higher ground to the lower; but the strength and sinews of war in general follow an opposite course, and ascend from the riches and the fortresses of the plain to the sterility and desolation of the mountains. It is in the valley of the Danube and the plain of Lombardy that the struggle between France and Austria ever has been and ever will be determined; the lofty ridges of Switzerland and the Tyrol, important as an accessory to secure the flanks of either army, are far from being the decisive point.

102. Although the campaign had lasted so short a time, it was already apparent how much the views of the Austrian cabinet were hampered by the possession of Venice, and how completely the spoliation of that republic had thrown the apple of discord be-

tween the allied powers. The principle laid down by the Emperor Paul, of restoring to every one what he had lost—though the true foundation for the anti-revolutionary alliance, which had been eloquently supported by Mr Burke, and afterwards became the basis of the great confederacy which brought the war to a successful issue—gave the utmost uneasiness to the cabinet of Vienna. They were terrified at the very rapidity of the Russian conqueror's success, and endeavoured, by every means in their power, to moderate his disinterested fervour, and render his surprising success the means only of securing their great acquisitions in the north of Italy. Hence the jealousies, heartburnings, and divisions which destroyed the cordial co-operation of the allied troops, which led to the fatal separation of the Russian from the Austrian forces both in Italy and Switzerland, and ultimately brought about all the disasters of the campaign. Had the hands of Austria been clean, she might have invaded France by the defenceless frontier of the Jura, and brought the contest to a glorious issue in 1799, while Napoleon was as yet an exile on the banks of the Nile. Twice did the European powers lose the opportunity of crushing the forces of the Revolution, and on both occasions from their governments having imitated its guilt; first by the withdrawal of Prussia in 1794, to secure her share in the partition of Poland, and next from the anxiety of Austria, in 1799, to retain her unjust acquisitions in Italy. England alone remained throughout unsullied by crime, unfettered by the consciousness of robbery; and she alone continued to the end unsubdued in arms. It is not by adopting the iniquities of a hostile power, but by steadfastly shunning them, that ultimate success is to be obtained; the gains of iniquity to nations, not less than individuals, are generally more than compensated by its pains; and the only true foundation for durable prosperity is to be found in that strenuous but upright course, which resists equally the seduction and the violence of wickedness.



## CHAPTER XXVIII.

## CAMPAIGN OF 1799—PART II.—FROM THE BATTLE OF THE TREBBIA TO THE CONCLUSION OF THE CAMPAIGN.

1. SINCE the period when the white flag waved at Saumur, and the tricolor was displaced at Lyons and Toulon, the Republic had never been in such danger as after the first pause in the campaign of 1799. It was, in truth, within a hairbreadth of destruction. If the allied forces in 1793 were nearer her frontier, and the interior was torn by more vehement dissensions, on the other hand the attacking powers in 1799 were incomparably more formidable, and the armies they brought into the field greatly superior both in military prowess and moral vigour. The war no longer languished in affairs of posts or indecisive actions, leading to retreat on the first reverse. A hundred thousand men no longer fought with the loss of three or four thousand to the victors, and as many to the vanquished. The passions had been roused on both sides, and battles were not lost or won without a desperate effusion of human blood. The military ardour of the Austrians, slow of growth, but tenacious of purpose, was now thoroughly awakened, from the reverses the monarchy had undergone, and the imminent perils to which it had been exposed; the steady valour of the Russians had been roused to the highest pitch by the ardent genius and enthusiastic courage of Suwarroff; and Great Britain, taught by past misfortunes, was preparing to abandon the vacillating system of her former warfare, and put forth her strength in a manner worthy of her present greatness and ancient renown. From the bay of Genoa to the mouth of the Rhine, nearly three hundred thousand veteran troops were advancing against the Republic, flushed by victory, and conducted by consummate military talent;

while the Revolution had destroyed the capacity which directed, as well as wore out the energy which sustained its fortunes. The master-spirit of Carnot had ceased to guide the movements of the French armies; the genius of Napoleon languished on the sands of Egypt; the boundless enthusiasm of 1793 had exhausted itself; the resources of the assignats were at an end; the terrible Committee of Public Salvation no longer was at the helm to wrench out of public suffering the means of victory. An exhausted nation and a dispirited army had to withstand the weight of Austria and the vigour of Russia, guided by the science of the Archduke Charles and the energy of Suwarroff.

2. Though the war had lasted for so short a time since its recommencement, the consumption of human life had already been prodigious; the contending parties fought with unprecedented exasperation, and the results gained had outstripped the calculations of the most enthusiastic speculators. In little more than four months, the French and allied armies had lost nearly a half of their effective force—those cut off or irreversibly mutilated by the sword being above one hundred and sixteen thousand; while the means of supplying these vast chasms were much more ample on the part of the allied monarchs than of the French Directory. Never in ancient or modern times had such immense armies contended on so extensive a field. The right of the Allies rested on the Maine; their centre was posted in Switzerland; while their left stretched over the plain of Lombardy to the foot of the Apennines; and a shock was felt all along this vast line, from the rocks of Genoa to the

marshes of Holland. The results hitherto had been, to an unprecedented degree, disastrous to the French. From being universally victorious, they had everywhere become unfortunate; at the point of the bayonet they had been driven back, both in Germany and Italy, to the frontiers of the Republic; the conquests of Napoleon had been lost as rapidly as they had been won; and the power which recently threatened Vienna, now trembled lest the Imperial standards should appear on the summits of the Jura, or the banks of the Rhone.

3. It was now apparent what a capital error the Directory had committed in overrunning Switzerland; in extending their forces through the Italian peninsula, instead of concentrating them to bear the weight of Austria on the Adige; and in exiling their best army and greatest general to Africa, at the very time when the Allies were summoning to their aid the forces of a new monarchy, and the genius of a hitherto invincible conqueror. But these errors had been committed; their consequences had fallen like a thunderbolt on France; the return of Napoleon and his army seemed impossible; Italy was lost; and nothing but the invincible tenacity and singular talents of Massena enabled him to maintain himself in the last defensive line to the north of the Alps, and avert invasion from France in the quarter where its frontier is most vulnerable. To complete its misfortunes, internal dissension had paralysed the Republic at the very time when foreign dangers were most pressing, and a new government added to its declining fortunes the weakness incident to every infant administration.

4. The preparations of the Allies to follow up this extraordinary flow of prosperity were of the most formidable kind. The forces in Italy amounted to one hundred and fifteen thousand men; and, after deducting the troops required for the sieges of Mantua, Alessandria, and other fortresses in the rear, Suwarroff could still collect above fifty thousand men to press on the dispirited army of Moreau in the Ligurian Alps,

which could not muster twenty thousand soldiers round its banner. This army was destined to clear the Maritime Alps and Savoy of the enemy, and turn the position of Massena, who still maintained himself with invincible obstinacy on the banks of the Limmat. The Archduke had not under his immediate orders at that period above forty-three thousand men, twenty-two thousand having been left in the Black Forest, to mask the garrisons in the *têtes-de-pont* which the French possessed on the Upper Rhine, and sixteen thousand in the Grisons and the central Alps, to keep possession of the important ridge of the St Gothard. But a fresh Russian army of twenty-six thousand men was approaching under Korsakoff, and was expected in the environs of Zurich by the middle of August; and something was hoped from the insurrection of the Swiss who had been liberated from the French armies.

5. To meet these formidable forces, the French, who had directed all the new levies to the north of Switzerland, as the point most menaced, had seventy-five thousand men, under Massena, on the Limmat, and the utmost efforts were made in the interior to augment to the greatest degree this important army. The English and Russians had also combined a plan for the descent of above forty thousand men on the coast of Holland; for which purpose seventeen thousand men were to be furnished by his Imperial Majesty, and twenty-five thousand men by Great Britain. This force, it was hoped, would not only liberate Holland, but paralyse all the north of France, as General Brune had only fifteen thousand French troops in the United Provinces, and the native soldiers did not exceed twenty thousand. Thus, while the centre of the French was threatened with an attack from overwhelming forces in the Alps, and an inroad was preparing, by the defenceless frontier of the Jura, into the heart of their territory, their left was menaced by a more formidable invasion from the northern powers than they had yet experienced, and their right with difficulty maintained itself with inferior

forces on the inhospitable summits of the Maritime Alps.

6. But although the plan of the Allies was so extensive, the decisive point lay in the centre of the line; and it was by the Archduke that the vital blow was to be struck, which would at once have opened to them an entrance into the heart of France. This able commander impatiently awaited the arrival of the Russians under Korsakoff, which would have conferred a superiority of thirty thousand men over his opponent, and enabled him to resume the offensive with an overwhelming advantage. The object of Massena, of course, was to strike a blow before this great reinforcement arrived; as, though his army was rapidly augmenting by conscripts from the interior, he had no such sudden increase to expect as awaited the Imperial forces. It was equally indispensable for the Republicans to resume the offensive without any delay in Italy, as the important fortresses of Mantua and Alessandria were now hard pressed by the Allies, and, if not speedily relieved, must not only, by their fall, give them the entire command of the plain of Lombardy, but enable them to render the position of Massena untenable to the north of the Alps.

7. To meet these accumulating dangers, the French government exhibited an energy commensurate to the crisis in which they were placed. The imminence of the peril induced them to reveal it without disguise to both branches of the legislature. General Jourdan proposed to call out at once all classes of the conscripts, which, it was expected, would produce an increase of two hundred thousand men to the armies, and to levy a forced loan of 120,000,000 francs, or £4,800,000, on the opulent classes, secured on the national domains. Both motions were at once agreed to by the Councils. To render them as soon as possible available, the conscripts were ordered to be formed into regiments, and drilled in their several departments, and marched off, the moment they were disposable, to the nearest army on the frontier; while the service of Lille, Strassburg,

and the other fortresses, was, in great part, intrusted to the national guards of the vicinity. Thus, with the recurrence of similar circumstances in the affairs of the Republic, the revolutionary measures which had already been found so efficacious were again put in activity. Bernadotte, who at this crisis was appointed minister at war, rapidly infused into all the departments of the military service his own energy and resolution; and we have the best of all authorities—that of his political antagonist, Napoleon himself—for the assertion, that it was to the admirable measures which he set on foot, and the conscripts whom he assembled round the Imperial standards, that not only the victory of Zurich, at the close of the campaign, but the subsequent triumph of Marengo, were in a great degree owing.

8. In order to counteract as far as possible the designs of the Allies, it was resolved to augment to thirty thousand men the forces placed on the summit of the Alps, from the St Bernard to the Mediterranean; while the Army of Italy, debouching from the Apennines, should resume the offensive, in order to prevent the siege of Coni, and raise those of Mantua and Alessandria; and Massena should execute a powerful diversion on the Limmat ere the arrival of the Russians under Korsakoff. For this purpose all the conscripts in the eastern and southern departments were rapidly marched off to the armies at Zurich and on the Alps; and the fortresses of Grenoble, Briançon, and Fenestrelles, commanding the principal entrances from Piedmont into France, were armed and provisioned. At the same time the direction of the troops on the frontier was changed. Championnet, liberated from confinement, was intrusted with the command of the army of the Alps; while that of the Army of Italy was taken from Moreau, under whom, notwithstanding his great abilities, it had experienced nothing but disaster, and given to Joubert—a youthful hero, who joined heroic valour to great natural abilities, and who, though as yet untried in the separate command of large armies, had

evinced such talents in subordinate situations as gave the promise of great future renown. He was cut off in the very outset of his career, in high command, on the field of Novi.

9. Suwarroff, who was well aware of the inestimable importance of time in war, was devoured with anxiety to commence operations against the army of Moreau in the Ligurian Alps, now not more than twenty thousand strong, before it had recovered from its consternation, or was strengthened by the arrival of Macdonald's forces, which were making a painful circuit by Florence and Pisa in its rear. But the Aulic Council, who looked more to the immediate concerns of Austria than the general interest of the common cause, and were invincibly attached to a slow and methodical system of war, insisted upon Mantua being put into their hands before anything was attempted either against Switzerland, Genoa, or the Maritime Alps; and the Emperor again wrote to Suwarroff positively forbidding any enterprise until that important fortress had surrendered. The impetuous marshal, unable to conceal his vexation, and fully aware of the disastrous effects this resolution would have upon the general fate of the campaign, exclaimed, "Thus it is that armies are ruined!" Nevertheless, like a good soldier, obeying the orders, he despatched considerable reinforcements and a powerful train of artillery by the Po, to aid the siege of Mantua, and assembled at Turin the stores necessary for the reduction of Alessandria. Disgusted, however, with the subordinate part thus assigned to him, the Russian general abandoned to General Ott the duty of harassing the retreat of the army of Naples, and encamped with his veterans on the Bormida, to await the tedious operations of the besieging forces.

10. This circumstance contributed to induce an event, attended ultimately with important effects on the fate of the campaign—viz., the separation of the Austrian and Russian forces, and the rupture of all cordial concert between their respective governments. The cabinet of Vienna was too desir-

ous of the exclusive sovereignty of the conquests in Italy, to be willing to share their possession with a powerful rival; while the pride of the Russians was hurt at beholding their unconquered commander, whom they justly regarded as the soul of the confederacy, subjected to the orders of the Aulic Council, who could not appreciate his energetic mode of conducting war, and frequently interrupted him in the midst of his career of conquest. At the same time, the English government were desirous of allowing the Russian forces to act alone in Switzerland, aided by the insurrection which they hoped to organise in that country, and beheld with satisfaction the removal of the Muscovite standards from the shores of the Mediterranean, where their establishment in a permanent manner might possibly have occasioned them some uneasiness, and where they saw no cordial co-operation with the Austrians was to be expected. These feelings on all sides led to an agreement between the allied powers, in virtue of which it was stipulated, that the whole Russian troops, after the fall of Alessandria and Mantua, should be concentrated in Switzerland under Marshal Suwarroff; that the Imperialists should alone prosecute the war in Italy, and that the army of the Archduke Charles should act under his separate orders on the Upper Rhine. This plan was of itself highly advisable, as it tended to remove the jealousies consequent on the troops of different nations acting together; but, from the time at which it was carried into execution, and the immediate dislocation of force with which it was attended, it led to the most calamitous results. The whole forces of the Republic at this period, actually on foot, did not exceed two hundred and twenty thousand combatants; and although the new conscription was pressed with the utmost vigour, it could not be expected that it would add materially to the efficiency of the defending armies for several months, in the course of which, to all appearance, their fate would be decided.

11. The arrival of the army of Naples at Genoa in the end of July having

raised the French force to forty-eight thousand men, including three thousand cavalry and a powerful artillery, it was deemed indispensable on every account to resume offensive operations, in conjunction with the army of the Alps, which had now been augmented to a respectable amount. Everything, accordingly, was put in motion in the valleys of the Alps and Apennines; and the French army, whose headquarters were at Cornegiano, occupied at Voltri, Savona, Vado, and Loano, nearly the same position which Napoleon held previous to his memorable descent into Italy in March 1796. But it was too late: all the activity of Moreau and Joubert could not prevent the fall of the bulwarks of Lombardy and Piedmont. The siege of Mantua, which had been blockaded ever since the battle of Magnano, was pressed in good earnest by General Kray after the victory of the Trebbia. The capture of Turin having placed at the disposal of the Allies immense resources, both in artillery and ammunition, and the defeat of Macdonald having relieved them from all anxiety as to the raising of the siege, thirty thousand men were soon collected round its walls, and the batteries of the besiegers armed with two hundred pieces of cannon. The garrison originally consisted of nearly eleven thousand men; but this force, barely adequate at first to man its extensive ramparts, was now considerably weakened by disease. The peculiar situation of this celebrated fortress rendered it indispensable that, at all hazards, the exterior works should be maintained, and this was no easy matter with an insufficient body of troops. The soldiers were provisioned for a year; but the inhabitants, thrice impoverished by enormous contributions, were in the most miserable condition; and the famine with which they were menaced, joined to the natural unhealthiness of the situation during the autumnal months, soon produced those contagious disorders ever in the rear of protracted war, which, in spite of every precaution, seriously weakened the strength of the garrison.

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12. Mantua, situated in the middle of a lake formed by the Mincio in the course of its passage from the Alps to the Po, depends entirely for its security upon its external works, and the command of the waters which surround its walls. Two chaussées traverse the whole extent of the lake on bridges of stone: the first leads to the citadel, the second to the faubourg St George. Connected with the citadel are the external works and intrenched camp, which surround the lake, and prevent all access to its margin. These works, with the exception of the citadel, are not of any considerable strength; the real defence of Mantua consists in the command which the garrison has of the waters in the lake, which is formed by three locks. That of the citadel enables them at pleasure to augment the upper lake; that of Pradella gives them the command of the entrance of its waters into the Pajolo; while that of the port Gêrèse puts it in their power to dam up the canal of Pajolo, and let it flow into inundations to obstruct the approach to the place. But, on the other hand, the besiegers have the means of augmenting or diminishing the supply of water to the lake itself, by draining off the river which feeds it above the town; and the dykes which lead to Pradella are of such breadth as to permit trenches to be cut and approaches made along them. Upon the whole, an exaggerated idea had been formed both of the value and strength of Mantua, by the importance which it had assumed in the campaign of 1796, and the result of the present siege revealed the secret of its real weakness.

13. Kray, taking advantage with ability of all the means at his disposal, had caused his flotilla to descend by Peschiera and Goito from the lake of Garda, and brought up many gunboats by the inferior part of the Mincio into the lower lake. By means of these vessels, which were armed with cannon of the heaviest calibre, he kept up an incessant fire on the dykes, and at the same time established batteries against the curtain between the citadel and fort St George. These were intended

merely as feints, to divert the attention of the besiegers from the real point of attack, which was the front of fort Pradella. On the night of the 14th July, while the garrison were reposing, after having celebrated by extraordinary rejoicings the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille, the trenches were opened, and after the approaches had been continued for some days, the tower of Gêrèse was carried by assault, and the besiegers' guns rapidly brought close up to the outworks of the place. On the night of the 24th, all the batteries of the besiegers being fully armed, they opened their fire, from above two hundred pieces, with such tremendous effect, that the defences of the fortress speedily gave way before it. In less than two hours the outworks of fort Pradella were destroyed; while the guns intended to create a diversion against the citadel soon produced a serious impression. Nothing could stand against the vigour and sustained weight of the allied fire; their discharges gradually rose from six thousand cannon-shot to twelve thousand in twenty-four hours, and the loss of the garrison from its effects was from five to six hundred a-day. Under the pressure arising from so terrible an attack, the fort of St George and the battery of Pajolo were successively abandoned; and at length the garrison, reduced to seven thousand five hundred men, surrendered, on condition of being sent back to France, and not serving again until regularly exchanged. Hardly were the terms agreed to, when the upper lake flowed with such violence into the under, through an aperture which the governor had cut to let in the waters, that sixty feet of the dyke were carried away, and the inundation of Pajolo deepened to such a degree that it might have prolonged for at least eight days his means of defence, and possibly, by preventing the besieging force taking a part in the battle of Novi, which shortly followed, altered the fate of the campaign.

14. While the bulwark of Lombardy was thus falling, after an unexpectedly short resistance, into the hands of the Imperialists, Count Bellegarde was not less successful against the citadel of

Alessandria. Trenches were opened on the 8th July; in a few days, eighty pieces of cannon were placed in battery; and such was the activity with which they were served, that in seven days they discharged no less than forty-two thousand projectiles. On the 21st, the garrison, consisting of sixteen hundred men, surrendered at discretion. This conquest was of great importance to the future projects of Suwarroff; but it was dearly purchased by the loss of General Chastellar, his chief of the staff, who was severely wounded soon after the first trenches were opened—an officer whose talents and activity had, in a great degree, contributed to the success of the campaign. After the fall of Alessandria and Mantua, Suwarroff, faithful to the orders he had received from Vienna, to leave no fortified place in the enemy's hands in his rear, commenced the siege of Tortona. His army was soon augmented by the arrival of General Kray, with twenty thousand men, from the siege of Mantua, who entered into line on the 12th August. The trenches were opened before Tortona on the 5th August, and on the 7th, the castle of Serravalle, situated at the entrance of one of the valleys leading into the Apennines, was taken after a short cannonade. But the French army, which was now concentrated under Joubert on the Apennines, was preparing an offensive movement, and the approaches to Genoa were destined to be the theatre of one of the most bloody battles which had yet occurred in modern times.

15. The Republicans at this epoch occupied the following positions. The right wing, fifteen thousand strong, under St Cyr, guarded the passes of the Apennines from Portremoli to Torriglia, and furnished the garrison of Genoa. The centre, consisting of ten thousand, held the important posts of the Bochetta and Campo Freddo at the summit of the mountains; while the left, twenty-two thousand strong, was encamped on the reverse of the range, on the side of Piedmont, from the upper end of the valley of the Tanaro—and both guarded the communications of the whole army with France, and

kept up the connection with the corps under Championnet, which was beginning to collect on the higher passes of the Alps. On the other hand, the Allies could only muster forty-five thousand men in front of Tortona: General Kaim, with twelve thousand, being at Chierasco to observe the army of the Alps; Klenau in Tuscany, with seven thousand combatants; and the remainder of their great army occupied in keeping up the communications between their widely scattered forces.

16. The arrival of Joubert, to supersede him in the command of his army, had no tendency to excite feelings of jealousy in the mind of his great predecessor. Moreau was incapable of a personal feeling when the interest of his country was at stake; and with a magnanimity truly worthy of admiration, he not only gave his youthful successor the full benefit of his matured counsel and experience, but offered to accompany him for some days after he opened his campaign; contributing thus, by his advice, to the glory of a rival who had just supplanted him in the command. Joubert, on his side, not only profited by the assistance thus generously proffered, but deferred on every occasion to the advice of his illustrious friend; and to the good understanding between these great men the preservation of the Republican forces after the defeat at Novi and the death of Joubert, is mainly to be ascribed. How different from the presumption of Lafauiillade, who, a century before, had caused the ruin of a French army near the same spot, by neglecting the advice of Marshal Vauban before the walls of Turin!

17. On the 9th of August, the French army commenced its forward movement; and, after debouching by the valleys of the Bormida, the Erro, and the Orba, assembled on the 13th at Novi, and blockaded Serravalle, in the rear of their right wing. A fourth column, under the orders of St Cyr, destined to raise the siege of Tortona, descended the defiles of the Bochetta. Suwarroff no sooner heard of this advance than he concentrated his army, which, on the evening of the 14th, occupied the

following positions: Kray, with the divisions of Bellegarde and Ott, was encamped in two lines on the right, near the road from Novi to Bosco, the centre, consisting of the divisions of Forster and Schwiekowsky, commanded by Derfelden, bivouacked in rear of Pozzolo-Formigaro; while Melas, with the left, consisting of the Austrian divisions of Fraelich and Lichtenstein, occupied Rivalta. The army of Joubert was grouped on the plateau in the rear of Novi, with his right on the Scrivia, his centre at Novi, and his left at Basaluzzo—a position which enabled him to cover the march of the columns detached from his right, which were destined to advance by Cassano to effect the deliverance of Tortona. The French occupied a semicircle on the northern slopes of the Monte Rotondo; the left, composed of the divisions Grouchy and Lemoine, under the command of Perignon, extended itself, in a circular form, around Pasturana; in the centre, the division Laboissière, under St Cyr, covered the heights to the right and left of Novi; while the division Watrin, on the right, guarded the approaches to the Monte Rotondo from the side of Tortona, and Dombrowaky, with the Polish division, blockaded Serravalle. The position was strong, and the concentrated masses of the Republicans presented a formidable front among the woods, ravines, slopes, and vineyards with which the foot of the Apennines was broken. On the side of the French, forty-three thousand men were assembled; while the forces of the Allies were above fifty-five thousand—a superiority which made the first desirous of engaging upon the rugged ground at the foot of the hills, and the latter anxious to draw their opponent into the plain, where their great superiority in cavalry might give them a decisive advantage.

18. Joubert, who had given no credit to the rumours which had reached the army of the fall of Mantua, and continually disbelieved the asseverations of St Cyr, that he would have the whole allied army on his hands, received a painful confirmation of its truth, by beholding the dense masses of Kray en-

camped opposite to his left wing. He was thrown by this unexpected discovery into the utmost perplexity. To engage with so great an inferiority of force was the height of temerity, while retreat was difficult in presence of so enterprising an enemy. In these circumstances, he resolved, late on the night of the 14th—after such irresolution as throws great doubts on his capacity as general-in-chief, whatever his talents as second in command may have been—on retiring into the fastnesses of the Apennines; and he was only waiting for the arrival of his scouts in the morning, to give the necessary orders for carrying it into effect, when the commencement of the attack by the Allies compelled him to accept battle in the position which he occupied. Suwarroff's order of battle at Novi was highly characteristic of that singular warrior. It was simply this: "Kray and Bellegarde will attack the left, the Russians the centre, Melas the right." To the soldiers he said, "God wills, the Emperor orders, Suwarroff commands, that to-morrow the enemy be conquered." Dressed in his usual costume, in his shirt down to the waist, he was on horseback at the advanced posts the whole preceding evening, attended by a few horsemen, minutely reconnoitring the Republican position. He was recognised from the French lines by the singularity of his dress, and a skirmish of advanced posts in consequence took place.

19. Suwarroff's design was to force back the left of the French, by means of the corps of Kray, while Bagrathion had orders to turn their right, and unite in their rear, under cover of the cannon of Serravalle, with that corps. At the same time, Derfelden was to attack Novi in the centre, and Melas commanded the reserve, ready to support any part of the army which required his aid. In pursuance of these orders, Kray commenced the attack at five in the morning; Bellegarde assailed Grouchy—and Ott, Lemoine. The Republicans were at first taken by surprise; and their masses, in great part in the act of marching or entangled in the vineyards, received the fire of the

Austrians without being able either to deploy or answer it. Notwithstanding the heroic resistance of some brigades, the Imperialists sensibly gained ground, and the heads of their columns were already mounting the plateau on which Novi stands, when Joubert hurried in person to the spot, and when in the act of waving his hat, giving the word, "Forward, let us throw ourselves among the *tirailleurs*!" received a ball in his breast. He instantly fell, and with his last breath exclaimed, "Advance, my friends, advance!"

20. The confusion occasioned by this circumstance would have proved fatal, in all probability, to the French army, had the other corps of the Allies been so far advanced as to take advantage of it. But, by a strange fatality, though their attacks were all combined and concentric, they were calculated to take place at different times; and while this important advantage was gained on their left, the Russians in the centre were still resting at Pozzolo-Formigaro, and Melas had merely despatched a detachment from Rivalta to observe the course of the Scriveria. This circumstance, joined to the opportune arrival of Moreau, who assumed the command and harangued the troops, restored order, and the Austrians were at length driven down to the bottom of the hill on their second line. During this encounter, Bellegarde endeavoured to gain the rear of Pasturana by a ravine which encircled it, and was on the point of succeeding, when Perignon charged him so vigorously with the grenadiers of Partonneaux and the cavalry of Richepanse, that the Imperialists were driven back in confusion, and the whole French left wing rescued from danger. Hitherto the right of the Republicans had not been attacked, and St Cyr availed himself of this respite to complete his defensive arrangements. Kray, finding the whole weight of the engagement on his hands, pressed Bagrathion to commence an attack on Novi; and though the Russian general was desirous to wait till the hour assigned by his commander for his moving, he agreed to commence, when it was evident that, unless speedily



supported, Kray would be compelled to retreat. The Russians advanced with great gallantry to the attack; but a discharge from the division Labois-sière of musketry and grape, at half gun-shot, threw them into confusion; and, after an obstinate engagement, they were finally broken by a charge by Watrin, with a brigade of infantry, on their flank, and driven back with great loss to Pozzolo-Formigaro.

21. The failure of these partial attacks rendered it evident that a combined effort of all the columns was necessary. It was now noon, and the French line was unbroken, although the superiority of numbers on the part of the Allies was fully twelve thousand men. Suwarroff, therefore, combined all his forces for a decisive movement. Kray, whom nothing could intimidate, received orders to prepare for a fresh attack; Derfelden was destined to support Bagrathion in the centre, Melas was directed to break up from Rivalta to form the left of the line, while Rosenberg was ordered in all haste to advance from Tortona to support his movement. The battle, after a pause, began again with the utmost fury at all points. It was long, however, most obstinately disputed. Notwithstanding the utmost efforts of Kray, who returned above ten times to the charge, the Imperialists could make no impression on the French left: in vain column after column advanced to the harvest of death—nothing could break the firm array of the Republicans; while Bagrathion, Derfelden, and Miladowitch, in the centre, after the most heroic exertions, were compelled to recoil before the terrible fire of the infantry and batteries which were disposed around Novi. For above four hours, the action continued with the utmost fury, without the French infantry being anywhere displaced; until at length the fatigue on both sides produced a temporary pause, and the contending hosts rested on their arms amidst a field covered with the slain.

22. The resolution of any other general but Suwarroff would have been shaken by so terrible a carnage without any result; but his moral courage was

of a kind which nothing could subdue. At four o'clock the left wing of the Allies came up under Melas, and preparations were instantly made to take advantage of so great a reinforcement. Melas was directed to assail the extreme right of the Republicans, and endeavour, by turning it, to threaten the road from Novi to Genoa; while Kray again attacked the left, and Suwarroff himself, with the whole weight of the Russians, pressed the centre. The resistance experienced on the left was so obstinate that, though he led on the troops with the courage of a grenadier, Kray could not gain a foot of ground; but the Russians in the centre, after a terrible conflict, succeeded in driving the Republicans into Novi, from the old walls and ruined towers of which, however, they still kept up a murderous fire. But the progress of Melas on the right was much more alarming. While one of his columns ascended the right bank of the Scrivia and reached Serravalle, another by the left bank had already turned the Monte Rotondo, and was rapidly ascending its sides; while the general himself, with a third, was advancing against the eastern flank of the plateau of Novi. To make head against so many dangers, Moreau ordered the division Watrin to move towards the menaced plateau; but finding itself assailed during its march, both in front and rear, by the divisions of Melas, it fell into confusion, and fled in the utmost disorder, with difficulty cutting its way through the enemy on the road in the rear of the French position.

23. It now became indispensable for the Republicans to retire, for Lichtenstein, at the head of the Imperial cavalry and three brigades of grenadiers, was already established on the road to Gavi; his triumphant battalions, with loud shouts, were sweeping round the rear of the Republicans, while the glittering helmets of the horsemen appeared on every eminence behind their lines, and no other way of communication remained open but that which led by Pasturana to Ovada. Suwarroff, who saw his advantage, was preparing a last and simultaneous at-

tack on the front and flanks of his opponent, when Moreau anticipated him by a general retreat. It was at first conducted in good order, but the impetuous assaults of the Allies soon converted it into a rout. Novi, stripped of its principal defenders, could no longer withstand the assaults of the Russians, who, confident of victory, and seeing the standards of the Allies in the rear of the French position, rushed forward with resistless fury and deafening cheers, over the dead bodies of their comrades, to the charge. Lemoine and Grouchy with difficulty sustained themselves, in retiring, against the impetuous attacks of their unwearied antagonist Kray, when the village of Pasturana in their rear was carried by the Russians, whose vehemence increased with their success, and the only road practicable for their artillery cut off. Despair now seized their ranks; infantry, cavalry, and artillery disbanded, and fled in tumultuous confusion across the vineyards and orchards which adjoined the line of retreat. Colli and his whole brigade were made prisoners; and Perignon and Grouchy, almost cut to pieces with sabre-wounds, fell into the hands of the enemy. The army, in utter confusion, reached Gavi, where it was rallied by the efforts of Moreau, the Allies being too much exhausted with fatigue to continue the pursuit.

24. The battle of Novi was one of the most bloody and obstinately contested that had yet occurred in the war. The loss of the Allies was 1800 killed, 5200 wounded, and 1200 prisoners; that of the French was still greater, amounting to 1500 killed, 5500 wounded, and 3000 prisoners, besides 37 cannons, 28 caissons, and 4 standards. As the war advanced, and fiercer passions were brought into collision, the carnage was daily becoming greater; the officers were more prodigal of their own blood and that of their soldiers; and the chiefs themselves, regardless of life, at length led them on both sides to the charge, with an enthusiasm which nothing could surpass. Joubert was the victim of this heroic feeling; Grouchy charged with a standard in

his hand, and when it was torn from him in the *mêlée*, he raised his helmet on his sabre, and was thrown down and wounded in the shock of the opposing squadrons; and Kray, Bagration, and Melas led on their troops to the mouth of the enemy's cannon, as if their duty had been that of merely commanding grenadier battalions.

25. The consequences of the battle of Novi were not so great as might have been expected from so desperate a shock. On the night of the 15th, Moreau regained in haste the defiles of the Apennines, and posted St Cyr, with a strong rearguard, to defend the approaches to the Bochetta. In the first moments of consternation, he had serious thoughts of evacuating Genoa, and the artillery was already collected at St Pietro d'Arena for that purpose; but, finding that he was not seriously disquieted, he again dispersed his troops through the mountains, nearly in the positions they held before the battle. St Cyr was intrusted with the right, where a serious attempt was chiefly apprehended; and an attack which Klenau made on that part of the position, with five thousand men, was repulsed with the loss of seven hundred men to the Imperialists. Suwarroff himself, informed of the successes of the French in the small cantons of Switzerland, immediately detached Kray, with twelve thousand men, to the Tessino; while he himself, in order to keep an eye on Championnet, whose force was daily accumulating on the Maritime Alps, encamped at Asti, where he covered at once the blockade of Coni and the siege of Tortona.

26. During the concentration of the Allied forces for the battle of Novi, this active commander so ably disposed his little army, which only amounted to sixteen thousand combatants, instead of thirty thousand, as he had been promised by the Directory, that he succeeded in forcing the passage of the Little St Bernard, and driving the Imperialists back to Suza. These successes continued even after the Russian commander took post at Asti; and in a variety of affairs of posts in the valleys of the Alps, he succeeded in tak-

ing fifteen hundred prisoners and four pieces of cannon. But these advantages were more than counterbalanced by the fall of Tortona, which capitulated on the 25th August, on condition that, if not relieved by the 11th September, the place should be surrendered to the Allies. This conquest was the only trophy which they derived from the bloody battle of Novi. Moreau made an ineffectual attempt to relieve the blockade, and, finding it impossible to effect the object, retired into the fastnesses of the Apennines; while Suwarroff, who had received orders to collect the whole Russians in the Alps, set out, agreeably to the plan fixed on, with seventeen thousand men, for the canton of the Tessino.

27. While these great events were passing to the south of the Alps, events of still more decisive importance occurred to the north of those mountains. Immediately after the capture of Zurich and the retreat of Massena to Mount Albis, the Archduke established the bulk of his forces on the hills which separate the Glatt from the Limmat, and placed a chain of posts along the whole line of that river, and the Aar, to observe the movements of the Republicans. Each of the opposing armies in Switzerland numbered about seventy-five thousand combatants; but the French had acquired a decided superiority on the Upper Rhine, where they had collected forty thousand men, while the forces of the Imperialists amounted in that quarter only to twenty-two thousand. Both parties were anxiously waiting for reinforcements; but as that expected by the Archduke, under Korsakoff, was by much the most important, Massena resolved to anticipate his adversary, and strike a decisive blow before that auxiliary arrived. For this purpose he commenced his operations by means of his right wing in the higher Alps, hoping, by the advantage which the initiative always gives in mountainous regions, to dispossess the Imperialists from the important position of the St Gothard, and separate their Italian from their German armies by the acquisition of

these elevated ridges, which were universally at that period deemed the key to the seat of war.

28. At the very time when the French general was making preparations for these important movements, the Aulic Council gave every possible facility to their success, by compelling the Archduke to depart with his experienced troops for the Rhine, and make way for the Russians under Korsakoff, equally unskilled in mountain warfare, and unacquainted with the French tactics. In vain that able commander represented that the line of the Rhine, with its double barrier of fortresses, was equally formidable to an invading as advantageous to an offensive army; that nothing decisive, therefore, could be expected from the operations of the Imperialists in that quarter, while the chances of success were much greater from a combined attack of the Russians and Austrians on the frontier of the Jura, where no fortresses existed to impede an invading force; that fifty thousand Russians in Switzerland could not supply the place of seventy thousand Austrians, and the chances, therefore, were that some serious disaster would occur in the most important part of the line of operations; and that nothing could be more hazardous than to make a change of troops and commanders in presence of a powerful and enterprising enemy, at the very time that he was meditating offensive operations. These judicious observations produced no sort of effect, and the court of Vienna ordered "the immediate execution of its will, without further objections."

29. To understand the important military operations which followed, it is indispensable to form some idea of the ground on which they took place. The St Gothard, though inferior in elevation to many other mountains in Switzerland, is nevertheless the central point of the country, and from its sides some of the greatest rivers in Europe take their rise. On the east, the Rhine, springing from the glaciers of Disentis and Hinter-Rhein, carries its waters, by a circuitous course, through the expanse of the lake of Constance to the

German Ocean; on the north, the Reuss and the Aar, descending in parallel ravines, through rugged mountains, feed the lakes of Luzern, Thun, and Brienz, and ultimately contribute their waters to the same majestic stream. On the west, a still greater river rises in the blue and glittering glacier of the Rhone, and descending through the long channel of the Valais, expands into the beautiful lake of Geneva; while to the south, the snows of the St Gothard nourish the impetuous torrent of the Tessino, which, after foaming through the rocks of Faido, and bathing the smiling shores of the Italian bailiwicks, swells out into the sweet expanse of the Lago Maggiore, and loses itself in the classic waves of the Po. The line of the Limmat, which now separated the hostile armies, is composed of the Linth, which rises in the snowy mountains of Glarus, and, after forming in its course the Lake of Zurich, issues from that great sheet of water, under the name of the Limmat, and throws itself into the Aar at Brück. Hotze guarded the line of the Linth; the Archduke himself that of the Limmat. Korsakoff was considerably in the rear, and was not expected at Schaffhausen till the 19th August.\*

30. One road, practicable for cavalry, but barely so for artillery at that period, crossed the St Gothard from Bellinzona

to Altdorf.† Ascending from Bellinzona on the southern side, it passed through a narrow defile close to the Tessino, between immense walls of rock between Faido and Airolo; climbed the steep ascent above Airolo to the inhospitable summit of the St Gothard; descended, by a torrent's edge, its northern declivity, to the elevated mountain valley of Unsern, from whence, after traversing the dark and humid gallery of the Unnerloch, it crossed the foaming cascade of the Reuss by the celebrated Devil's Bridge, and descended, through the desolate and rugged valley of Schollenen, to Altdorf on the lake of Luzern. But there all vestige of a practicable road ceased, and must ever cease; the sublime lake of Uri lies before the traveller, the sides of which, formed of gigantic walls of rock, defy all attempt at the formation of a path, and the communication with Luzern is carried on by water along the beautiful lake of the Four Cantons. The only way in which it is possible to proceed on land from this point, is either on the left by shepherd's tracks towards Stanz and the canton of Unterwalden, or on the right by the rugged and almost impracticable pass of the Schächenthal, by which the traveller may reach the upper extremity of the canton of Glarus. From the valley of Unsern, in the heart of the St Gothard, a diffi-

\* The relative situation and strength of the two armies, at this period, is thus given by the Archduke Charles:—

French.		Infantry.	Cavalry.
From Huningen to the mouth of the Aar,	.	10,991	3,203
From the mouth of the Aar to Mount Uetli,	.	28,792	3,239
From Mount Albis to the lake of Luzern,	.	11,761	564
From the lake of Luzern to the valley of Oberhasli,	.	7,732	
In the Valais, from Brieg to St Maurice,	.	10,886	554
In the interior of Switzerland,	.	2,088	1,126
Total,		67,250	8,691
		—75,941	
Allies.			
Between Weiss and Wutach,	.	4,269	1,329
From the mouth of the Aar to the lake of Zurich,	.	37,058	10,458
Between the lake of Zurich and Luzern,	.	8,722	834
From the lake of Luzern to the St Gothard,	.	4,184	175
On the St Gothard, the Grimsel, and the Upper Valais,	.	5,744	150
In the Grisons,	.	1,188	355
Swiss,	.	3,458	
Total,		64,613	13,301
		—77,914	

† The magnificent chaussée which now traverses this mountainous and romantic region was not formed till the year 1810.

cult and dangerous path leads over the Furka and the Grimsel, across steep and slippery slopes, where the most experienced traveller can with difficulty keep his footing, to Meyringen in the valley of Oberhasli.

31. The plan of the Allies was, that Hotze, with twenty-five thousand Austrians, should be left on the Linth; and at the end of September a general attack should be made on the French position along the whole line. Korsakoff was to lead the attack on the left with his Russian forces; Hotze in the centre with the Austrians; while Suwaroff, with seventeen thousand of his best troops, flushed with the conquest of Italy, was to assail the right flank of the Republicans, and by the St Gothard throw himself into the rear of their position on the Limmat. This design might have been attended with success, if it had been undertaken with troops already assembled on the theatre of operations; but when they were to be collected from Novi and Bavaria, and undertaken in presence of a general perfectly master of the ground, and already occupying a central position in the midst of these converging columns, it was evidently attended with the most imminent hazard. If any of the columns did not arrive at the appointed time, the whole weight of the enemy might be expected to fall on the first which appeared. Massena intrusted to Lecourbe, whose skill in mountain warfare had already been amply evinced, the important duty of throwing forward his right wing, and expelling the Imperialists from the higher Alps; while he himself, by a false attack along the whole line, and especially upon Zurich in the centre, distracted the attention of the enemy, and prevented him from perceiving the accumulation of force which was brought to bear on the St Gothard.

32. Early on the morning of the 14th August, the French troops were everywhere in motion. On the left, the allied outposts were driven in along the whole line; and in the centre the attack was so impetuous that the Austrians were forced back almost to Zurich, where the Archduke rapidly col-

lected his forces to resist the inroad. After considerable bloodshed, as the object was gained, the Republicans drew off, and resumed their positions on the Limmat. The real attack of Lecourbe was attended with very different results. The forces at his disposal, including those of Thurreau in the Valais, were little short of thirty thousand men, and they were directed with the most consummate ability. General Gudín, with five battalions, was to leave the valley of the Aar, force the ridge of the Grimsel, and, forming a junction with General Thurreau in the Valais, drive the Austrians from the source of the Rhone and Mount Furka. A second column of three battalions, commanded by Loison, received orders to cross the Steinerberg between Oberhasli and the valley of Schollenen, and descend upon Wasen; while a third marched from Engelberg upon Erstfeld, on the lake of Luzern; and a fourth moved direct by the valley of Issi upon Altdorf. Lecourbe himself was to embark from Luzern, on board his flotilla, make himself master of Brunen and Schwytz on its eastern shore, and combine with the other corps for the capture of Altdorf and all the posts occupied by the enemy in the valley of the Reuss.

33. These attacks all proved successful. The Republican parties, under Lecourbe and Oudinot, advanced by land and water against Schwytz, and, after an obstinate combat, the united Swiss and Imperialists were driven from that canton into the Muttenthal. From Brunen, the harbour of Schwytz on the lake, Lecourbe conducted his flotilla under Tell's Chapel, through the sublime scenery of the lake of Uri, beneath precipices fifteen hundred feet high, to Flüelen, where he landed with great difficulty, under a heavy fire from the Austrian troops; and, after a warm engagement, forced General Simbschen, who defended Altdorf, to retire farther up the valley of the Reuss. Meanwhile Loison, after encountering incredible difficulties, had crossed the Steinerberg and the glaciers of Susten, and not only forced the enemy back into the valley of Reuss, but, after five assaults,

made himself master of the important elevated post of Wasen, in the middle of its extent, so as to expose the troops who had been driven up from Altdorf to be assailed in rear as well as front. In this extremity they had no resource but to retire by the lateral gorge of the Maderanerthal, from whence they reached by Tavätsch the valley of the Rhine.

34. Meanwhile successes still more decisive were achieved by the Republicans in the other part of their mountain line. General Thurreau at the same hour attacked Prince Rohan, who was stationed in the Valais, near Brieg, to guard the northern approach to the Simplon; and defeated him with such loss that he was constrained to evacuate the valley of the Rhone, and retired by the terrific gorges of the Simplon to Duomo d'Ossola, on the Italian side of the mountains.\* This disaster obliged Colonel Strauch, who guarded amidst snow and granite, the rugged sides of the Grimsel and the Furka with eight battalions, to fly to the relief of the Imperialists in the Upper Valais, leaving only fifteen hundred to guard the summit of that mountain. He succeeded in stopping the advance of the Republicans up the Valais; but during his absence the important posts of the Grimsel and Furka were lost. General Gudin, at the head of three thousand men, set out from Guttanen, in the valley of the Aar, and after climbing up the valley, and surmounting with infinite difficulty the glaciers of Ghelmen, succeeded in assailing the corps who guarded, amidst ice and snow, the rugged summit of the Grimsel, from a higher point than that which they occupied. After a desperate conflict, in which a severe loss was experienced on both sides, the Imperialists were driven down the southern side of the mountain into the Valais; and Colonel

\* The magnificent road which now crosses the Simplon, and awakens the admiration of every traveller from the skill with which it is executed, and the splendid scenery which it reveals, was not then made; and the only passage from the Valais to Duomo d'Ossola was by a break-neck path, highly dangerous during winter in the upper parts, and practicable, even in summer, only for foot passengers.

Strauch, finding himself now exposed on both flanks, had no alternative but to retire by the dangerous pass called the Nufenen, over a slippery glacier, to Faido on the Tessino, from whence he rejoined the scattered detachments of his force, which had made their escape from the Valais, by paths known only to chamois hunters, through the Val Formazza at Bellinzona.

35. Lecourbe, ignorant of the successes of his right wing, on the succeeding day pursued his career of victory in the valley of the Reuss. Following the retiring columns of the Imperialists up the dark and shaggy pass of Schollenen, he at length arrived at the Devil's Bridge, where a chasm thirty feet wide, formed by the blowing up of the arch, and a murderous fire from the rocks on the opposite side of the ravine, arrested his progress. But this obstacle was not of long duration. During the night the Republicans threw beams over the chasm; and the Austrians, finding themselves menaced on their flank by General Gudin, who was descending the valley of Unsern from the Furka by Realp, were obliged to evacuate that almost impregnable post, and retire to the heights of the Crispalt, behind the Oberalp, near the source of the Rhine. There they maintained themselves, with great resolution, against the Republican grenadiers till the evening; but on the following day, being assailed by the united forces of Lecourbe and Gudin, they were finally broken and driven back to Ilanz, in the Grisons, farther down that river, with the loss of a thousand prisoners and three pieces of cannon. At the same time, a detachment took possession of the summit of the St Gothard, and established itself at Airolo, on the southern declivity of the mountain.

36. While Lecourbe was gaining these great successes on the right, his left, between the lakes of Luzern and Zurich, was equally fortunate. General Chabran, on the extreme left, cleared the whole western bank of the lake of Zurich as far as Wiggis; the central columns drove the Imperialists from Schwyz into the Muttenthal, and defeated Jellachich at Ensiedeln; and on the follow-

ing day, aided by Chabran, who moved against his flank by the Wagghthal, they totally routed the Austrians, who fell back, with the loss of twelve hundred prisoners, by the Klonthal, into the canton of Glarus. Thus, by a series of operations as ably executed as they were skilfully conceived, was the whole left wing of the Imperialists routed and driven back in less than forty-eight hours, with the loss of ten pieces of cannon, four thousand prisoners, and two thousand in killed and wounded; while the important post of the St Gothard, with all its approaches and lateral valleys, was wrested from their hands.\*

37. These brilliant successes, however, were only gained by Massena through the great concentration of his forces on the right wing. To accomplish this he was obliged to weaken his left, which, lower down in the plain, guarded the course of the Aar. The Archduke resolved to avail himself of this circumstance to strike a decisive blow against that weakened extremity; in which he was the more encouraged by the arrival of twenty thousand Russians of Korsakoff's corps at Schaffhausen, and the important effect which success in that quarter would have in threatening the communications of the Republican army with the interior of France. For this purpose thirty thousand men were assembled on the banks of the river, and the point selected for the passage at Gross Dettingen, a little below the junction of the Reuss and the Aar. Hotze was left in Zurich with eight thousand men, with which he engaged to defend it to the last extremity; while Korsakoff promised to arrive at Ober Endingen, in the centre of the line, with twenty-three thousand men. The march of the columns was so well concealed, and the arrangements made with such precision, that this great force reached the destined point without the enemy being aware of their arrival, and every-

thing promised a favourable issue to the enterprise, when it proved abortive from the difficulties of the passage, and the want of skill and due preparation in the Austrian engineers. The bridges for the crossing of the troops were commenced under such a violent fire of artillery as speedily cleared the opposite banks, but it was found impossible to anchor the pontoons in the rocky bed of the stream, and the rapidity of the current rendered it hopeless to construct the bridges in any other manner. Thus, from the want of a little foresight and a few precautions on the part of the engineers, did a project fail, as ably conceived as it was accurately executed by the military officers, and which promised to have altered the fate of the campaign, and perhaps of the war. Had the passage been effected, the Archduke, with forty thousand men, would have cleared all the right bank of the Aar, separated the French left wing on the Rhine from their centre and right in Switzerland, compelled Massena to undertake a disastrous retreat into the canton of Berne, exposed to almost certain destruction the small corps at Bâle, and opened the defenceless frontier of the Jura to immediate invasion from the united troops of the Archduke, Korsakoff, and Suwarroff. The want of a few grappling-irons defeated a project on which perhaps the fate of the world depended. Such is frequently the fortune of war.

38. Desirous still of achieving something considerable with his veteran soldiers before leaving the command in Switzerland, the Archduke, after his troops had resumed their position, again concentrated his left under Hotze. But the usual jealousies between the troops and commanders of rival nations prevented his projects from being carried into execution; and before the end of the month the Austrians, under their able commander, were in full march for the Upper Rhine, leaving twenty-five thousand men under Hotze, as an auxiliary force to support Korsakoff until the arrival of Suwarroff from the plains of Piedmont. This change of commanders, and weakening of the allied forces, presented too great chances of success

\* Many readers will recognise, in the theatre of these operations, the scenes indelibly engraven on their memory by the matchless sublimity of their features. The author traversed them on foot in 1816, and again in 1821; the lapse of twenty years has taken nothing from the clearness of the impressions left on his mind during these delightful excursions.

to escape the observation of so able a general as Massena, whose army was now augmented, by reinforcements from the interior, to above eighty thousand men. He instantly resolved on a general attack along the whole line. The movement commenced with an attack by Soult, with the right wing of the Republicans, upon Hotze, who occupied the canton of Glarus; and, after several sharp skirmishes, a decisive action took place near Näfels, in which the Austrians were defeated, and compelled to fall back to a defensive line in their rear, extending from the lake of Zurich by Wesen through the Wallenstätter See by Sarganz, to Coire in the Grisons. It was at this critical moment that the Archduke, yielding to the pressing commands of the Aulic Council, was compelled to abandon the army with the great body of his troops, leaving the united force of Korsakoff and Hotze, fifty-six thousand strong, scattered over a line forty miles in length, to sustain the weight of Massena, who, without weakening his force at other points, could bring sixty-five thousand to bear upon the decisive point around the ramparts of Zurich.

39. The arrival of the Archduke was soon attended with important effects upon the Upper Rhine. The French had crossed that river at Mannheim on the 26th August with twelve thousand men, and driving General Muller, who commanded the Imperialists, before them, laid siege to Philippsburg, on which they had commenced a furious bombardment. But the approach of the Austrian prince speedily changed the state of affairs. The columns of that commander, rapidly approaching, threatened to cut off their retreat to the Rhine, and they were obliged hastily to raise the siege and retire to Mannheim. The insufficient state of defence of that important place inspired the Archduke with the design of carrying it by a *coup-de-main*. Its fortifications had, some months before, been levelled by the Republicans; but since that time they had been indefatigable in their endeavours to restore them, and they were already in a respectable state of defence. On the 17th, the Austrians in two columns,

one of fourteen thousand men, the other of seven thousand, with a reserve of eight thousand, moved towards Mannheim, and on the following day gave the assault. A thick fog favoured the enterprise; the Austrians got into the redoubts almost before the French were aware of their approach, and drove them over the Rhine, with the loss of eighteen hundred prisoners, and twenty-one pieces of cannon. This success threw a momentary lustre over the expedition, for which the Allies were about to pay dear by the disasters experienced before Zurich.

40. After the departure of the Archduke, it was concerted between Suwarroff, Korsakoff, and Hotze, that the former of these commanders should set out from Bellinzona on the 21st September, and attack the Republican positions near Airolo on the Tessino. On the 25th, he expected to be at Altdorf, after having made himself master of the St Gothard. From thence he was to form a junction with Korsakoff at Zurich, and with their united forces assail the position of Massena on the Limmat in front, while Hotze attacked it in flank. By this means they flattered themselves that they would be able to march on the Aar with the mass of their forces, and drive the French back upon the frontier of the Jura and their own resources. This project was well conceived, in so far as the turning the French position by the St Gothard was concerned; and if it had been executed as vigorously and accurately by all the commanders engaged as it was by Suwarroff, the result might have been very different from what actually occurred. But it presented almost insurmountable difficulties in the execution, from the rugged nature of the country in which the principal operations were to be conducted, the difficulty of communicating between one valley, or one part of the army and another, and the remote distances from which the corps which were to combine in the operation were to assemble. It would have been more prudent, with such detached bodies, to have chosen the Misocco and the Bernadine for the Russian field-marshal's march to the



theatre of war from the Italian plains, as that would have brought him down, by roads practicable for artillery, through the Via-Mala into the heart of the Austrian army, under cover of the posts which they still occupied in the Grisons. But it did not promise such brilliant results in the outset as that which he adopted; and it was more suitable to the impetuous character of the Russian veteran to throw himself at once through the narrow ravines of the St Gothard, upon the flank of his adversary's line.

41. Meanwhile Korsakoff collected the greater part of his forces in the neighbourhood of Zurich, where they were encamped between the ramparts of the town and the banks of the Sill. The position which they occupied, and the necessity of striking a decisive blow before the arrival of Suwarroff, suggested to Massena a plan which he conceived and executed with the most consummate ability. He had a superiority, until the arrival of Suwarroff, of six thousand over the Allies; but the corps which that commander brought with him would turn the balance still farther the other way.\* Now, therefore, was the moment, by a decisive blow in the centre, to ruin the allied army before the junction of that dreaded commander. But the distribution of these troops rendered this superiority still more important; for Massena could assemble thirty-nine thousand on the decisive line of the Limmat, while Korsakoff could only collect twenty-five thousand, the bulk of whom were grouped together under the cannon of Zurich, where their numbers were of no avail, and their crowded state in a narrow space only impeded any military movements.

42. The temper and feeling of the Russian troops, even more than their defective position, rendered them the ready victims of a skilful and daring adversary. Justly proud of their long series of victories over the Turks, and of the decisive impression which Suwarroff had made in the Italian campaign,

they had conceived both an unreasonable confidence in their own strength, and an unfounded contempt for their enemies. This feeling was not the result of a course of successes over an antagonist with whom they had repeatedly measured their strength, but of a blind idea of superiority, unfounded either in reason or experience, and likely to lead to the most disastrous consequences. In presence of the first general then in Europe, at the head of a greatly superior force, Korsakoff thought it unnecessary to adopt other measures, or take greater precautions, than if he had been on the banks of the Dniester, in front of an undisciplined horde of barbarians. Thus everything, both on the French and allied side, prepared the great catastrophe which was approaching. The presumption and arrogance of Korsakoff were carried to such a pitch, that, in a conference with the Archduke Charles, shortly before the battle, when that great general was pointing out the positions which should in an especial manner be guarded, and said, pointing to the map, "Here you should place a battalion."—"A company, you mean," said Korsakoff. "No," replied the Archduke, "a battalion."—"I understand you," rejoined the other; "*an Austrian battalion, or a Russian company.*"

43. Having minutely reconnoitred the position of the enemy, Massena resolved to make only a feigned attack on Zurich, and to cross with the bulk of his forces farther down the river at Closter-Fahr, where it was slenderly guarded; and thus to turn the position under the ramparts of that town, and attack Korsakoff both in front and rear, at the same time that the Republicans had cut him off from his right wing farther down the river, and the lake of Zurich separated him from his left in the mountains. The execution of this plan was as able as its conception was felicitous, on the part of the French commander. By great exertions the French engineers collected, by land-carriage, twelve pontoons and thirty-seven barks at Dietikon, on the evening of the 24th September, where

\* The French army in the field was 76,000; that of the Allies, without Suwarroff, 70,000; with him, 68,000.—JOMINI, xii. 246.

they were concealed behind an eminence and several hedges, and brought down to the margin of the river at daybreak on the following morning. The French masked batteries then opened their fire; by the superiority of which the opposite bank was speedily cleared of the feeble detachments of the enemy who occupied it, and the passage commenced. Six hundred men, in the first instance, were ferried over, and the French artillery, directed by General Foy, protected this gallant band against the attacks of the increasing force of the enemy, till the boats returned with a fresh detachment. Meanwhile the pontoons arrived at a quick trot from Dietikon; the bridge began to be formed, and the troops ferried over attacked and carried the height on the opposite side, from whence seven pieces of cannon had hitherto thundered on their crossing columns, though defended with the most obstinate valour by three Russian battalions. By seven o'clock the plateau of Closter-Fahr, which commanded the passage, was carried, with the artillery which crowned it, and before nine the bridge was completed, and Oudinot, with fifteen thousand men, firmly established on the right bank of the river.

44. While this serious attack was going on in the centre, General Menard, on the left, had by a feigned attack induced the Russian commander, Durassoff, to collect all his forces to resist the threatened passage on the Lower Limmat; and Mortier, by a vigorous demonstration against Zurich, retained the bulk of the Russian centre in the neighbourhood of that city. His troops were inadequate to produce any serious impression on the dense masses of the Russians who were there assembled; but while he was retiring in confusion, and Korsakoff was already congratulating himself on a victory, he was alarmed by the increasing cannonade in his rear, and intelligence soon arrived of the passage at Closter-Fahr, and the separation of the right wing under Durassoff from the centre, now left to its own resources at Zurich. Shortly after, he received the most

alarming accounts of the progress of Oudinot: he had made himself master of Hongg, and the heights which surround Zurich on the north-west; and, in spite of a sally which the Russian general made towards evening, at the head of five thousand men, which compelled the enemy to recede to the foot of the heights to the north of the town, they still maintained themselves in force on that important position, barred the road of Winterthur, the sole issue to Germany, and all but surrounded the allied army within the walls of the city. Before nightfall, Massena, fully sensible of his advantages, summoned the Russian commander to surrender, a proposal to which no answer was returned.

45. During these disasters the confusion in Zurich rose to the highest pitch. The immense confluence of horsemen, artillery, and baggage-wagons, suddenly thrown back upon the city, and by which its streets were soon completely blocked up; the cries of the wounded brought in from all quarters; the trampling of the cavalry and infantry, who forced their way through the dense mass, and mercilessly trod under foot the wounded and the dying, to make head against the enemy threatening to break in from all sides, formed a scene hitherto unexampled in the war, and for which a parallel can only be found in the horrors of the Moscow retreat. When night came, the extensive watch-fires on all the heights to the north and west of the city showed the magnitude of the force with which they were threatened in that quarter; while the unruffled expanse of the lake offered no hope of escape on the other side; and the bombs, which already began to fall in the streets, gave a melancholy prelude of the fate which awaited them if they were not speedily extricated from their perilous situation.

46. In these desperate circumstances, Korsakoff evinced a resolution as worthy of admiration as his former presumptuous confidence had been deserving of censure. Disdaining the proposal to surrender, he spent the night in making arrangements for forcing sword in

hand, a passage on the next morning through the dense masses of the Republicans. Fortunately, considerable reinforcements arrived during the night; two strong battalions detached by Hotze, and the whole right wing under Durassoff, successively made their appearance. The latter had been detained till late in the evening by the feigned attacks of Menard; but having at length learned the real state of affairs, he lost no time in rejoining his commander at Zurich, by a long circuit which enabled him to avoid the French outposts. Strengthened by these reinforcements, Korsakoff resolved to attempt the passage through the enemy on the following day.

47. At daybreak on the 28th the Russian columns were formed in order of battle, and attacked with the utmost impetuosity the division Lorges and the brigade Bontems, which had established themselves on the road to Winterthur, the sole line of retreat which remained to them. The resistance of the French was obstinate, and the carnage frightful; but the Russians fought with the courage of despair, and at length succeeded in driving the Republicans before them and opening a passage. The whole army of Korsakoff was then arranged for a retreat; but, contrary to every rule of common sense, as well as the military art, he placed the infantry in front, the cavalry in the centre, and the *artillery and equipages in the rear*, leaving only a slender rearguard, to defend the ramparts of Zurich until the immense mass had extricated itself from the city.\* Massena, perceiving his intention, collected his forces to prevent or distress his retreat; but the intrepidity of the Russian infantry overthrew all his efforts, and the head of the column cut

\* Caesar's principle was just the reverse: "When he approached the enemy, Caesar, according to his usual custom, led up six legions in front, ready equipped for battle; after them followed the baggage of the whole army; and then the two new legions, who closed the march, and served as a guard to the carriages."—*Caesar de Bell. Gall.* li. 19. The principles of war are the same in all ages, whatever may be the difference of the arms with which the combatants engage: Caesar's rule would have saved Korsakoff's defeat.

its way through all the troops which could be collected to oppose its progress. But the efforts of the Republicans against the cavalry in the centre were more successful. The divisions Lorges and Gazan, by reiterated charges on the moving mass, at length succeeded in throwing it into confusion; the disorder soon spread to the rear; all the efforts of the generals to arrest it proved ineffectual; the brave SACKEN, destined to honourable distinction in a more glorious war, was wounded and made prisoner; and amidst a scene of unexampled confusion, a hundred pieces of cannon, all the ammunition, waggons, and baggage of the army, and the military chest, fell into the hands of the victors. Meanwhile the fire approached Zurich on all sides. Mortier was thundering from the other side of the Limmat, while Oudinot, carrying everything before him, pressed down from the heights on the north; the garrison defiled after the main army in confusion; soon the gates were seized; a mortal struggle ensued in the streets, in the course of which the illustrious Lavater, seeking to save the life of a soldier threatened with death, was barbarously shot. At length all the troops which remained at Zurich laid down their arms; and Korsakoff, weakened by the loss of eight thousand killed and wounded, and five thousand prisoners, besides his whole artillery and ammunition, was allowed to retire without farther molestation by Eglisau to Schaffhausen.

48. While Zurich was immortalised by these astonishing triumphs, the attack of Soult on the Imperial right, on the upper part of the line above the lake, was hardly less successful. Hotze had there retained only two battalions at his headquarters of Kaltbrunn; the remainder were dispersed along the vast line, from the upper end of the lake of Zurich, by Sarganz, to Coire in the Grisons. Accumulating his forces, Soult skilfully and rapidly passed the Linth at three in the morning of the 25th. One hundred and fifty volunteers first swam across the river, with their sabres in their teeth, during the darkness of the night, and, aided by

the artillery from the French side, speedily dispersed the Austrian posts on the right bank, and protected the disembarkation of six companies of grenadiers, who soon after made themselves masters of Schenis. Wakened by the sound of the cannon, Hotze ran, with a few officers and a slender escort, to the spot, and fell dead by the first discharge of the Republican videttes. This calamitous event threw the Austrians into such consternation that they fell back from Schenis to Kaltbrunn, from which they were also dislodged before the evening. At the same time the French had succeeded in crossing a body of troops over the river, a little lower down, at Schmerikon, and advanced to the bridge of Grynau, where a desperate conflict ensued. These disasters compelled the Austrians to retreat to their position at Wescott, where they were next day assaulted by Soult, and driven first behind the Thur, and at length over the Rhine, with the loss of three thousand prisoners, twenty pieces of cannon, all their baggage, and the whole flotilla, constructed at a great expense, on the lake of Wallenstädt.

49. While these disasters were accumulating upon the allied force, which he was advancing to support, Suwaroff, who was entirely ignorant of them, was resolutely and faithfully performing his part of the general plan. He arrived at Taverne on the 15th August, and, despatching his artillery and baggage, by Como and Chiavenna, towards the Grisons, set out himself, with twelve thousand veterans, to ascend the Tessino and force the passage of the St Gothard; while Rosenberg, with six thousand, was sent round by the Val Blegno, to turn the position by the Crispalt and Disentis, and so descend into the valley of Unsern by its eastern extremity. On the 21st September the Russian main body arrived at Airolo, at the foot of the mountain, where General Gudin was strongly posted, with four thousand men, covering both the direct road over the St Gothard and the path which led diagonally to the Furka. Two days after, the attack was commenced with

the utmost resolution by the Russian troops; but in spite of all their efforts, they were arrested in the steep zigzag ascent above Airolo by the rapid and incessant fire of the French tirailleurs. In vain the Russians, marching boldly up, answered by heavy platoons of musketry; their fire, however sustained, could produce little impression on detached parties of sharpshooters, who, posted behind rocks and scattered fir-trees, caused every shot to tell upon the dense array of their assailants. Irritated at the unexpected obstacles, the old marshal advanced to the front, lay down in a ditch, desired his soldiers to dig a grave, and declared his resolution "to be buried there, where his children had retreated for the first time." Joining generalship to resolution, however, he despatched detachments to the right and left to turn the French position; and, when their fire began, putting himself at the head of his grenadiers, he at length drove the Republicans from their position, and pursued them, at the point of the bayonet, over the rugged summit of the St Gothard to the valley of Unsern. At the same time, Rosenberg had assailed the French detachment on the summit of the Crispalt, and, after destroying the greater part, driven them down in great disorder into the eastern extremity of the same valley; while a detachment under Auffenberg, despatched from Disentis, was proceeding through the Maderanerthal to Amsteg, to cut off their retreat by the valley of Schollenen.

50. Assailed by such superior forces, both in front and flank, Lecourbe had no alternative but a rapid retreat. During the night, therefore, he threw his artillery into the Reuss, and retired down the valley of Schollenen, breaking down the Devil's Bridge to impede the progress of the enemy, while Gudin scaled the Furka by moonlight, descended by the glacier of the Rhone, and, again ascending, took post on the inhospitable summit of the Grimsel. On the following morning the united Russian forces approached the Devil's Bridge; but they found an impassable gulf, two hundred feet deep,

surmounted by precipices above a thousand feet high, which stopped the leading companies, while a dreadful fire from all the rocks on the opposite side swept off all the brave men who approached the edge of the abyss. Hearing the firing in front, the column of Bagrathion pressed on, in double quick time, through the dark passage of the Unnerloch, and literally, by their pressure, drove the soldiers in front headlong over the rocks into the foaming Reuss. At length the officers, tired of the fruitless butchery, despatched a few companies across the Reuss to scale the rocks on the left, by which the post at the bridge was turned, and beams being hastily thrown across, the Russian troops, with loud shouts, passed the terrific defile, and pressing hard upon the retiring column of the Republicans, effected a junction with Auffenberg at Wasen, and drove the enemy beyond Altdorf to take post on the sunny slopes where the Alps of Surrenen descend into the glassy lake of Luzern.

51. The capture of the St Gothard by the Russians, and the expulsion of the French from the whole valley of the Reuss, was totally unexpected by Massena, and would have been attended with important results upon the general fate of the campaign, if it had not been simultaneous with the disaster of Korsakoff at Zurich, and the defeat of Hotze's corps by the Republicans on the Linth. But, coming as it did in the midst of these misfortunes, it only induced another upon the corps whose defeat was about to signalise the Republican arms. Arrived at Altdorf, Suwarroff found his progress in a direct line stopped by the lake of Luzern, while the only outlet to join the allied forces on his right lay through the horrible defile of the Shächenthal, in which even the audacious Lecourbe had not ventured to engage his troops, however long habituated to mountain warfare. There was now, however, no alternative. Advance he could not, for the lake of Luzern, without a bark on its bosom, lay before him; inaccessible precipices shut in its banks on either side :

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to move to the left towards Stanz was to plunge into the midst of the French army; and Suwarroff, with troops exhausted with fatigue, and a heart boiling with indignation, was compelled to commence the perilous journey by the right through the Shächenthal towards the canton of Glarus. No words can do justice to the difficulties experienced by the Russians in this terrible march, or the heroism of the brave men engaged in it. Obligated to abandon their artillery and baggage, the whole army advanced in single file, dragging the beasts of burden after them, up rocky paths, where even an active traveller can with difficulty find a footing. Numbers slipped down the precipices and perished miserably; others, worn out with fatigue, lay down on the track, and were trodden under foot by the multitude who followed after them, or fell into the hands of Lecourbe, who hung close upon their rear. So complete was the dispersion of the army, that the leading files had reached Muten before the last had left Altdorf; the precipices beneath the path were covered with horses, equipages, arms, and soldiers unable to continue the laborious ascent. At length the marshal reached Muten, where the troops in a hospitable valley, abounding with cottages and green fields, hoped for some respite from their fatigues; and where, in conformity to the plan agreed on, they were to have met the Austrian corps of Jellachich and Linken, to threaten the right of the Republicans.

52. But it was too late: the disasters of the Imperialists deprived them of all hope of relief from this quarter. Jellachich, faithful to his instructions, had broken up from Coire and the valley of the Rhine on the 25th with eight battalions, made himself master of the village of Mollis, and driven the Republicans back to Näfels, at the bridge of which, however, they resolutely defended themselves. But on the following day, the French, issuing from Wesen, menaced the retreat of the Austrians by the side of the Wallenstätter See; and Jellachich, informed of the disasters at Zurich, the death of Hotze,

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and the retreat of his corps, made haste to fall back behind the Rhine. On the same day, Linken, who had crossed from the valley of the Rhine by the Sernft-thal and the sources of the Linth, after making prisoners two battalions whom he encountered, appeared in the upper part of the valley of Glarus, so as to put Molitor between two fires. The situation of the latter now appeared all but desperate, and by a little more vigour on the part of the Allies might have been rendered so. But the retreat of Jellachich having enabled Molitor to accumulate his forces against this new adversary, he was obliged to retreat, and, after remaining inactive for three days at Schwanden, recrossed the mountains, and retired behind the Rhine.

53. Suwaroff thus found himself in the Muttenthal in the middle of the enemy's forces, having the whole of Massena's forces on one side, and that of Molitor on the other. Soon the masses of the Republicans began to accumulate round the Russian marshal. Molitor occupied Mont Bragel and the Klonthal, the summit of the pass between the Muttenthal and Glarus; while Mortier entered the mouth of the valley towards Schwyz, and Massena himself arrived at Flüelen, to concert with Lecourbe a general attack on the Russian forces. In this extremity, Suwaroff, having with the utmost difficulty assembled his weary troops in the Muttenthal, called a council of war, and, following only the dictates of his own impetuous courage, proposed an immediate advance to Schwyz, threatening the rear of the French position at Zurich, and wrote to Korsakoff, that he would hold him answerable with his head for one step further that he continued his retreat. The officers, however, perceiving clearly the dangerous situation in which they were placed, after Korsakoff's defeat, strongly urged the necessity of an immediate retreat into Glarus and the Grisons, in order to strengthen themselves by that wing of the allied army which alone had escaped a total defeat. At length, with the utmost difficulty, the veteran conqueror was persuaded to alter his plans,

and, for the first time in his life, he ordered a retreat—weeping with indignation at thus finding the reputation of invincibility, which his marvellous successes had won for him, lost in the close of his career by the absurd combinations of the Aulic Council, and the faults of the generals placed under his command.

54. Preceded by the Austrian division under Auffenberg, the Russians ascended Mont Bragel, and chasing before them the detachment of Molitor, great part of whom were made prisoners near the Klonthal lake, threw back that general upon the banks of the Linth. It was now the turn of the French general to feel alarm; but, calm in the midst of dangers which would have overturned the resolution of an ordinary commander, he made the most resolute defence, disputing every inch of ground, and turning every way to face the adversaries who assailed him. Determined to block up the passage to the Russians, he ultimately took post at Näfels, already immortalised in the wars of Swiss independence, where he was furiously attacked for a whole day by Prince Bagrathion. Both parties fought with the most heroic courage, regardless of ten days' previous combats and marches, in which they had respectively been effaged. But all the efforts of the Russian grenadiers could not prevail over the steady resistance of the Republicans; and towards evening, having received reinforcements from Wesen, they sallied forth, and drove the assailants back to Glarus. On the same day Massena, with a large force, attacked the rear-guard of the Russians, which was winding, encumbered with wounded, along the Muttenthal, in its descent from the Shächenthal to Glarus; but Rosenberg, halting, withstood their attack with such firmness that the Republicans were compelled to give way, and then, breaking suddenly from a courageous defensive to a furious offensive, he routed them entirely, and drove them back as far as Schwyz, with the loss of five pieces of cannon, a thousand prisoners, and as many killed and wounded.

55. Unable to force the passage at

Näfels, the Russian general, after giving his troops some days' repose at Glarus, which was absolutely indispensable after the desperate fatigues they had undergone, resolved to retreat over the mountains into the Grisons by Engi, Matt, and the Sernft-thal. To effect this in presence of a superior enemy, pressing on his footsteps both from the side of Näfels and the Klonthal, was an enterprise of the utmost hazard, as the path over the arid summits of the Alps, which divide the canton of Glarus from the valley of the Rhine, was even more rugged than that through the Shächenthal, and the horses and beasts of burden had nearly all perished under the fatigues of the former march. Nothing could exceed the difficulties which presented themselves. Hardships, tenfold greater than those which all but daunted the Carthaginian conqueror in the outset of his career in the Pennine Alps, awaited the Russians, at the close of a bloody and fatiguing campaign among mountains to which they were entire strangers. On the morning on which the army set out from Glarus, a heavy fall of snow obliterated all traces of a path, and augmented the natural difficulties of the passage. With incredible difficulty the weary column wound its painful way among inhospitable mountains in single file, without either stores to sustain its strength, or covering to shelter it from the weather. The snow, which, in the upper parts of the mountains, was two feet deep, and perfectly soft from being newly fallen, rendered the ascent so fatiguing that the strongest men could with difficulty advance a few miles in a day. No cottages were to be found in these dreary and sterile mountains; not even trees were to be met with to form the cheerful fire of the bivouacs; vast gray rocks starting up amongst the snow alone broke the mournful uniformity of the scene, and under their shelter, or on the open surface of the mountain, without any covering or fire, were the soldiers obliged to lie down, and pass a long and dreary autumnal night. Great numbers perished of cold, or sank down precipices, or into crevices, from which they were un-

able to extricate themselves, and where they were soon choked by the drifting of the snow.

56. With incredible difficulty the head of the column, on the following day, at length reached, amidst colossal rocks, the summit of the ridge; but it was not the smiling plains of Italy which there met their view, but a sea of mountains, wrapped in the snowy mantle which seemed the winding-sheet of the army, interspersed with cold grey clouds which floated round their higher peaks. Winter, in all its severity, had already set in on those lofty solitudes. The mountain sides, silent and melancholy even at the height of summer, when enamelled with flowers and dotted with flocks, presented then an unbroken sheet of snow; the blue lakes, which are interspersed over the level valley at their feet, were frozen over, and undistinguishable from the rest of the dreary expanse; and a boundless mass of snowy peaks arose on all sides, presenting apparently an impassable barrier to their further progress. The Alps of the Grisons and Tyrol, whose summits stretched as far as the eye could reach in every direction, seemed a vast wilderness, in the solitudes of which the army was about to be lost; while not a fire nor a column of smoke was to be seen in the vast expanse to cheer the spirits of the soldiers. The path, long hardly visible, now totally disappeared; not a shrub or a bush was to be met with; the naked tops of the rocks, buried in the snow, no longer served to indicate the position of the precipices, or rest the exhausted bodies of the troops. On the southern descent the difficulties were still greater; the snow, hardened by a sharp freezing wind, was so slippery that it became impossible for the men to keep their footing; whole companies slipped together into the abysses below, and numbers were crushed by the beasts of burden rolling down upon them from the upper parts of the ascent, or the masses of snow which became loosened by the incessant march of the army, and fell down with irresistible force upon those beneath. All the day was passed in struggling with these

difficulties, and with the utmost exertions the advanced-guard reached the village of Panix, in the Grisons, at night, where headquarters were established. The whole remainder of the columns slept upon the snow, where the darkness enveloped them without either fire or covering. But nothing could overcome the unconquerable spirit of the Russians. With heroic resolution and incredible perseverance they struggled on, through hardships which would have daunted any other soldiers; and at length the scattered stragglers were rallied in the valley of the Rhine, and headquarters established at Ilanz on the 10th, where the troops obtained some rest after the unparalleled difficulties which they had experienced.

57. Meanwhile Korsakoff, having reorganised his army, and recovered in some degree from his consternation, halted his columns at Busingen, and turning fiercely on his pursuers, drove them back to Trullikon; but the enemy having there received reinforcements, the combat was renewed with the utmost obstinacy, and continued, without any decisive result on either side, till nightfall. On the same day, a body of Russian and Austrian cavalry, three thousand strong, posted in the vineyards and gardens which form the smiling environs of Constance, were attacked by a superior body of Republicans, under the command of General Gazan; a furious combat commenced, in the course of which the town was three times taken and retaken, barricades were thrown up in the streets, and the unhappy citizens underwent all the horrors of a fortress carried by assault. The Archduke Charles, informed of these circumstances, hastened with all his disposable forces from the environs of Mannheim. From the 1st to the 7th of October, twenty-seven battalions and forty-six squadrons arrived in the neighbourhood of Villingen, and the prince himself fixed his headquarters at Donaueschingen, in order to be at hand to support the broken remains of Korsakoff's army. The Allies were withdrawn from the St Gothard, and

all the posts they yet occupied in Switzerland, to the Grisons, and the Rhine formed the boundary between the hostile armies, the Russians being charged with its defence from Petershausen to Diesenhofen, and the Austrians with the remainder of the line.

58. While these desperate conflicts were going on in the south of Europe, England, at length rousing its giant strength from the state of inactivity in which it had so long been held by the military inexperience and want of confidence in its prowess on the part of government, was preparing an expedition more proportionate than any it had yet sent forth to the station which it occupied in the war. Holland was the quarter selected for attack, both as being the country in the hands of the enemy nearest the British shores, and most threatening to its maritime superiority, and as the one where the most vigorous co-operation might be expected from the inhabitants, and the means of defence within the power of the Republicans were most inconsiderable. By a treaty, concluded on the 22d June, between England and Russia, it was stipulated that the former of these powers was to furnish twenty-five thousand, and the latter seventeen thousand men, towards a descent in Holland, and that £44,000 a-month should be paid by England for the expenses of the Russian troops, and her whole naval force be employed to support the operations. To re-establish the Stadtholder in Holland, and terminate the revolutionary tyranny under which that opulent country groaned; to form the nucleus of an army which might threaten the northern provinces of France, and restore the barrier which had been so insanely destroyed by the Emperor Joseph; to effect a diversion in favour of the great armies now combating on the Rhine and the Alps, and destroy the ascendancy of the Republicans in the maritime provinces and naval arsenals of the Dutch, were the objects proposed in this expedition; and these, by efforts more worthy of the strength of England, might unquestionably have been attained.



59. The preparations for this expedition, both in England and the Baltic, were pushed with the utmost vigour; and the energy and skill with which the naval armaments and arrangements for disembarkation were made in the British harbours, were such as to extort the admiration of the French historians. In the middle of July, Sir Home Popham sailed for the Baltic to receive on board the Russian contingent; while twelve thousand men, early in August, were assembled on the coast of Kent, and twelve thousand more were preparing for the same destination. All the harbours of England resounded with the noise of preparation; it was openly announced in the newspapers that a descent in Holland was in contemplation; and the numerous British cruisers, by reconnoitring every river and harbour along the Channel, kept the maritime districts in constant alarm from Brest to the Texel. The best defensive measures which their circumstances would admit were adopted by the Directory, and Brune, the French general, was placed at the head of the forces of both nations; but he could only collect fifteen thousand French and twenty thousand Dutch troops to resist the invasion.

60. On the 13th August, the fleet, with the first division of the army, twelve thousand strong, set sail from Deal, and joined Lord Duncan in the North Sea. Tempestuous weather, and a tremendous surf on the coast of Holland, prevented the disembarkation

from being effected for a fortnight; but at length, on the 26th, the fleet was anchored off the Helder, in North Holland, and preparations were immediately made for a descent on the following morning. At daylight on the 27th the disembarkation began, the troops led with equal skill and resolution by Sir RALPH ABERCROMBY,\* and the landing covered by the able exertions of the fleet under Admiral Mitchell; and never was the cordial co-operation of the land and sea forces more required than on that trying service. The naval strength of England was proudly evinced on this occasion; fifteen ships of the line, forty-five frigates and brigs, and one hundred and thirty transport vessels, covered the sea, as far as the eye could reach, with their sails. General Daendels, who was at the head of a division of twelve thousand men in the neighbourhood, marched rapidly to the menaced point; and when the first detachment of the British, two thousand five hundred strong, was landed, it found itself assailed by a much superior force of Batavian troops. But the fire from the ships carried disorder into their ranks, and they were driven back to the sand-hills on the beach, from which, after an obstinate conflict, they were expelled before six in the evening; and the disembarkation of the remaining divisions was effected without molestation. In the night, the enemy evacuated the fort of the Helder, which was taken possession of next day by the English

\* Ralph Abercromby, afterwards Sir Ralph, was born in the year 1743, the eldest son of George Abercromby, Esq. of Tullibody, head of an old and respectable family in Stirling-shire. He first entered the army as a cornet, in the 3d regiment of guards, in 1766. In that regiment he gradually rose, and in 1778 was its Lieutenant-colonel. In 1781 he was made colonel of the 108th regiment of infantry; in 1787 was promoted to the rank of major-general, and next year obtained the command of the 69th foot. Subsequently, in 1797, he was moved to the command of the 7th dragoons, which he held to his death. He served with distinction in the campaign of 1794, in Flanders, especially at the brilliant affair of Cattau, on 16th April of that year, when the French general Chapuy, and thirty pieces of cannon, were taken by the British. The masterly manoeuvres which followed, on the part of Abercromby, who was second in com-

mand, more than once saved the English army from destruction; and in the dreadful retreat through Holland in the winter 1794-5, his coolness, intrepidity, and indomitable resolution were of the most essential service. In 1796 he did good service in the command of the expedition which effected the reduction of Ste Lucie, St Vincent, and Grenada, as well as of Guiana, Demerara, and Berbice. In February 1797, he commanded the land forces in an important expedition which effected the reduction of Trinidad and the destruction of four Spanish sail of the line in that island; and soon after made an unsuccessful attack on Puerto Rico. Nearly all these important colonies still remain to Great Britain, and these great services led to Abercromby being made a knight of the bath, and employed in 1799 in the command of a division in the expedition to Holland.—CHAMBERS'S *Scottish Biog.* i. 5, 6, and *Biog. Univ.* i. 77.

troops. In this affair the loss of the different parties was singularly at variance with what might have been expected; that of the British did not exceed five hundred, while that of the Dutch was more than thrice that number.

61. This success was soon followed by another still more important. The position at the Helder having been fortified, and a reinforcement of five thousand fresh troops arrived from England, the British fleet entered the Texel—of the batteries defending which they had now the command by the occupation of the Helder—and summoned the Dutch fleet, under Admiral Story, consisting of eight ships of the line, three of fifty-four guns, eight of forty-four, and six smaller frigates, who had retired into the Vlietich canal, to surrender. At the sight of the English flag, symptoms of insubordination manifested themselves in the Dutch fleet, who had never become reconciled to the Republican yoke, which was ruining their country; the admiral, unable to escape, and despairing of assistance, surrendered without firing a shot; and immediately the Orange flag was hoisted on all the ships, and on the towers and batteries of the Helder and Texel. By this important success the Dutch fleet was finally extricated from the grasp of the Republicans—a circumstance of no small moment in after times, when England had to contend, single-handed, with the combined maritime forces of all Europe.

\* Dominique Vandamme was born of humble parents at Cassel, in the department of the North, in 1771. He early took to the profession of arms as a private soldier, and served several years in that capacity, in one of the colonial regiments, but returned to France in 1789 at the time of the meeting of the States-General. He then formed in his native town a company of volunteers, known under the name of the *chasseurs* of Mount Cassel, of which he was elected captain. It was at the head of this company that he went through the campaign of 1792; and so rapid was military promotion in those days of popular election of officers, to those who were favourites with the soldiers, that before the end of the campaign he had already risen to the rank of general of brigade. In 1793 he served with the army of the North, and was engaged both in the capture of Furnes and the blockade of Newport in that campaign. In spring 1794 he gained some

62. The Russian troops not having yet arrived, the British commander, who was only at the head of twelve thousand men, remained on the defensive, which gave the Republicans time to assemble their forces; and having soon collected twenty-four thousand, of whom seven thousand were French, under the orders of VANDAMME,\* General Brune, who had assumed the command-in-chief, resolved to anticipate the enemy, and resume the offensive. On the 10th of September all the columns were in motion; Vandamme, who commanded the right, was directed to move along the Langdyke, and make himself master of Ennsgrinberg; Dumonceau, with the centre, was to march by Schorlidaam upon Krabbenham, and there force the key of the position; while the left was charged with the difficult task of chasing the enemy from the Sand-dyke, and penetrating by Kamptto Petten. The contest, like all those which followed, was of the most peculiar kind. Restricted to dikes and causeys, intersecting in different directions a low and swampy ground, it consisted of detached conflicts at insulated points rather than any general movements; and, like the struggle between Napoleon and the Austrians in the marshes of Arcole, was to be determined chiefly by the intrepidity of the heads of columns. The Republicans advanced bravely to the attack, but they were everywhere repulsed. All the efforts of Vandamme

success with the same army in conjunction with General Moreau, and having been afterwards transferred to the army of the Sambre and Meuse, served under Jourdan the whole campaign in that quarter. In the memorable campaign of 1796 he was attached to the army of the Upper Rhine under Moreau; and distinguished himself in several affairs, especially at the passage of the Lech and the attack on the heights of Friedberg. In the opening of the campaign of 1797 he displayed undaunted gallantry at the celebrated passage of the Rhine by Moreau, and not less so in the subsequent combats of Hanaau and Diersheim. In February 1799 he was raised to the rank of general of division, and in that capacity commanded in the left wing of the army of the Danube, till the invasion of Holland by the English caused him to be transferred to the defence of the Batavian plains.—*Biographie des Contemporains*, (VANDAMME), xx. 184, 185.

were shattered against the intrepidity of the English troops who guarded the Sand-dyke; Dumonceau was defeated at Krabbenham, and Daendels compelled to fall back in disorder from before Petten. Repulsed at all points, the French resumed their position at Alkmaer, with a loss of two thousand men, while that of the British did not exceed three hundred.

63. Instructed by this disaster as to the quality of the troops with which he had to deal, General Brune remained on the defensive at Alkmaer, while the remainder of the expedition rapidly arrived to the support of the British army. Between the 12th and 15th September, the Russian contingent, seventeen thousand strong, and seven thousand British, arrived, and the Duke of York took the command. The English general, finding himself now at the head of thirty-five thousand men, and being aware that extensive reinforcements were advancing to the support of the Republicans from the Scheldt and the Meuse, resolved to move forward and attack the enemy. As the nature of the ground precluded the employment of large masses, the attacking force was divided into four columns. The first, under the command of General Hermann, composed of eight thousand Russians and a brigade of English, was destined to advance by the Sand-dyke and the Slap-per-dyke against the left of Brune, resting on the sea; the second, under the orders of General Dundas, consisting of seven thousand men, of whom five thousand were English, was charged with the attack on Schorlдам and the French centre; the third, under Sir James Pulteney, which required to advance along the Langdyke, which was defended by powerful intrenchments, was intended rather to effect a diversion than make a serious attack, and was not to push beyond Oude Scarpell, at its head, unless in the event of unlooked-for success; while the fourth, consisting of ten thousand choice troops, under Sir Ralph Abercromby, was destined to turn the enemy's right on the Zuyder Zee.

64. The action commenced at day-

break on the 19th September with a furious attack by the Russians, under Hermann, who speedily drove in the advanced-guard of the Republicans at Kamp and Groot, and pressing forward along the Sand-dyke, made themselves masters of Schorlдам and Bergen, and forced back Vandamme, who commanded in that quarter, to within half a league of Alkmaer. But the assailants were not supported with equal vigour by the British; they fell into disorder in consequence of the rapidity of their advance, and Brune, having speedily moved up the division of Daendels and considerable reinforcements from his centre to the support of his left, Vandamme was enabled to resume the offensive. Thus the Russians were attacked at once in front and both flanks in the village of Bergen, from whence, after a murderous conflict, they were driven at the point of the bayonet. Their retreat, which at first was conducted with some degree of order, was soon turned into a total rout by the sudden appearance of two French battalions on the flank of their column. Hermann himself was taken prisoner, with a considerable part of his division; and General Esen, his second in command, who had advanced towards Schorlдам, was obliged to seek shelter, under cover of the English reserve, behind the allied intrenchments of Zype.

65. While the Russians were undergoing these disasters on the right, the Duke of York was successful in the centre and left. Dundas carried the villages there, after an obstinate resistance; Dumonceau was driven back from Schorlдам, and two of his best battalions were compelled to surrender. At the same time Sir James Pulteney, having been encouraged, by the imprudence of Daendels in pursuing too warmly a trifling advantage, to convert his feigned attack into a real one, not only drove back the Dutch division, but made a thousand prisoners, and forced the whole line, in utter confusion, towards St Pancras, under the fire of the English artillery. Abercromby had not yet brought his powerful division into action; but everything promised decisive success in the centre and left.

of the Allies, when intelligence was brought to the Duke of York of the disaster on the right, and the rapid advance of the Republicans in pursuit of the flying Russians. He instantly halted his victorious troops in the centre, and marched with two brigades of English and three Russian regiments upon Schorl, which was speedily carried, and if Essen could have rallied his broken troops, decisive success might yet have been attained. But all the efforts of that brave general could not restore order or rescue the soldiers from the state of discouragement into which they had fallen; and the consequence was, that as they continued their retreat to the intrenchments of Zype, the Republicans were enabled to accumulate their forces on the Duke of York, who, thus pressed, had no alternative but to evacuate Schorl, and draw back his troops to their fortified line. In this battle the Republicans lost 3000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners; but the British lost 500 killed and wounded, and as many prisoners, while the Russians were weakened by 3500 killed and wounded, twenty-six pieces of cannon, and seven standards.

66. While these events were in progress, the Dutch fleet was conveyed to the British harbours. It is remarkable that this measure gave equal dissatisfaction to the sailors on both sides. The Dutch loudly complained that their ships, instead of being employed in their own country, under Orange colours, should be taken as prizes to Great Britain; while the English sailors lamented that a fleet which could not escape had not fallen into their hands as glorious trophies, like those at St Vincent or Camperdown. The officers on both sides were anxious to preserve a good understanding between their respective crews; but the sailors kept up a sullen distrust;—so much more easy is it to accommodate differences between rival cabinets than to heal the national animosity which centuries of warfare have spread among their subjects. Holland, however, had no reason in the end to complain of British generosity; after a decided though unwilling hostility of twenty years, she ob-

tained a lavish accumulation of gifts in Flanders and Java from her ancient rival, such as rarely rewards even the steadiest fidelity of an allied power.

67. The Duke of York was not discouraged by the issue of the attack on the 19th September. Having been reinforced, a few days after, by a fresh brigade of Russians and some English detachments, he arranged his army, as before, in four columns; and although the heavy rains for long prevented the projected operation from taking place, yet he was enabled to resume the offensive on the 2d October. The recollection of the success which had everywhere crowned their efforts in the preceding action, animated the English troops; while the Russians burned with anxiety to wash out the stain which their disasters on that occasion had cast on the Imperial eagles. The allied army on this occasion was about thirty thousand strong, and the Republicans nearly of equal force. At six in the morning the attack was commenced at all points. The Russian division of Essen, anxious to efface its former disgrace, supported by the English division of Dundas, advanced to the attack in the centre with such impetuosity, that the villages of Schorl and Schorlдам were quickly carried, and the Republicans driven in confusion to the downs above Bergen. An attack was there projected by the Duke of York; but Essen, who recollected the consequence of the former eagerness of the Russians on the same ground, refused to move till the advance of Abercromby on the right was ascertained; a circumstance which paralysed the success of the Allies in that quarter. Meanwhile Abercromby, who commanded nine thousand men, advanced gallantly at the head of his troops along the Sand-dyke which adjoined the sea; and notwithstanding a hot fire of musketry and grape, by which he had two horses shot under him, succeeded in forcing the French left, and expelling them from the sand-hills and downs on which they rested. On the left, Sir James Pulteney had made little progress, and his measures were confined to demonstrations; but as the allied centre and right were

victorious, and they had completely turned the French left, Brune retired in the night from the field of battle, and took up a fresh position, abandoning Alkmaar and all his former line. The loss sustained by the Republicans in this contest was above three thousand men and seven pieces of cannon; that of the Allies about fifteen hundred. Already the attention of the French was attracted by the courage and address of the Highland regiments, arrayed in the tartan and plumes of their mountain land, who bravely fought up to the knees in water, and rapidly overcame the strongest obstacles, in their attack on the flank of the Republicans.

68. But although he had gained this success, the situation of the Duke of York's army was far from encouraging. The enemy's force was daily increasing, while for his own no further reinforcements could be expected; the autumnal rains, which had set in with more than usual severity, rendered the roads almost impassable for artillery or chariots; the insalubrity of the climate at that period of the year was already beginning to affect the health of the soldiers; and none of the expected movements of the inhabitants or Batavian troops in favour of the house of Orange had taken place. In these circumstances it was evident that, unless some important place could be captured, it would be impossible for the Allies to retain their footing in North Holland, and Haarlem was pitched on as most likely to furnish the necessary supplies. To achieve the conquest of this important city, the allied forces were put in motion to attack the French position, which occupied the narrow isthmus between Beverwick and the Zuyder Zee, by which it was necessary to pass to approach Haarlem, which was not more than three leagues distant.

69. The action commenced at seven in the morning, and was obstinately contested during the whole day. In the centre the Allies were, in the first instance, successful; Essen bore down all opposition, and Pacthod, who commanded the Republicans, was on the point of succumbing, when Brune strengthened

him with the greater part of a fresh division, and a vigorous charge threw back the Allies in confusion towards their own position. In their turn, however, the victorious Republicans were charged, when disordered with success, by an English regiment of cavalry, thrown into confusion, and driven back with great loss to Kastricum, where they were with difficulty rallied by Vandamme, who succeeded in checking the advance of the pursuers. The action was less obstinately contested on the right, as Abercromby, who commanded in that quarter, was obliged to detach a considerable part of his troops to reinforce Essen; while on the left the immense inundations which covered the front of the Republican position, prevented Pulteney from reaching the French right under Daendels. The loss on both sides was nearly equal, amounting to about two thousand in killed, wounded, and prisoners. That of the English alone was twelve hundred men.

70. The barren honours of this well-contested field belonged to the Allies, who had forced back the French centre to a considerable distance from the field of battle; but it is with an invading army as an insurrection—an indecisive success is equivalent to a defeat. Haarlem was the object of the English general, without the possession of which he could not maintain himself in the country during the inclement weather which was approaching, and Haarlem was still in the hands of the Republicans. The enemy's force was hourly increasing; two days after the action, six thousand infantry arrived to strengthen their already formidable position on the isthmus, by which alone access could be obtained to the interior of the country; and the total absence of all the necessary supplies in the corner of land within which the army was confined, rendered it impossible to remain there for any length of time. In these circumstances, the Duke of York, with the unanimous concurrence of a council of war, resolved to fall back to the intrenchments at Zype, there to await reinforcements or further commands from the British cabinet; a resolution which was strengthened by the intell-

gence which arrived, at the same time, of the disasters which had befallen the Russians at Zurich. On the day after the battle, therefore, the Allies retired to the position they had occupied before the battle of Bergen.

71. Brune lost no time in following the retreating army. On the 8th the Republicans resumed their position in front of Alkmaar, and several sharp skirmishes ensued between the British rearguard and the advanced posts of their pursuers. The situation of the Duke of York was now daily becoming more desperate: his forces were reduced by sickness and the sword to twenty thousand men; the number of those in hospital was daily increasing; there remained but eleven days' provisions for the troops, and no supplies or assistance could be looked for from the inhabitants for a retreating army. In these circumstances, he rightly judged that it was necessary to lose no time in embarking the sick, wounded, and stores, with such of the Dutch as had compromised themselves by their avowal of Orange principles, and proposed a suspension of arms to General Brune, preparatory to the evacuation of Holland by the allied troops. Some difficulty was at first experienced from the French insisting, as a *sine qua non*, that the fleet captured at the Texel should be restored; but this the British commander firmly resisted, and at length the conditions of the evacuation were agreed on. The principal articles were, that the Allies should, without molestation, effect the total evacuation of Holland by the end of November; that eight thousand prisoners, whether French or Dutch, should be restored; and that the works of the Helder should be given up entire, with all their artillery. A separate article stipulated for the surrender of the brave de Winter, made prisoner in the battle of Camperdown. Before the 1st of December all these conditions were fulfilled on both sides: the British troops had regained the shores of England, and the Russians were quartered in Jersey and Guernsey.

72. Such was the disastrous issue of the greatest expedition which had yet

sailed from the British harbours during the war, and the only one at all commensurate to the power or the character of England. Coming, as it did, after the hopes of the nation had been highly excited by its early successes, and when the vast conquests of the Allies in the first part of the campaign had led to a very general expectation of the fall of the Jacobin power in France, it produced the most bitter disappointment, and contributed, in a signal degree, both on the Continent and at home, to confirm the general impression that the English soldiers had irrecoverably declined from their former renown; that the victors of Cressy and Azincour were never destined to revive; and that it was at sea alone that any hope of successful resistance against the power of the Republic remained to Great Britain. The Opposition, as usual, magnified the public disasters, and ascribed them all to the rashness and imbecility of the Administration; while the credulous public, incapable of just discrimination, and ever governed by the event, overlooked the important facts that the naval power of republican Holland had been completely destroyed by the expedition; and that in every encounter the English soldiers had asserted their ancient superiority over those of France. Instead, therefore, of ascribing the failure of the expedition to its real causes, inadequacy of the means employed, want of vigour in the commanders, and the jealousies incident to an allied force unaccustomed to act together, they joined the general chorus, and loudly proclaimed the utter madness of any attempts, by land at least, to resist the overwhelming power of France. The time was not yet arrived when a greater commander, wielding the resources of a more determined and excited nation, was to wash out these stains on the British arms, and show to the astonished world that England was yet destined to take the lead, even on the Continent, in the deliverance of Europe, and that the blood of the victors of Poitiers and Blenheim yet flowed in the veins of their descendants.

73. While the campaign was thus chequered with disaster to the north of the Alps, the successes of the Allies led to more durable consequences on the Italian plains. The Directory, overwhelmed by the calamitous result of the battle of Novi, gave the command of both the armies of Italy and Savoy to General Championnet, who could only assemble fifty-four thousand men under his banners, exclusive of six thousand conscripts, who guarded the summits of the Alps. On the other hand, General Melas, who, after the departure of Suwarroff, had assumed the chief command, had sixty-eight thousand men under his orders, independent of fifteen thousand in garrisons in his rear, and seven thousand who marched towards the Arno and the Tiber. In despair at the unpromising condition of his troops, occupying the circular ridge of mountains from the sources of the Trebbia to the Great St Bernard, the French general at first proposed to repossess the Alps, and, after leaving such a force in the Maritime Alps as might secure the south of France from insult, proceed, with the bulk of his forces, to join General Thurreau in the Valais. But the Directory refused to accede to this wise proposition, and, instead, prescribed to the French general to maintain his position, and exert his utmost efforts for the preservation of Coni, which was evidently threatened by the Imperialists.

74. The cautious and minute directions of the Aulic Council having completely fettered the Austrian general, his operations were confined to the reduction of this fortress, the last bulwark in the plain of Italy still held by the Republicans, and justly regarded as an indispensable preliminary to the conquest of Genoa, from its commanding the chief communication of that city with the plain of Piedmont. With this view, both generals drew their troops towards Coni, the Austrians encircling its walls with a chain of posts in the plain, and the French accumulating their forces in the mountains which overlook it. In the desultory warfare which followed, the Imperialists were ultimately successful. Melas,

with the centre, twenty thousand strong, defeated Grenier at Savigliano, while Kray threw back their left through the valley of Susa to the foot of Mont Cenia. At the same time the Republicans were equally unsuccessful in the valley of Aosta, where the united forces of Kray and Haddick expelled them successively from Ivrea and Aosta, and forced them to retire over the Great St Bernard to Martigny in Switzerland. Relieved by these successes from all inquietude for his right flank, Melas gradually drew nearer to Coni, and began his preparations for the siege of that place.

75. Pressed by the reiterated orders of the Directory, Championnet now resolved to make an effort for the relief of the menaced fortress. His disposable force for this enterprise, even including the troops in the Alps under Grenier, did not exceed forty-five thousand men; but by a vigorous and concentric effort there was some reason to hope that the object might be effected. St Cyr in vain represented to the Directory that it was the height of temerity to endeavour to maintain themselves in a mountainous region, already exhausted of its resources, and that the wiser course was to fall back, with the army yet entire, to the other side of the Alps, and there assemble it in a central position. How clear soever may have been the justice of this opinion, they had not strength of mind sufficient to admit the loss of Italy in a single campaign; and the French general, finding his council overruled, bravely set about the difficult task of keeping his ground, with an inferior and dispirited army, on the Italian side of the mountains. With this view, the divisions of Victor and Lemoine, forming the centre of the army, sixteen thousand strong, were directed to move upon Mondovi; while St Cyr, with the right, received orders to descend from the Bochetta, and effect a diversion on the side of Novi. The movement commenced in the end of September. Vico was taken by a brigade of the Republicans; but, finding the Imperialists too strongly posted at Mondovi to be assailed with success, Championnet con-

tented himself with placing his troops in observation on the adjacent heights; while St Cyr gained a trifling advantage in the neighbourhood of Novi.

76. But intelligence having at this time been received of the decisive victory of Massena in Switzerland, more vigorous operations were undertaken. St Cyr, abandoning the route of Novi, threw himself towards Bosco on the rear of the Austrians, and attacked them with such celerity that he made twelve hundred prisoners, and spread consternation through their whole line. Melas, thus threatened, concentrated the forces under his immediate command, consisting of thirty thousand men, in the finest condition, on the Stura; upon which a variety of affairs of posts took place around Coni, with checkered success, which gradually consumed the strength of the Republican forces. There was an essential error in these measures on the part of Championnet; for the Imperialists, grouped around the fortress where they occupied a central position, could at pleasure accumulate masses sufficient to overwhelm any attack made by the Republicans, whose detached columns, issuing from the mountains, and separated by a wide distance, were unable to render any effectual assistance to each other. Nevertheless, the great abilities of St Cyr on the right wing obtained some brilliant advantages. On the 23d of October he put himself in motion, at the head of twelve thousand men, with only a few pieces of cannon and no cavalry, defeated the Austrians at Pozzolo-Formigaro, and occupied Marengo, taking a thousand prisoners and three pieces of cannon. Alarmed at these repeated checks on his left, Melas withdrew the division of Hadick from the valley of Aosta, where the possession of the fort of Bard and the fall of snow in the Great St Bernard, relieved him from all disquietude, and with that reinforcement strengthened his left wing on the Bormida.

77. Meanwhile both parties gradually accumulated their forces for the important object which the one strove to effect, the other to prevent—the relief of Coni. The French had as-

sembled thirty-five thousand men for that purpose; but the central position of Melas long prevented them from obtaining any advantage; and in an attack of Grenier on the Austrian centre, he was repulsed with the loss of a thousand men. Having at length resolved on a decisive action, Championnet made his dispositions. One column was to descend from Mont Cenis by the valley of Perouse; another to advance by the left of the Stura; and a third to assail the enemy in front. By this means the French general hoped that, while he engaged the attention of the Austrians in front, he would, at the same time, turn both their flanks; forgetting that, in such an attempt, with columns converging from such remote and divided quarters, the chances were that the Imperialists, from their central position, would be able to defeat one column before another could arrive to its assistance.

78. Perceiving that the plan of his adversary was to attack him on all sides, Melas wisely resolved to anticipate his movement, and with his concentrated masses assail one of the French divisions before the others could come up. By a rapid accumulation of force, he could in this way bring above thirty thousand men, of whom six thousand were cavalry, to bear on the French centre, under Victor, who could not assemble above sixteen thousand to resist them. His dispositions were rapidly and ably made, and on the morning of the 4th November, the Republicans were attacked at all points. Championnet was so far from anticipating any such event, that his troops were already in march to effect a junction with the right wing under St Cyr, when they were compelled, by the sudden appearance of the Imperialists in battle array, to halt and look to their own defence. Assailed by greatly superior forces, Victor, notwithstanding, made a gallant resistance; and such was the intrepidity of the French infantry, that for long the advantage seemed to lie on their side, until at noon, Melas, by bringing up fresh troops, succeeded in throwing them into confusion, and drove them back



towards Valdigi. Hardly was this success gained when news arrived that General Duhesme, with the Republican left, had carried the village of Savigliano in his rear; but, wisely judging that this was of little importance, provided he followed up the advantage he had gained, the Austrian general merely detached a brigade to check their advance, and continued to press on the retiring centre of the enemy. Having continued the pursuit till it was dark, he resumed it at daybreak on the following morning. The enemy, discouraged by the check on the preceding day, did not make a very vigorous opposition. Grenier and Victor, driven from a post they had taken up near Murazzo, were forced to seek safety in flight; a large part of their rearguard were made prisoners, and great numbers drowned in endeavouring to cross the Stura and regain their intrenched camp. In this decisive battle the loss of the Republicans was seven thousand men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, while that of the Imperialists did not exceed two thousand; and Championnet, with his army cut into two divisions—one of which retired towards Genoa and the other to the Col de Tende—was obliged to seek safety in the mountains, leaving Coni to its fate.

79. While Championnet was thus defeated in the centre by the superior skill and combinations of his opponent, the talents of St Cyr again gave him an advantage on the Bormida. The Imperialists being there restored to an equality with the Republicans, Kray attacked St Cyr near Novi, and drove him back to the plateau in the rear of that city, so lately the theatre of a bloody and desperate conflict; but all the efforts of the Austrians were shattered against the invincible resistance of the French infantry in that strong position, and, after a bloody conflict, they were forced to retire, leaving five pieces of artillery in the hands of the enemy. St Cyr upon this resumed his position in front of Novi, and Kray fell back towards Alessandria, to be nearer assistance from the centre of the army. But this success was more

than counterbalanced by fresh disasters in the centre and on the left. On the 10th, the division Ott attacked Richepanse at Borgo San-Dalmazzo, and, after a gallant resistance, drove him into the mountains; while the other division of the Republicans was assailed at Mondovi, and after an obstinate combat, which lasted the whole day, forced to take refuge in the recesses of the Apennines. The French were now driven back, on the one side, to the foot of the Col de Tende, and in the valley of the Stura to their own frontiers; while, on the other, Victor's division was perched on the summits of the Apennines at San Giacomo and San Bernardo. Nothing remained to interrupt the siege of Coni. The investment of this fortress was completed on the 18th November, and the trenches opened on the 27th. The governor made a brave defence; but the ignorance and inexperience of the garrison were soon conspicuous; and a tremendous fire on the 2d of December having destroyed great part of the town, and seriously injured the works, he at length yielded to the solicitations of the miserable inhabitants, and, to preserve the city from total destruction, agreed to a surrender. The garrison, 3000 strong, with 500 sick and wounded, who had been left in the place, were marched into the interior of Austria.

80. Meanwhile St Cyr maintained himself with extreme difficulty in the Apennines in front of Genoa. The city was in the utmost state of agitation: the supplies of provisions from the country were all intercepted by the Austrian posts; the British fleet blockaded them by sea; famine began to be felt within its walls; and the French army, encamped on the higher ridges of the mountains which encircled it on the north, already suffered extremely from cold, want, and the tempests of autumn. For long their rations had been reduced to a fourth part of their usual amount; but even this miserable pittance, it was foreseen, could not last many days longer. Encouraged by their pitiable condition, Kray made an attack on their advanced posts at Novi and Acqui, expelled them from these

stations, formed the blockade of Gavi, and forced back the Republicans to their old position on the inhospitable summits of the mountains at the Bochetta and Campo-Fredde. Such was the panic which then seized the soldiers, that they could not be retained by their officers in that important pass, but, abandoning the intrenchments on its summit, rushed down in tumultuous crowds to Genoa, exclaiming, "What can we do here!—we shall soon perish of cold and famine on these desert mountains; we are abandoned, sacrificed. To France! to France!" In this extremity St Cyr presented himself at the gates of the city alone before the mutinous soldiery. "Whither do you fly, soldiers?"—"To France! to France!" exclaimed a thousand voices. "Be it so," exclaimed he, with a calm voice and serene air; "if a sense of duty no longer retains you, if you are deaf to the voice of honour, listen at least to that of reason, and attend to what your own interest requires. Your ruin is certain if you persist in your present course; the enemy who pursues you will destroy you during the confusion of a tumultuous retreat. Have you forgotten that you have made a desert between your present position and France? No: your sole safety is in your bayonets; and if you indeed desire to regain your country, unite with me in repelling far from the gates of this harbour the enemy, who would take advantage of your disorder to drive you from the walls where alone the necessary convoys or security can be found." Roused by these words to a sense of their duty, the soldiers fell back into their ranks and loudly demanded to be led against the enemy.

81. It was high time that some steps should be taken to arrest the progress of the Imperialists, for they were now at the gates of Genoa, and threatened the Republicans with immediate destruction. The Austrians, under Klenau, had penetrated by the route of the Corniche as far as St Martin d'Albaro and Nervi, within sight of that city, while from the Bochetta another column threatened to descend upon it. A heavy fall of snow, however, having prevent-

ed the Imperialists from crossing the pass when it was deserted by the French, the rebellious troops resumed their position, and re-occupied the intrenchments; and St Cyr, now secure on that side, having turned all his forces against Klenau, the Austrians, assailed at once in front and flank, with difficulty cut their way through by Torriglia, and regained the banks of the Taro, leaving twelve hundred prisoners in the hands of the enemy, and they soon after went into winter quarters. Returned to Genoa, St Cyr had still a difficult task to perform in quieting the discontents of the troops, whom long-continued privation had almost driven to desperation; but at length the long-wished-for sails whitened its splendid bay, and the Republicans, as the reward of their heroic exertions, tasted the enjoyments of plenty and repose.

82. While these great events were passing in the basin of Piedmont, operations of minor importance, but still conducive, upon the whole, to the expulsion of the French from the peninsula, took place in the south of Italy. The castle of St Angelo surrendered, in the end of October, to the Neapolitan forces, whom the retreat of Macdonald left at liberty to advance to the Eternal City; and the garrison of Ancona, after a gallant defence of six weeks, four of which were with open trenches, capitulated on the 13th November to the Russians, on condition of being sent to France, and not serving till regularly exchanged. By this success the Allies were made masters of 585 pieces of cannon, 7000 muskets, three ships of the line, and seven smaller vessels. The whole peninsula of Italy, with the exception of the intrenched camp at Genoa, and the mountain roads leading to it from France, was now wrested from the Republican arms.

83. The fall of Ancona terminated this campaign in Italy, the most disastrous ever experienced by the French in that country. In the respective positions which they occupied might be seen the immense advantages gained by the allied arms during its continuance. The Imperialists, whose headquarters

were at Turin, occupied the whole plain of Lombardy and Piedmont, from the stream of the Trebbia to the torrent of the Tessino : the left, under Kray, being so cantoned as to cover the valleys of the Bormida and Scrivia ; the right, under Haddick and Rohan, occupying the valleys of Duomo d'Ossola and Aosta ; and the centre, under Kaim, guarding the passes over the Alps and the important position of Mondovì. The Republicans, on the other hand, on the exterior of this immense circle, were perched on the snowy and inhospitable summits of the mountains, which stood the native guardians of the plains. The left, consisting of the divisions Grenier and Duhamel, occupying the Little St Bernard, the Mont Cenia, and the passes of the higher Alps ; the centre, under Lemoine and Victor, the Col de Fenestrelles, and Col de Tende, and the passes of the Maritime Alps ; while on the right, Laboissière and Watrin held the Bochetta and other passes leading into the Genoese states.

84. Wider still was the difference between the comforts and resources of the two armies. Cantoned in the rich plains of Italy, on the banks of the Po, the Imperialists were amply supplied with all the comforts and luxuries of life ; while its navigable waters incessantly brought up to the army the stores and supplies necessary to restore the losses of so active a campaign. On the side of the Republicans, again, thirty-eight thousand men, without magazines or stores of provisions, were stationed on the desolate summits of the Alps and the Apennines, shivering with cold, exhausted with fatigue, and almost destitute of clothing. For five months they had received hardly any pay ; the soldiers were without cloaks ; their shoes were worn out, and even wood was wanting to warm their frigid bivouacs. Overwhelmed with the horrors of his situation, Championnet retired to Nice, where he died of an epidemic disorder, which soon broke out among the troops, and swept off great multitudes. His death dissolved the small traces of discipline which remained in the army. The soldiers

tumultuously broke up their cantonments ; crowds of deserters left their colours and covered the roads to France ; and it was only by one of those nervous flights of eloquence which touch, even in the greatest calamities, every generous heart, that St Cyr succeeded in stopping the return of a large body which had left Genoa, and was proceeding on the road to Provence. Alarmed at the representations which he drew of the disastrous state of the army, the government, which had now passed from the feeble hands of the Directory into the firm grasp of Napoleon, took the most active steps to administer relief ; several convoys reached the troops, and Massena, sent to assume the supreme command, succeeded in some degree in stopping the torrent of desertion, and restoring the confidence of the army.

85. At the same time, the campaign on the Rhine was drawing to a close, and the most ruinous divisions had arisen between the allied commanders. Notwithstanding the brilliant successes of the Republicans at Zurich, their forces in that quarter were not so numerous as to enable them, in the first instance, to derive any considerable fruit from their victory. But no sooner were they relieved, by the failure of the allied expedition to North Holland, from all apprehension in that quarter, than they resolved to concentrate all their disposable force on the lower Rhine, of which the command was given to General Lecourbe, who had so distinguished himself in the mountain warfare of Switzerland. But that which the strength of the Republicans could not effect, the dimensions of their enemies were not long in producing. The Russians and Austrians mutually threw upon each other the blame of the late disasters ; the latter alleging that the catastrophe at Zurich was all owing to the want of vigilance and skill in Korsakoff ; and the former replying, that if Suwarroff had been supported by Hotze, as he had a right to expect, when he descended from the St Gothard, all the misfortunes of the centre would have been repaired, and a brilliant victory over his right wing

have dispossessed Massena from his defensive position on the line of the Limmat. In this temper of mind on both sides, and with the jealousy unavoidable between cabinets of equal power and rival pretensions, little was wanting to fan the discontent into a flame.

86. A trivial incident soon produced this effect. Suwarroff, after he had rested and reorganised his army, proposed to the Archduke that they should resume offensive operations against the enemy, who had shown no disposition to follow up his successes at Zurich. His plan was to abandon the Grisons, blow up the works of Fort St Lucie, and advance with all his forces to Winterthur, where he was to form a junction with Korsakoff, and attack the enemy in concert with the Imperialists. The Archduke apprehended with too much reason that the assembling of all the Russian troops on the banks of the Thur, in the centre of the enemy's line, which extended from Sargans to the junction of the Aar and Rhine, would be both difficult and perilous; and therefore he proposed instead, that the corps of Korsakoff should march by Stockach to join the marshal behind the lake of Constance, and that he himself should detach a strong Austrian column to second the operations of the Russians in Switzerland. Irritated at any alteration of his plans by a younger officer, the old marshal, already soured by the disastrous termination of the campaign in Switzerland, replied in angry terms, on the following day, that his troops were not adapted for any further operations in the mountains, and that he himself would march to join Korsakoff,\* and concert measures with him for the projected operations in Switzerland. On the fol-

lowing day, however, he changed his resolution; for, declaring that his troops absolutely required repose, and that they could find it only at a distance from the theatre of war, he directed them to winter-quarters in Bavaria, between the Lech and the Iller, where they were soon after joined by the artillery, which had come round by Verona and the Tyrol.

87. This secession of the Russian force was not produced merely by jealousy of the Austrians, or irritation at the ill success of the allied arms in Switzerland. It had its origin also in motives of state policy, and as such was rapidly communicated from the field-marshal's headquarters to the cabinet of St Petersburg. The alliance between Russia and Austria, even if it had not been dissolved by the mutual exasperation of their generals, must have speedily yielded to the inherent jealousy of two monarchies, equal in power and discordant in interest. The war was undertaken for objects which, at that time at least, appeared to be foreign to the immediate interests of Russia; the danger to the balance of power by the preponderance of France seemed to be removed by the conquest of Italy; and any further successes of Austria, it was said, were only likely to weaken a power too far removed to be of any serious detriment to the influence of Russia, in order to enrich one much nearer, and from whom serious resistance to its ambitious projects might be expected. The efforts for the preceding campaign, moreover, had been extremely costly, and in a great degree, notwithstanding the English subsidies, had exhausted the Imperial treasury. In these circumstances, the exasperation of the generals speedily led to a rupture between the cabinets, and the Russian troops took no further share in the war.

88. Left to its own resources, however, the Austrian cabinet was far from being discouraged. The Archduke Charles had collected eighty thousand men between Offenburg and Feldkirch; but great as this force was, it hardly appeared adequate, after the departure of the Russians, to a renewal of active

\* This letter Suwarroff terminated with the following expressions: "I am field-marshal as well as you; commander, as well as you, of an Imperial army; old, while you are young; it is for you to come and seek me." He was so profoundly mortified by the defeat of the Russians at Zurich, that when he reached his winter-quarters, he took to bed, and became seriously ill; while the Emperor Paul gave vent to his indignation against the Austrians in an angry article published in the Gazette of St Petersburg.—HARD. vii. 297, 298.

operations in the Alps, and therefore he kept his troops on the defensive. Massena, on his side in Switzerland, was too much exhausted by his preceding exertions to make any offensive movement. On the other hand, Lecourbe, whose forces on the Lower Rhine had been raised by the efforts of the Directory to twenty thousand men, passed that river in three columns, at Worms, Oppenheim, and Mayence, and moved forward against Prince Schwartzberg, who commanded the advanced-guard of the right wing of the Austrians, which occupied the line of the Bergstrass from Frankfort to Darmstadt. As the French forces were greatly superior, the Austrian general was compelled to retire, and, after evacuating Heidelberg and Mannheim, to concentrate his troops to cover Philippsburg, which, however, he was soon obliged to abandon to its own resources. The Archduke, though grievously embarrassed at the moment by the rupture with the Russians, turned his eyes to the menaced point, and, by rapidly causing reinforcements to defile in that direction, soon acquired a superiority over his assailants. The Republican advanced-guard was attacked and worsted at Erlenheim, in consequence of which the blockade of Philippsburg was raised; but, the French having been reinforced, it was again invested. The Archduke, however, having at length terminated his correspondence with Suwarroff, turned his undivided attention to the menaced quarter, and directed a large part of the Imperial army to reinforce his right. These columns soon overthrew the Republicans, and Lecourbe was placed in a situation of such danger, that he had no means of extricating himself from it but by proposing an armistice to Starray, who commanded the Imperialists, on the ground of negotiations being on foot between the two powers for peace. Starray accepted it, under a reservation of the approbation of the Archduke. But his refusal to ratify it was of no avail; in the interval the stratagem had succeeded; three days had been gained, during which the Re-

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publicans had leisure to defile without molestation over the Rhine.

89. Thus closed the campaign of 1799, one of the most memorable of the whole revolutionary war. Notwithstanding the disasters by which its latter part had been checkered, it was evident that the Allies had gained immensely by the results of their operations. Italy had been regained as rapidly as it had been lost; Germany, freed from the Republican forces, had rolled back to the Rhine the tide of foreign invasion, and the blood of two hundred thousand French soldiers had expiated the ambition and weakness of the Republican government. Not even in the glorious efforts of 1796, had the French achieved successes so important, or chained victory to their standards in such an unbroken succession of combats as the Allies had done during this campaign. The conquest of all Lombardy and Piedmont; the reduction of the great fortresses which they contained; the liberation of Naples, Rome, and Tuscany, were the fruits of a single campaign. Instead of a cautious defensive on the Adige, the Imperialists now assumed a menacing offensive on the Maritime Alps; instead of trembling for the Tyrol and the Hereditary States, they threatened Switzerland and Alsace. The Republicans, weakened and disheartened, were everywhere thrown back upon their own frontiers; the oppressive system of making war maintain war could no longer be carried on; and a revolutionary state, exhausted by the sacrifices of nine years, seemed about to feel in its own territory a portion of the evils which it had so long inflicted upon others.

90. The internal situation of France was even more discouraging than might have been inferred from the external aspect of its affairs. In truth, it was there that the true secret of its reverses was to be found; the bravery and skill of the armies on the frontier had long concealed, but could no longer singly sustain, the internal weakness of the state. The prostration of strength which invariably succeeds the first burst of revolutionary enthusiasm, had now fallen upon France; and if an ex-

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traordinary combination of circumstances had not intervened to extricate her from the abyss, there can be no doubt she would have permanently sunk. The ardour of the Revolution had totally subsided. Distrust and despondency had succeeded to the enthusiasm of victory; instead of the patriotism of generous, had arisen the cupidity of selfish minds. "The radical vice," says General Mathieu Dumas, "of a government without a chief was now apparent. The courage and talents of the generals, the valour and intelligence of the soldiers, who, during this dreadful campaign, had sustained this monstrous species of authority, sapped by every species of abuse and the exhaustion arising from the excess of every passion, could no longer repair or conceal the faults of those at the head of affairs. Public spirit was extinguished; the resources of the interior were exhausted; the forced requisitions could no longer furnish supplies to assuage the misery of the soldiers; the veteran ranks had long since perished, and the young conscripts, destined to supply their place, deserted their standards in crowds, or concealed themselves to avoid being drawn; more than half the cavalry was dismounted: the state was in greater danger than it had ever been since the commencement of the war." The losses sustained by the French during the campaign had been prodigious; they amounted to above a hundred and seventy thousand men, exclusive of those who had been cut off by sickness and fatigue, who were a hundred thousand more.\* In these circumstances, nothing was wanting to have enabled the coalition to triumph over the exhausted and discordant population of France, but union, decision, and a leader of paramount authority. Nothing could have saved the Republicans from the grasp of the Allies but their own divisions. These were not slow, however, in breaking out; and, amidst the ruinous jealousies of the Allies, that mighty conqueror arose who was destined to stifle the democracy and tame the passions of

France, and bring upon her guilty people a weight of moral retribution, which could never have been inflicted till the latent energies of Europe had been called forth by his ambition.

91. "The alliance between Austria and Russia," says the Archduke Charles, "blew up, like most coalitions formed between powers of equal pretensions. The idea of a common interest, the illusion of confidence based on the same general views, prepares the first advances; difference of opinion as to the means of attaining the desired objects, soon sows the seeds of misunderstanding; and that envenomed feeling increases in proportion as the events of the war alter the views of the coalesced powers, derange their plans, and deceive their hopes. It seldom fails to break out openly when the armies are destined to undertake any operation in concert. The natural desire to obtain the lead in command, as in glory, excites the rival passions both of chiefs and nations. Pride and jealousy, tenacity and presumption, spring from the conflict of opinion and ambition; continual contradictions daily inflame the mutual exasperation, and nothing but a fortunate accident can prevent such a coalition from being dissolved before one of the parties is inclined to turn his arms against the other. In all the varieties of human events, there are but two in which the co-operation of such unwieldy and heterogeneous masses can produce great effects: the one is, when an imperious necessity, and an insupportable state of oppression, induces both sovereigns and their subjects to take up arms to emancipate themselves, and the struggle is not of sufficient duration to allow the ardour of their first enthusiasm to cool; the other, when a state, by an extraordinary increase of power, can arrogate to itself and sustain the right to rule the opinion of its allies, and make their jealousies bend to its determination. Experience has proved that these different kinds of coalitions produce different results: almost all oppressive conquerors have been overthrown by the first; the second has been the chief instrument in the enthralling of na-

\* See "Etat des Pertes de l'Armée Française en 1799."—HARD, vii. 478.

tions." In these profound remarks is to be found the secret both of the long disasters attending the coalition against France, of the steady rise and irresistible power of the alliance headed by Napoleon, and of his rapid and irresistible overthrow. They should never be absent from the contemplation of the statesman in future times, either in estimating the probable result of coalitions in which his own country takes a part, or in calculating on the chances of its resisting those which may be formed for its subjugation.

92. With regret the author must now bid adieu to the *Memoirs of the Archduke Charles*, so long the faithful guide in the German campaigns, as his invaluable annals do not come further down than the close of the campaign of 1799. Military history has few more remarkable works of which to boast. Luminous, sagacious, disinterested; severe in judging of himself, indulgent in criticising others; liberal of praise to all but his own great achievements, profoundly skilled in the military art, and gifted with no common powers of narrative and description, his work is a model of candid and able military disquisition. Less vehement and forcible than Napoleon, he is more circumspect and consistent; with inferior genius, he is distinguished by infinitely greater candour, generosity, and trustworthiness. On a fact stated by the Archduke, whether favourable or adverse to his reputation, or a criticism made by him on others, the most perfect reliance may be placed. To a similar statement in the *St Helena Memoirs* implicit credit cannot be given, unless its veracity is supported by other testimony, or it is borne out, as is often the case, by its own self-evident justice and truth. In the military writings of these two great antagonists may be seen, as in a mirror, the opposite principles and talents brought into collision during the revolutionary war. On the one side, judgment, candour, and honesty, without the energy requisite to command early advantage in the struggle; on the other, genius, vigour, invention, but none of the moral qualities essential to confer lasting success. Or, per-

haps, a more profound or fanciful observer may trace in the German chief the fairest specimens of the great and good qualities which, in every age, have been the characteristic of the blue-eyed children of the Gothic race; in the French, the most brilliant assemblage that ever occurred of the mental powers of the dark-haired Celtic family of mankind.

93. "Prince Charles," said Napoleon, "is a man whose conduct will ever be irreproachable. His soul belongs to the heroic age, but his heart to that of gold. More than all, he is a good man, and that includes everything when said of a prince." The whole career of the Archduke, from first to last, justifies this beautiful eulogium. More, perhaps, than any commander of the age, he was "without fear and without reproach." Uniting the courtesy and dignified manners of the days of chivalry to the patriotic spirit of ancient Rome, and the upright heart of the Gothic blood, he was the general of all others, in those days of glory, who approached nearest to the standard of ideal perfection. Inferior to Napoleon in genius, to Suwarroff in daring, he was superior to either in cautious combination, scientific foresight, and the power of repairing disaster. His deliverance of Germany in 1796 was achieved by ability in strategy equal to that which gave Napoleon in the same year the empire of Italy: his able retreat through the Alps in 1797 procured for his defeated country an advantageous peace; but for the errors of the Aulic Council he would in 1799 have accomplished the subversion of the Republic. When opposed to Napoleon himself, at the head of a colossal army in 1809, he retrieved the overthrow on the Bavarian plains; defeated the French Emperor in a pitched battle under the walls of Vienna; and, but for the neglect of his orders by the Archduke John, would have crushed him by an overthrow as decisive as that of Waterloo, on the field of Wagram.

94. Four commanders, and four only, in the age of the French Revolution, have risen to the highest eminence: Napoleon, Wellington, Suwarroff, and

the Archduke Charles. The two last offered a striking contrast to each other, and, like the two first, were types of the nations at the head of whose armies they respectively combated. The Archduke had more science, Suwarroff greater daring; the former was superior in combination, the latter in execution. Fearless, vehement, and impassioned, the strokes of the Russian conqueror fell like the burning thunder-bolt; but he frequently relaxed his efforts when victory was gained, and did not always reap that fruit from his victories which might have been anticipated from their brilliancy. Profound, cautious, unwearied, the conqueror of Aspern rose with the difficulties with which he was surrounded, and extracted from them the means of again recalling victory to his standards; but by carrying too far the principle of avoiding risk, he not unfrequently lost the opportunity of achieving decisive success. Suwarroff, by the vehemence of his onset, reft in a few weeks from the Republicans the whole fruit of Napoleon's victories in Italy, while, by an undue delay of eight days at Milan, he missed the opportunity of destroying their army in its retreat. The Archduke reduced the conqueror of Echmuhl to the last straits on the shores of the Danube, but, by afterwards suspending his attack on the island of Lobau, lost the chance of finishing the war at a blow. The former was greater on the field, the latter in the council. In tactics the Muscovite commander was unrivalled, the Austrian in strategy. Both were subject to the grievous bondage from which Napoleon and Frederick were happily exempt,—of a council, composed of men inferior in ability to themselves, far removed from the scene of action, and who not unfrequently marred their best-laid enterprises. Yet did each, notwithstanding this disadvantage, worthily discharge the important duty he was called to by Providence and intrusted with by his country: the conqueror of Ismael, in bearing the Russian standards, conquering and to conquer, through every adjoining state; the saviour of Ger-

many in stemming the torrent of revolutionary invasion, and preserving unscathed for happier times the strength and fortitude of his country.

95. The passage of the St Bernard by Napoleon has been the subject of unmeasured eulogium by almost all the French historians; but nevertheless, in the firmness with which it was conducted, the difficulties with which it had to contend, and the resolution displayed in its execution, it must yield to the Alpine campaign of the Russian hero. In crossing from Martigny to Ivrea, the First Consul had no enemies to overcome, no lakes to pass, no hostile army to vanquish, after the obstacles of nature had been surmounted; the difficulty of the ascent and the roughness of the road constituted the only serious impediments to the march. But in passing from Bellinzona to Altdorf by the St Gothard, Suwarroff had to encounter not merely a road of greater length and equal difficulty, but to force his way, sword in hand, through columns of the enemy, long trained to mountain warfare, intimately acquainted with the country, under a leader of pre-eminent skill in that species of tactics; and to do this with troops as ignorant of Alpine geography as those of France would have been of the passes of the Caucasus. When he descended, like a mountain torrent, to the lake of Uri, overthrowing everything in his course, he found his progress stopped by a deep expanse of water, shut in by precipices on either side, without roads on its shores, or a bark on its bosom, and received the intelligence of the total defeat of the army with which he came to co-operate under the walls of Zurich. Obligated to defile by the rugged paths of the Schächenthal to the canton of Glarus, he was ere long enveloped by the victorious columns of the enemy, and his front and rear assailed at the same time by superior forces, flushed by recent conquest. It was no ordinary resolution which in such circumstances could disdain to submit, and, after fiercely turning on his pursuers, and routing their bravest troops, prepare to surmount the difficulties of a fresh



mountain passage, and, amidst the horrors of the Alps of Glarus, brave alike the storms of winter and the pursuit of the enemy. The bulk of men in all ages are governed by the event; and to such persons the passage of the St Bernard, followed as it was by the triumph of Marengo, will always be the highest object of interest. But without detracting from the well-earned fame of the French general, it may safely be affirmed that those who know how to separate just combination from casual disaster, and can appreciate the heroism of valour when struggling with misfortune, will award a still higher place to the Russian hero, and follow the footsteps of Suwaroff over the snows of the St Gothard and the valley of Sernft with more interest than either the eagles of Napoleon over the St Bernard, or the standards of Hannibal from the shores of the Rhone to the banks of the Po.

96. Suwaroff did not long survive his final ill success against the arms of the Republicans. Accustomed to a long train of victory, undefeated in a single battle during his long career when acting unfettered, he became the prey of unbounded vexation, at seeing his deserved reputation for invincibility reft from him in the close of his career, by the absurd combinations or selfish jealousy of the Aulic Council. Shortly after he arrived in St Petersburg, he fell under the displeasure of the Emperor Paul, whose head, never very strong, was now exhibiting unequivocal proofs of aberration. His great ground of complaint against Suwaroff was not the ill success of his later operations, but his not having informed him of the astute and selfish policy of the cabinet of Vienna, in time to have prevented the disasters from which the Muscovite arms had suffered so severely; as if it was the duty of a general to sow discord between his master and the allied sovereigns with whom he was acting. Grief for this estrangement so preyed upon the mind of the illustrious general, that his complaint resisted all the efforts of art, and he was soon on the verge of death. He awaited its approach with calm composure, but

sent a message to the Emperor to say he had a last favour to request at his hands.

97. The Emperor declined to visit him, but sent his grandsons, Alexander, afterwards Emperor, and Constantine, to console the last moments of the dying hero, accompanied by an assurance that his last request should be granted. When the message was delivered, he spoke long and warmly on the past lustre and present decline of his country's glory, and broke out in passionate exclamation on his eternal attachment to the great Catherine. "I was only a soldier," said he, with his last breath, "and she felt the inclination I had to serve her. I owe her more than life; she has given me the means of making it illustrious. Tell her son that I receive with gratitude his Imperial word. Here is the portrait of Catherine; it has never since I received it left my bosom: the favour I ask is, that it should be buried with me in my tomb, and remain for ever attached to my heart." With these words he expired. His last favour was granted; he was laid in the tomb with the portrait of Catherine placed on his bosom. The enmity of Paul, however, continued beyond the grave; not a Russian attended him to his place of sepulture, and the whole Continental corps diplomatique, influenced by his known hostility, kept aloof from the mournful ceremony. The English ambassador\* alone, with a spirit worthy of the representative of a free people, braved the wrath of the Czar in the plenitude of his power, and followed the remains of the immortal hero to his grave.

98. The expedition to Holland was ably conceived, and failed only from the inadequacy of the force employed, and the inherent weakness incident to an enterprise conducted by allied forces. It was the greatest armament which had been sent from Great Britain during the war, but was yet obviously inadequate both to the magnitude of the enterprise and the resources of the state mainly interested in its success. In truth, the annals of the earlier years of the war incessantly suggest regret at

\* Lord Whitworth.

the parsimonious expenditure of British force, and the great results which, to all appearance, would have attended a more vigorous effort at the decisive moment. "Any person," says Mr Burke, "who was of age to take a part in public affairs forty years ago, if the intermediate space were expunged from his memory, would hardly credit his senses when he should hear, from the highest authority, that an army of two hundred thousand men was kept up in this island, and that in Ireland there were at least eighty thousand more. But how much greater would be his surprise, if he were told again that this mighty force was retained for the mere purpose of an inert and passive defence, and that, by its very constitution, the greater part was disabled from defending us against the enemy by one preventive stroke or one operation of active hostility! What must his reflections be on learning further, that a fleet of five hundred men-of-war, the best appointed that this country ever had upon the sea, was for the greater part employed in the same system of unenterprising defence! What must be the feelings of any one who remembers the former energy of England, when he is given to understand that these two islands, with their extensive sea-coast, should be considered as a garrisoned sea-town; that its garrison was so feebly commanded as never to make a sally; and that, contrary to all that has been hitherto seen in war, an inferior army, with the shattered relics of an almost annihilated navy, may with safety besiege this superior garrison, and, without hazarding the life of a man, ruin the place merely by the menaces and false appearances of an attack?"

99. If this was true in 1797, when the indignant statesman wrote these cutting remarks, how much more was it applicable in 1799, when France was reduced to extremities by the forces of Austria and Russia, and the extraordinary energy of the Revolution had exhausted itself! The Archduke Charles, indeed, has justly observed, that modern history presents few examples of great military operations executed in

pursuance of a descent on the sea-coast; and that the difficulties of the passage, and the uncertainty of the elements, present the most formidable obstacles in the way of the employment of considerable forces in such an enterprise. But experience in all ages has demonstrated that they are not insurmountable, and that from a military force, thus supported, the greatest results may reasonably be expected, if sufficient energy is infused into the undertaking. The examples of the overthrow of Hannibal at Zama, of the English at Hastings, of the French at Cressy and Azincour, and of Napoleon in Spain and at Waterloo, prove what can be effected, even by a maritime expedition, if followed up with the requisite vigour. And, unquestionably, there never was an occasion when greater results might have been anticipated from such an exertion than in this campaign. Had sixty thousand native British, constantly fed by fresh supplies from the parent state, been sent to Holland, they would have borne down all opposition, hoisted the Orange flag on all the fortresses of the United Provinces, liberated Flanders, prevented the accumulation of force which enabled Massena to strike his redoubted blows at Zurich, hindered the formation of the army of reserve, and intercepted the thunder-strokes of Marengo and Hohenlinden.

100. The rapid fall of the French military power in 1799 was the natural result of the sudden extension of the frontiers of the Republic beyond its strength, and affords another example of the truth of the maxim, that the more the ambition of a nation in a state of fermentation leads to its extension, the more does it become difficult for it to preserve its conquests. Such a state as France then was, with a military power extending from the mouth of the Ems to the shores of Calabria, and no solid foundation for government but the gratification of ambition, has no chance of safety but in constantly advancing to fresh conquests. The least reverse, by destroying the charm of its invincibility, and compelling the separation of its armies to gar-

rison its numerous fortresses, leaves it weak and powerless in the field, and speedily dissolves the splendid fabric. This truth was experienced by the Directory in 1799; it was evinced on a still greater scale, and after still more splendid triumphs, by Napoleon in 1813. It is power slowly acquired and wisely consolidated, authority which brings the blessings of civilisation and protection with its growth, victories which array the forces of the vanquished states in willing and organised multitudes under the standards of the victor, which alone are durable. Such

were the conquests of Rome in the ancient world, such are the conquests of Russia in Europe, and Britain in India, in modern times. The whirlwinds of an Alexander, a Timour, or a Napoleon, are in general as short-lived as the genius which creates them. The triumphs flowing from the transient ebullition of popular enthusiasm sink with the decay of the passion from which they spring. Nothing is durable in nature but what has arisen by slow degrees; nothing in the end obtains the mastery of nations but the power which protects and blesses them.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

CIVIL HISTORY OF FRANCE, FROM THE REVOLUTION OF THE 18TH FRUCTIDOR TO THE SEIZURE OF SUPREME POWER BY NAPOLEON. SEPT. 1797—NOV. 1799.

1. THE Revolution of France had now run through the usual course of universal enthusiasm, general suffering, plebeian revolt, bloody anarchy, democratic cruelty, and military despotism. There remained a last stage to which it had not yet arrived, but which, nevertheless, was necessary to tame the passions of the people, and reconstruct the fabric of society out of the ruined fragments of former civilisation. This stage was that of a SINGLE DESPOT, and to this final result the weakness consequent on exhausted passion was rapidly bringing the country. To the fervour of democratic license there invariably succeeds in a few years a period of languor and listlessness, of blighted hope and disappointed ambition, of despair at the calamitous results of previous changes, and heedlessness to everything but the gratification of selfish passion. The energetic, the ardent, the enthusiastic, have for the most part sunk under the contests of former factions. Few remain but the base and calculating, who, by stooping before the storms under which their more

elevated rivals perished, have contrived to survive their fall. This era is that of public degradation, of external disaster and internal suffering, and, in the despair of all classes, it prepares the way for the return to a more stable order of things.

2. The external disasters which had rapidly accumulated upon the Republic since the commencement of hostilities, the loss of Italy, and refluxence of the war to the frontiers of France, could hardly have failed to overturn a government so dependent on the fleeting gales of popular favour as that of the Directory, even if it had not been tainted by the inherent vice of having been established by the force of military power, in opposition to the wishes of the nation and the forms of the constitution. But this cause had for long been preparing its downfall; and the removal of the armies to the frontier, upon the resumption of hostilities, rendered it impossible any longer to stifle the public voice. That inevitable scourge of all revolutionary states, *embarrassment of finance*, had, since the revolu-

tion of the 18th Fructidor, impeded all the operations of the government. Notwithstanding the confiscation of two-thirds of the public debt, it was found impossible, in the succeeding season, to pay the interest on the third which remained, without having recourse to fresh expedients. The deficit on the year was announced by the minister of finance as amounting to at least 63,000,000 francs, or £2,520,000; it was known to amount to nearly 100,000,000; and the taxes were levied slowly, and with extreme difficulty. To meet the deficiency, the duty on doors and windows was doubled; that on carriages raised tenfold, and the effects of the Protestant clergy were, as already noticed, confiscated, putting them, like the Catholics, on the footing of payment from government. Thus the Revolution, as it advanced, was successively swallowing up the property even of the humblest in the community.

3. The new elections of a third of the legislature, in March 1799, were conducted with greater order and freedom than any which had preceded them; because the army, the great support of the Directory, was for the most part removed, and the violence used on previous occasions to secure the return could not so easily be put in force. A large proportion of representatives, accordingly, were returned adverse to the government established by the bayonets of Augereau, and waited only for an opportunity to displace it from the helm. It fell to Rewbell's lot to retire from the Directory, and Sièyes was chosen by the two councils in his stead. The people were already dissatisfied with the administration of affairs, when the disasters at the commencement of the campaign came to fan the flame into a conflagration. After these events, the public indignation could no longer be restrained. Complaints broke out on all sides; the conduct of the war, the management of the finances, the tyranny exercised over the elections, the arbitrary dispersion of the Chambers, the iniquitous removal of nearly one-half of the deputies, the choice of the generals, the direction of the armies, all were made

subjects of vehement and impassioned invective. The old battalions, it was said, had been left in the interior to overawe the elections; the best generals were in irons; Championnet, the conqueror of Naples, had been dismissed for striving to repress the rapacity of the inferior agents of the Directory; Moreau, the commander in so glorious a retreat, was reduced to the rank of a general of division, and Scherer, unknown to fame, had been invested with the command of the Army of Italy. Even measures which had formerly been the object of general praise, were now condemned in no measured terms. The expedition to Egypt, it was discovered, had given an eccentric direction to the best general and bravest army of the Republic, and provoked the hostility at once of the Sublime Porte and the Emperor of Russia; while the attack on Switzerland was an unjustifiable invasion of neutral rights, which necessarily aroused the indignation of all the European powers, and brought on a war which the government had made no preparations to meet. These complaints were, in a great degree, well founded; but they would never have been heard if the fortune of war had proved favourable, and the Republican armies, instead of being thrown back on their own frontier, had been following the career of victory into the Imperial states. But the Directory now experienced the truth of the saying of Tacitus:—"Hæc est bellorum pessima conditio: prospera omnes sibi vindicant, adversa uni solo imputantur."\*

4. In the midst of this general effervescence, the restraints imposed on the liberty of the press after the revolution of the 18th Fructidor, could no longer be maintained. The armed force which had imposed and kept them on was wanting; the soldiers were almost all combating on the frontiers. These restraints were, accordingly, no longer enforced against the daily journals, and the universal indignation speedily spoke out in the periodical press. In every

\* "This is the worst condition of wars: all claim credit for prosperous—adverse events are imputed to one alone."

quarter, in the newspapers, the tribune, the pamphlets, the clubs, nothing was to be read or heard but declamations against the government. The parties who had alternately felt the weight of their vengeance, the Royalists and the Jacobins, vied with each other in inveighing against their imbecility and want of foresight; while the soldiers, hitherto their firmest support, gave open vent to their indignation at the "Advocates" who had brought back the Republican standards to the Alps and the Rhine.

5. A league was speedily formed against the government, at the head of which were Generals Joubert and Augereau. Barras, though a Director, entered into the plan, and gave it the weight of his reputation, or rather his revolutionary audacity and vigour. It was agreed that no questions should be brought forward, until the obnoxious Directors were removed, as to the form of government which should succeed them; and the three Directors, La Révellière-Lépaulx, Treillard, and Merlin de Douai, were marked out for destruction. The conspiracy was far advanced, when the misfortunes in Italy and on the Rhine gave tenfold force to the public discontent, and deprived the government of all means of resistance. The departments in the south, now threatened with invasion from the allied army, were in a state of extreme fermentation, and sent deputations to the Councils, who painted in the most lively colours the destitute state of the troops, the consternation of the provinces, the vexations of the people, the injustice done to the generals, and the indignation of the soldiers. The nomination of Sièyes to the Directory was the most convincing proof of the temper of the Councils, as he had always and openly expressed his dislike at the constitution and the Directorial government. To elect him was to proclaim, as it were, that they desired a revolution.

6. Sièyes soon became the head of the conspirators, who thus numbered among their ranks two Directors, and a great majority of both Councils. It was no longer their first object to remodel the constitution, but to gain

immediate possession of the reins of power, in order to extricate the country from the perilous situation in which it was placed. For this purpose they refused all accommodation or consultation with the three devoted Directors, while the most vehement attacks were made on them in both Councils. The disastrous state of the finances afforded too fair an opportunity for invective. Out of 400,000,000 francs already consumed in the public service for the year 1799, not more than 210,000,000 francs had been received by the treasury, and the arrears were coming in very slowly. Various new taxes were voted by the Councils; but it was apparent to every one that their collection, under the present system, was impossible. A still more engrossing topic was afforded by the discussions on the proposed alteration of the law on the liberty of the press and the popular societies, in order to take away from the Directory the arbitrary power with which they had been invested by the law of the 19th Fructidor. The democrats exclaimed that it was indispensable to electrify the public mind; that the country was in the same danger as in 1793, and that the same means must be taken to meet it; that every species of patriotism would speedily expire if the clubs were not reopened, and unlimited freedom allowed to the press. Without joining in this democratic fervour, the royalists and Constitutionalists concurred with them in holding that the Directory had made a bad use of the dictatorial power given to them by the revolution of 18th Fructidor, and that the restoration of the popular clubs had become indispensable. So general a concord among men of such dissimilar opinions on all other subjects, announced the speedy fall of the government.

7. The first measures of the conspirators were opened by a message from the different committees of the Councils, presented by Boulay de la Meurthe, in which they insisted upon being informed of the causes of the exterior and interior dangers which threatened the state, and the means of averting them which existed. The Directory,

upon receiving this message, endeavoured to gain time, by promising to give an answer in detail, which required several days to prepare. But this was by no means what the revolutionists intended. After waiting a fortnight without receiving any answer, the Councils, on the recommendation of their committees of war, expenditure, and finance, agreed to declare their sittings permanent, till an answer to the message was obtained, and the three committees were constituted into a single commission of eleven members,—in other words, a provisional government. The Directory on their part also declared their sittings permanent, and everything seemed to presage a fierce conflict. The commission dexterously availed themselves of the circumstance that Treilhard, who for thirteen months had been in the Directory, had been appointed four days before the legal period, and instantly proposed that his nomination should be annulled. La Révellière-Lépaux, who was gifted with great political firmness, in vain strove to induce Treilhard to resist; he saw his danger, and resolved to yield to the storm. He accordingly sent in his resignation, and Gohier, a vehement republican, but a man of little political capacity, though an able writer, was named by the Councils in his stead.

8. The victory was gained, because this change gave the Councils a majority in the Directory, but La Révellière-Lépaux was still firm in his refusal to resign. After exhausting every engine of flattery, threats, entreaties, and promises, Barras at length broke up the conference by declaring, "Well, then, it is all over; sabres must be drawn."—"Wretch!" exclaimed La Révellière, "do you speak of sabres? There is nothing here but knives, and they are all directed against those virtuous citizens whom you wish to murder, because you cannot induce them to degrade themselves." But a single individual could not withstand the legislature; he yielded at length to the entreaty of a deputation from the Councils, and sent in his resignation during the night. His example was immediately followed by Merlin; and Gen-

erals Moulins and Roger Ducos were appointed as successors to the expelled Directors. Thus, the government of the Directory was overturned in less than four years after its first establishment, and in twenty months after it had, by a violent stretch of illegal force, usurped dictatorial powers. The people of Paris took no part in this subversion of their rulers, which was effected by the force of the national assemblies illegally directed. Revolutionary fervour had exhausted itself; and an event which, six years before, would have convulsed France from one extremity to the other, passed over with hardly more agitation than a change of ministers causes in a constitutional monarchy.

9. The violent measures, however, which had dispossessed the government, were far from bringing to the helm of affairs any accession either of vigour or ability. The new Directory, composed, like the Councils, of men of opposite principles, was even less qualified than that which had preceded it to make head against the tempest, both without and within, which assailed the state. Sièyes, the only man among them of superior intellect, dreamed of nothing but a new political organisation of society, and had none of the qualities fitted to struggle with the misfortunes of a sinking state. Roger Ducos, an old Girondist, was merely his creature, and unfit to direct any department of the Republic. Moulins, an obscure general, but a vehement republican, had been nominated by the Jacobin party to uphold their interests in the government, and, being unknown to the armies, possessed none of the influence with the military so necessary to revive their former spirit. Barras was the only man capable of giving any effectual assistance to the administration; but he was so much under the influence of his passions and his vices, and had taken so many and such contradictory parts in the course of the Revolution, that no reliance could be placed on his assistance. After having been a violent Jacobin after the revolution of 31st May, a leading Thermidorian after the fall of Robespierre, a

revolutionary Director on the 18th Fructidor, and a vehement enemy of his ancient colleagues on the 30th Prairial, he now became a royalist Director, elected to withstand the principles of democracy which had so often elevated him to power. Gohier was sincere and honest in his intentions, but he was an infatuated republican, who, amidst the general wreck of the institutions of the country, was dreaming only of the social compact, and the means of averting a counter-revolution. From the moment of their installation, their sentiments on most subjects were found to be so much at variance, that it was evident no cordial co-operation could be expected amongst them.

10. The first and most pressing necessity was to stem the torrent of disaster which had overwhelmed the armies of the Republic. Immediately after the change in the government, news arrived of the forcing of the lines of Zurich; and, before the consternation which this occasioned had subsided, it was followed by intelligence of the battle of the Trebbia, and the evacuation of the ridge of the Apennines. These misfortunes rendered it absolutely necessary to take some steps to restore the public confidence; and, for this purpose, a great change was made in the military commanders of the Republic. Championnet, who had been thrown into prison for evading the orders of the Directory regarding the pillage of the Neapolitan dominions, was liberated from his fetters, and received the command of an army which it was proposed to establish along the line of the higher Alps; Bernadotte, from whose activity great results were justly expected, was appointed minister at war; and Joubert, whose exploits in the Tyrol had gained for him a brilliant reputation, nominated to the command of the shattered Army of Italy.

11. The overthrow of the government was the signal for the issuing of the Jacobins from their retreats, and the recommencement of revolutionary agitation, with all the perilous schemes of democratic ambition. Everywhere the clubs were reopened; the Jacobins took possession of the Riding-school

hall, where the debates of the Constituent Assembly had been held, and began again to pour forth those impassioned declamations in consequence of which such streams of blood had already flowed. Taught by former disasters, however, they abstained from demanding any sanguinary proceedings, and confined themselves to a strenuous support of an agrarian law, and those measures for the division of property, to the advocacy of which Babeuf had fallen a victim. The leading members of the Councils attended their meetings, and swelled the ardent multitudes who already crowded their assemblies, flattering themselves, even in the decrepitude of the revolutionary fervour, with the hopeless idea that they would succeed in directing the torrent. But the times were no longer the same, and it was impossible in 1799 to revive the general enthusiasm which ten years before had intoxicated every head in France. The people had not forgotten the Reign of Terror, and the dreadful calamities which had followed the ascendancy of the Jacobins; they received their promises without joy, without illusion, and listened with undisguised anxiety to the menaces which they dealt out to all who opposed their designs. Their apathy threw the Jacobins into despair, as they were well aware that, without the aid of the populace, they would be unable to overturn what yet remained of the fabric of society. "We cannot twice," said the citizens, "go through the same fiery ordeal: the Jacobins have no longer the power of the assignats at their command; the illusion of the people has been dispelled by their sufferings; the army regards their rule with horror." The respectable citizens, worn out with convulsions, and apprehensive beyond everything of a return to the yoke of the multitude, sighed for the restoration of a stable government, and were prepared to rally round any leader who would subject the passions of the Revolution to the yoke of despotic power.

12. To supply the enormous and daily increasing deficit in the public treasury, the revolutionists maintained

that it was indispensable to recur to the energy and patriotic measures of 1793; to call into active service all classes of the state, and levy a forced loan of 120,000,000 of francs, or £4,800,000, upon the opulent classes, increasing in severity with the fortunes of those from whom it was to be exacted. After long debates, this arbitrary measure was adopted, and at the same time a conscription of two hundred thousand men ordered to recruit the armies. These vigorous measures promised, in the course of time, to procure a great supply for the public necessities: but in the meanwhile the danger was imminent; and it was much to be feared that the frontiers would be invaded before any efficient support could be afforded to the armies intrusted with their defence.

13. What rendered every measure for the supply either of the army or the treasury difficult of execution, was the complete state of anarchy into which the provinces had fallen, and the total absence of all authority from the time that the troops had been removed to the frontier. The Vendéans and Chouans had, in the west, broken into fearful activity; the Companies of the Sun renewed their excesses in the south; and everywhere the refractory conscripts, forming themselves into bands of robbers, occupied the forests, and pillaged travellers and merchandise of every description along the highways. To such a height had these disorders, the natural and inevitable consequence of a revolution, arisen, that in most of the departments there was no longer any authority obeyed, or order maintained, but the strong pillaged the weak with impunity, as in the rudest ages. In these circumstances a law, named the law of the hostages, was proposed and carried in the Councils, and remains a singular and instructive monument of the desperate tyranny to which those are in the end reduced, who adventure on the perilous course of democratic innovation. Proceeding on the supposition, at once arbitrary and unfounded, that the relations of the emigrants were the sole cause of the disorders, they enacted,

that whenever a commune fell into a notorious state of anarchy, the relations of emigrants, and all those known to have been at all connected with the ancient regime, should be seized as hostages, and that four of them should be transported for every assassination that was committed in that district, and their property be rendered liable for all acts of robbery which there occurred. But this law, inhuman as it was, proved wholly inadequate to restore order in this distracted country; and France was menaced with an anarchy, so much the more terrible than that of 1793, as the Committee of Public Salvation was awaiting, whose iron arm, supported by victory, had then crushed it in its grasp.

14. The disturbances in the western provinces, during this paralysis of the authority of government, had again risen to the most formidable height. That unconquerable band, the Vendéans and Chouans, whom the utmost disasters could never completely subdue, had yielded only a temporary submission to the energetic and able measures of General Hoche; and with the arrival of less skilful leaders of the republican forces, and the increasing weakness of government, their activity again led them to insurrection. This fresh outbreak of the insurrection was chiefly owing to the cruel and unnecessary persecutions which the Director La Révellière-Lépaux kept up against the priests; and it soon rose to the most formidable height. In March 1799, the spirit of Chouanism, besides its native departments in Brittany, had spread to La Vendée, and the Republic beheld with dismay the fresh breaking out of that terrible volcano. Chollet, Mortagne, Herbiers, names immortalised in those wonderful wars, were again signalised by the successes of the royalists; and the flame, spreading further than the early victories of the Vendéans, menaced Touraine. BOURMONT, afterwards conqueror of Algiers, a chief of great ability, revenged in Mans the bloody catastrophe of the royalist army; and Godet de Châtillon, after a brilliant victory, entered in triumph into Nantes, which had six years before de-



feated the utmost efforts of the grand army under Cathelineau.

15. Nor did the financial measures of government inspire less dread than the external disasters and internal disorders which overwhelmed the country. The forced loan was levied with the utmost severity; and as all the fortunes of the royalists had been extinguished in the former convulsions, it now fell on those classes who had been enriched by the Revolution, and thus spread a universal panic through its most opulent supporters. They now felt the severity of the confiscation which they had inflicted on others. The ascending scale, according to which it was levied, rendered it especially obnoxious. No fixed rule was adopted for the increase according to the fortune of the individual, but everything was left to the tax-gatherers, who proceeded on secret and frequently false information. In these circumstances, the opulent found their whole income disappearing under a single exaction. The tax voted was 120,000,000 francs, or £4,800,000; but in the exhausted state of the country, it was impossible to raise this sum; and specie, under the dread of arbitrary exactions, entirely disappeared from circulation. Its collection took three years, and then only realised three-fourths of that amount. The three-per-cents consolidated, that melancholy relic of former bankruptcy, had fallen to six per cent on the remnant of a third, which the great confiscation of 1797 had left—a little more than a *sixtieth* part of the former value of the stock at the commencement of the Revolution. The executive were more successful in their endeavours to recruit the military forces of the Republic. Soldiers are as easily obtained during public suffering as money is hard to find. Under the able and vigorous management of Bernadotte, the conscription proceeded with great activity; and soon a hundred thousand young men were enrolled and disciplined at the dépôts in the interior of the country. These conscripts were no sooner instructed in the rudiments of the military art, than they were marched off to the frontier,

where they rendered essential service to the cause of national independence. It was the reinforcements thus obtained which enabled Massena to extricate the Republic from extreme peril at the battle of Zurich; and it was in their ranks that Napoleon, in the following year, found the greater part of those dauntless followers who scaled the barrier of the Great St Bernard, and descended like a thunderbolt on the plain of Marengo.

16. While the Republic, after ten years of convulsions, was fast relapsing into that state of disorder and weakness which is at once the consequence and punishment of revolutionary violence, the hall of the Jacobins resounded with furious declamations against all the members of the Directory, and the whole system which in every country has been considered as the basis of social union. The distribution of property was in an especial manner the object of invective; and the agrarian law, which Babeuf had bequeathed to the last democrats of the Revolution, was universally extolled as the perfection of society. Felix Lepelletier, Arena, Drouet, and all the furious revolutionists of the age, were there assembled, and the whole atrocities of 1793 were soon held up for applause and imitation. They celebrated the manes of the victims shot on the plain of Grenelle; demanded in loud terms the instant punishment of all "the leeches who lived on the blood of the people," the general disarming of the royalists, a *levy en masse*, the establishment of manufactures of arms in the public places, and the restoration of their cannon and pikes to the inhabitants of the faubourgs. These ardent feelings were roused into a perfect fury, when the news arrived of the battle of Novi, and the retreat of the Army of Italy to the Alps. Talleyrand became in an especial manner the object of attack. He was accused of having projected the expedition to Egypt, the cause of all the public disasters; Moreau was overwhelmed with invectives, and Siyès, the president of the Council of Ancients, stigmatised as a perfidious priest, who was

about to belie in power all the patriotic resolutions of his earlier years.

17. In these perilous circumstances, the Directory named FOUCHÉ minister of police. This celebrated man, who under Napoleon came to play so important a part in the government of the Empire, early gave indication of the great abilities and versatile character which enabled him so long to maintain his influence, not only with many different administrations, but under so many different governments. An old member of the Jacobin Club, and thoroughly acquainted with all their designs; steeped in the atrocities of Lyons; a regicide and atheist; bound neither by affection nor principle to their cause, and seeking only in the shipwreck of parties to make his own fortune, he was eminently qualified to act as a spy upon his former friends, and to secure the Directory against their efforts. He perceived at this critical period that the ascendant of the revolutionists was on the wane; and having raised himself to eminence by their passions, he now resolved to attach himself to that conservative party who were striving to reconstruct the elements of society, and establish regular authority by their subversion. The people beheld with dismay the associate of Collot d'Herbois, and a regicide member of the Convention, raised to the important station of head of the police: but they soon found that the massacres of Lyons were not to be renewed; and that the Jacobin enthusiast, intrusted with the direction of affairs, was to exhibit, in combating the forces of anarchy, the spirit he had imbibed in gaining its victories, and a vigour and resolution on the side of order, unknown in the former stages of the Revolution. His accession to the administration at this juncture was of great importance; for he soon succeeded in confirming the wavering ideas of Barras, and inducing him to exert all his strength in combating those principles of democracy which were again beginning to dissolve the social body.

18. Under the auspices of so vigorous a leader, the power of the Jacobins was

speedily put to the test. He at once closed the Riding-school hall, where their meetings were held; and, supported by the Council of the Ancients, within whose precincts it was placed, prohibited any further assemblies in that situation. The democrats, expelled from their old den, reassembled in a new place of meeting in the Rue du Bac, where their declamations were renewed with as much vehemence as ever. But public opinion had changed; the people were no longer disposed to rise in insurrection to support their ambitious projects. Fouché resolved to follow up his first blow by closing their meetings altogether. The Directory were legally invested with the power of taking this decisive step, as the organisation of the society was contrary to law; but there was a division of opinion among its members as to the expediency of adopting it—Moulin and Gohier insisting that it was only by favouring the clubs, and reviving the revolutionary spirit of 1793, that the Republic could make head against its enemies. However, the majority, consisting of Siéyès, Barras, and Roger Ducos, persuaded by the arguments of Fouché, resolved upon the decisive step. The execution of the measure was postponed till after the anniversary of the 10th August; but it was then carried into effect without opposition, and the Jacobin Club, which had spread such havoc through the world, at last and for ever closed.

19. Deprived of their point of rendezvous, the democrats had recourse to their usual engine—the press; and the journals were immediately filled with the most furious invectives against Siéyès, who was stigmatised as the author of the measure. This able, but speculative man, the author of the celebrated pamphlet, "*What is the Tiers Etat?*" which had so powerful an effect in promoting the Revolution in 1789, was now held up to public execration as a perfidious priest who had sold the Republic to Prussia. In truth, he had long ago seen the pernicious tendency of the democratic dogmas with which he commenced political life, and never hesitated to declare

openly that a strong government was indispensable to France, and that liberty was utterly incompatible with the successive tyranny of different parties, which had so long desolated the Republic. These opinions were sufficient to point him out as the object of republican fury; and, aware of his danger, he was already beginning to look round for some military leader who might execute the *coup d'état*, which he foresaw was the only remaining chance of salvation to the country. In the meanwhile, the state of the press required immediate attention; its license and excesses were utterly inconsistent with any stable or regular government. The only law by which it could be restrained, was one which declared that all attempts to subvert the Republic should be punished with death: a sanguinary regulation, the offspring of democratic apprehensions, the severity of which prevented it, in the present state of public feeling, from being carried into execution. In this extremity, the three Directors declared that they could no longer carry on the government; and France was on the point of being delivered over to utter anarchy, when the Directory thought of the expedient of applying to the press the article of the constitution which gave the executive power the right to arrest all persons suspected of carrying on plots against the Republic. Nothing could be more forced than such an interpretation of this clause, which was obviously intended for a totally different purpose; but the necessity and the well-known principle, *salus populi suprema lex*, seemed to justify, on the ground afterwards taken by Charles X., a stretch indispensable for the existence of regular government, and an *arrêt* was at length resolved on, which authorised the apprehension of the editors of eleven journals, and the immediate suppression of their publications.

20. This bold step produced an immediate ebullition among the democrats; but it was confined to declamations and threats, without any hostile measures. The tribune resounded with "dictators," "the fall of liberty," and all the other overflowings of revolution-

ary zeal; but not a sword was drawn. The three resolute Directors, continuing their advantage, succeeded in throwing out, by a majority of 245 to 171, a proposal of Jourdan to declare the country in danger, which was supported by the whole force of the Jacobin party; and they soon after successfully ventured on the bold step of dismissing Bernadotte, the minister at war, whose attachment to democratical principles was well known. All thoughts were already turned towards a military chief capable of putting an end to the distractions of the Republic, and extricating it from the perilous situation in which it was placed, from the continued successes of the Allies. "We must have done with declaimers," said Siéyès; "what we want is a head and a sword." But where to find that sword was the difficulty. Joubert had recently been killed at Novi; Moreau, notwithstanding his consummate military talents, was known not to possess the energy and moral resolution requisite for the task; Massena was famed only as a skilful soldier; while Augereau and Bernadotte, both violent democrats, had openly thrown themselves into the arms of the opposite party. In this emergency, all eyes were already turned towards that youthful hero who had hitherto chained victory to his standards, and whose early campaigns, splendid as they were, had been almost thrown into the shade by the romantic marvels of his Egyptian expedition. The Directory had, in the preceding spring, assembled an immense fleet in the Mediterranean, to bring back the army from the shores of the Nile; but it had been broken up without achieving anything. But Lucien and Joseph Buonaparte had conveyed to Napoleon full intelligence of the disastrous state of the Republic, and it was by their advice that he resolved to brave the English cruisers and return to France. The public mind was already in that uncertain and agitated state which is the general precursor of some great political event; and the journals, a faithful mirror of its fleeting changes, were filled with conjectures as to the future revolutions he was to achieve in the world.

21. In truth, it was high time that some military leader of commanding talents should seize the helm, to save the sinking fortunes of the Republic. Never since the commencement of the war had its prospects been so gloomy, both from external disaster and internal oppression. A contemporary republican writer, of no common talent, has drawn the following graphic picture of the internal state of France at this period :—"Merit was generally persecuted; all men of honour were chased from public situations; robbers were everywhere assembled in their infernal caverns; the wicked were in power; the apologists of the system of terror thundering in the tribune; spoliation re-established under the name of forced loans; assassinations prepared; thousands of victims already marked out, under the name of hostages; the signal for pillage, murder, and conflagration, anxiously looked for, couched in the words, the 'country is in danger;' the same cries, the same shouts, were heard in the clubs as in 1793; the same executioners, the same victims; liberty, property, could no longer be said to exist; the citizens had no security for their lives—the state for its finances. All Europe was in arms against us; America even had declared against our tyranny; our armies were routed, our conquests lost, the territory of the Republic menaced with invasion. Such was the situation of France before the revolution of the 18th Brumaire." And such is the picture of the ultimate effect of democratic convulsions, drawn by those who had urged them on; such the miseries which compelled the nation, instead of the mild sceptre of Louis, to receive the dreaded sword of Napoleon!

22. The despatches, containing the account of the expedition into Syria, and of the marvellous victories of Mont Thabor and Aboukir, arrived at this time, and spread far and wide the impression that the conqueror of Rivoli was the destined saviour of the state, for whom all classes were so anxiously looking. His name was in every mouth. Where is he? What will he do? What chance is there that he will escape the

English cruisers? were the questions universally asked. Such was the anxiety of the public mind on the subject, that rumour had twice outstripped the hopes of his friends, and announced his return; and when at length the telegraph gave the official intelligence that he had arrived on the coast of Provence, the public transports knew no bounds. When the people at Fréjus heard that the conqueror of Egypt was on the coast, their enthusiasm broke through all the restraints of government. The quarantine laws were in a moment forgotten. A multitude, intoxicated with joy and hope, seized the first boats, and rushed on board the vessels. Napoleon, amidst universal acclamations, landed, and immediately set out for Paris. The telegraph, with the rapidity of the winds, announced his arrival, and the important intelligence speedily spread over the capital. The entrancement was universal, the joy unanimous. All wishes had been turned towards a hero who could restore peace to desolated France—and here he was, dropt from the clouds: a fortunate soldier presented himself, who had caused the French standards to float on the summit of the Capitol and at the foot of the Pyramids; in whom all the world recognised both civil and military talents of the very highest order. His proclamations, his negotiations, his treaties, bore testimony to the first; his astonishing victories afforded irrefragable evidence of the second. So rare a combination might suggest alarm to the friends of liberty, were it not that his well-known principles and disinterestedness precluded the idea that he would employ the dictatorship to any other end than the public good, and the termination of the misfortunes of the country. Discourses of this sort, in every mouth, threw the public into transports—so much the more entrancing as they succeeded a long period of disaster. The joyful intelligence was announced, amidst thunders of applause, at all the theatres; patriotic songs again sent forth their heart-stirring strains from the orchestra; and more than one enthusiast expired of joy at the advent

of the hero who was to terminate the difficulties of the Republic.

23. The conqueror was greeted with the most enthusiastic reception the whole way from Fréjus to Paris. At Aix, Avignon, Vienne, and Lyons, the people came forth in crowds to meet him; his journey resembled a continual triumph. The few bells which the Revolution had left in the churches were rung on his approach; his course at night was marked by bonfires on all the eminences. On the 16th of October he arrived unexpectedly at Paris; his wife and brothers, mistaking his route, had gone out to meet him by another road. Two hours after his arrival he waited on the Directory; the soldiers at the gate of the palace, who had served under him at Arcola, recognised his figure, and loud cries of "Vive Buonaparte!" announced to the government that the dreaded commander had arrived. He was received by Gohier, and it was arranged that he should be presented in public on the following day. His reception then was, to external appearance, flattering; and splendid encomiums were pronounced on the victories of the Pyramids, Mount Thabor, and Aboukir: but mutual distrust prevailed on both sides, and a vague disquietude already pervaded the Directory at the appearance of the renowned conqueror, who at so critical a moment had presented himself in the capital.

24. Though convinced that the moment he had so long looked for had arrived, and resolved to seize the supreme authority, Napoleon landed in France without any fixed project for carrying his design into execution. The enthusiasm, however, with which he had been received in the course of his journey to Paris, and the intelligence which he there obtained of the state of the country, made him at once determine on the attempt. The circumstances of the time were singularly favourable to such a design. None of the Directory were possessed of any personal consideration, except Siéyes; and he had long revolved in his mind the project of substituting, for the weak and op-

pressive government which was now desolating France, the firm hand of a vigorous and able military leader. Even so far back as the revolt of the sections, on the 13th Vendémiaire, he had testified his opinion of the weakness of his colleagues to Napoleon. At the most critical moment of the day, when the Committees of Government had lost their heads, Siéyes approached Napoleon, and, taking him into the embrasure of a window, said—"You see how it is, general: they are haranguing when the moment for action has arrived. Large bodies are unfit for the lead of armies: they never know the value of time. You can be of no use here. Go, general, take counsel only of your own genius, and the dangers of the country: the sole hope of the Republic is in you." These words were not lost on Napoleon; they pointed out the speaker as the fit associate in his designs; and to these was soon added M. Talleyrand, who was too clear-sighted not to perceive that the only chance of safety was in the authority of a dictator, and who had also private grievances of his own to induce him to desire the overthrow of the government.

25. Indeed, so general was the impression, at that period, of the impossibility of continuing the government of France under the republican form, that, previous to Napoleon's arrival, various projects not only had been set on foot, but were far advanced, for the restoration of monarchical authority. The brothers of Napoleon, Joseph and Lucien, were deeply implicated in these intrigues. The Abbé Siéyes at one time thought of placing the Duke of Brunswick on the throne; Barras was not averse to the restoration of the Bourbons, and was engaged in negotiations with Louis XVIII. for that purpose. These had even gone so far that the terms of the Director were fixed for playing the part of General Monk; twelve millions of livres were to have been his reward, besides two millions to divide among his associates. But, in the midst of these intrigues, Joseph and Lucien Buonaparte were in a more effectual way advancing their brother's

interests, by inducing the leaders of the army to co-operate in his elevation. They had already engaged Macdonald, Leclerc, Lefebvre, Augereau, and Jourdan, to favour his enterprise; but Moreau hung back, and all their efforts had failed in engaging Bernadotte, whose republican principles were proof against their seductions.

26. No sooner had Napoleon arrived at his unassuming dwelling in the Rue Chanteraine, than the whole generals who had been sounded hastened to pay their court to him, and with them all who had been dismissed or conceived themselves ill used by the Directory. His saloon soon resembled rather the court of a monarch than the rendezvous of the friends of any private individual, how eminent soever. Besides Lannes, Murat, and Berthier, who had shared his fortunes in Egypt, and were warmly attached to him, there were now assembled Jourdan, Augereau, Macdonald, Beurnonville, Leclerc, Lefebvre, and Marbot, who, notwithstanding their many differences of opinion on other subjects, had been induced, by the desperate state of the Republic, to concur in offering the military dictatorship to Napoleon. Although Moreau at first appeared undecided, he was at length won by the address of his great rival, who made the first advances, and affected to consult him on his future designs. In addition to this illustrious band of military chiefs, many of the most influential members of the legislature were also disposed to favour the enterprise. Roederer, the old leader in the municipality; Regnault St-Jean-d'Angely, long known and respected for his indomitable firmness in the most trying scenes of the Revolution, and a great number of the leading deputies in both Chambers, had paid their court to him on his arrival. Nor were official functionaries, and even members of the administration, wanting. Siéyes and Roger Ducos, the two Directors who chiefly superintended the civil concerns; and Moulins, who was at the head of the military department of the Republic; Cambacères, the minister of justice; Fouché, the head of the police, and Réal, a commissary in the depart-

ment of the Seine—an active and intriguing partisan—were assiduous in their attendance. Eight days had hardly elapsed, and already the direction of government seemed to be insensibly gliding into his hands. The ideas of these different persons, however, were far from being unanimous as to the course which should be adopted. The republican generals offered Napoleon a military dictatorship, and agreed to support him with all their power, provided he would maintain the principles of the Riding-school Club, where their meetings were now held. Siéyes, Talleyrand, Roger Ducos, and Regnier, proposed simply to place him at the head of affairs, and change the constitution, which experience had proved to be so miserably defective; while the Directors Barras and Gohier vainly endeavoured to rid themselves of so dangerous a rival, by offering and anxiously pressing upon him the command of the armies.

27. In the midst of this flattering adulation, the conduct of Napoleon was influenced by that profound knowledge of human nature, and thorough dissimulation, which formed such striking features of his character. Affecting to withdraw from the eager gaze of the multitude, he seldom showed himself in public; and then only in the costume of the National Institute, or in a gray surtout, with a Turkish sabre suspended by a silk ribbon—a dress which, under seeming simplicity, revealed the secret pride of the conqueror of the Pyramids. He postponed from day to day the numerous visits of distinguished individuals who sought the honour of being presented to him; and when he went to the theatre, frequented only a concealed box, as if to avoid the thunders of applause which always attended his being recognised.\* When obliged

\* "The moderation with which he [Agriola] enjoyed his victory was remarkable. He had reduced the vanquished to obedience, and the act, he said, did not deserve the name of victory, nor even of an expedition. In his despatches to Rome he assumed no merit, nor were his letters, according to custom, decorated with sprigs of laurel. But this self-denial served only to enhance his fame. From the modesty of a commander who could undervalue such important services,

to accept an invitation to a sumptuous repast, given in his honour by the minister of justice, he requested that the leading lawyers might be invited: and selecting M. Tronchet, the eloquent defender of Louis XVI., conversed long with him and Treilhard on the want of a simple code of criminal and civil jurisprudence, which might be adapted to the intelligence of the age. To private dinners in his own house, he invited only the learned men of the Institute, and conversed with them entirely on scientific subjects; if he spoke on politics at all, it was only to express his profound regret at the misfortunes of France. In vain the Directors exaggerated to him the successes of Massena in Switzerland, and Brune in Holland; he appeared inconsolable for the loss of Italy, and seemed to consider every success of no moment till that gem was restored to the coronet of the Republic.

28. Napoleon's first attempt was to engage in his interest Gohier, the president of the Directory, and Moulins, who were both strongly attached to the republican side; and, with this view, he not only paid them in private the greatest attention, but actually proposed to them that he should be taken into the government instead of Siéyes, though below the age of forty, which the constitution required for that elevated function, "Take care," said he, "of that cunning priest Siéyes; it is his connection with Prussia, the very thing which should have excluded him from it, which has raised him to the Directory; unless you take care, he will sell you to the coalesced powers. It is absolutely necessary to get quit of him. It is true, I am below the legal age required by the constitution; but, in the pursuit of forms, we must not forget realities. Those who framed the constitution did not recollect that the maturity of judgment produced by the Revolution is often far more essential than the maturity of age, which in many is much less material. Ambition

men infuse that projects of vast extent were even then in his contemplation."—TACITUS, *Agricola*, 18. How identical is human nature in all ages!

has no share in these observations; they are dictated alone by the fears which so dangerous an election could not fail to inspire in all the friends of real freedom." Gohier and Moulins, however, agreed in thinking that the Republic had more to fear from the young general than the old metaphysician; and therefore replied, that though, if of the legal age, he would doubtless have secured all suffrages, yet nothing in their estimation could counterbalance a violation of the constitution, and that the true career which lay before him was the command of the armies.\*

29. Meanwhile all Europe was resounding with the return of Napoleon, and speculation, with its thousand tongues, was everywhere busied in anticipating the changes which he was to effect in the fate of France and of the world. "What will Buonaparte do? Is he to follow the footsteps of Cromwell, or Monk, or Washington? What change is he likely to make in the fate of the war?" were the questions asked from one end of Europe to the other. But the general himself was for a short time undecided as to the course which he should pursue. To avail himself of the support of the Jacobins and the Riding-school Club seemed the plan most likely to disarm all opposition, because they were the only efficient or energetic body in the state; but he well knew that the Jacobins were jealous of every leader, and were at once exclusive and violent in their passions: To make use of them for his own elevation, and immediately break the alliance and persecute them, would be a dangerous course. Siéyes, on the other hand, was at the head of a numerous body of leading men in the Chambers. His character precluded him from becoming an object of jealousy to the dictator; and although

\* At this period, Siéyes's indignation at Napoleon knew no bounds. "Instead," said he, "of lamenting his inactivity, let us rather congratulate ourselves upon it. Far from putting arms into the hands of a man whose intentions are so suspicious—far from giving him a fresh theatre of glory—let us cease to occupy ourselves more about his concerns, and endeavour, if possible, to cause him to be forgot."—GOHIER, i. 216.

many of his party were firm republicans, they were not of such an impetuous and energetic kind as to be incapable of employment under a regular government, after the struggle was over; and, besides, their strife with the Riding-school Club was too recent to leave room for apprehension as to any coalition between such opposite bodies. Influenced by these considerations, Napoleon resolved to attach himself to Sièyes and his party, and to enter into none of the projects of the Jacobins. Though political considerations, however, led to this alliance, there were no two men in France who hated each other more cordially than Napoleon and Sièyes. They had lately met at dinner at the Director Gohier's: the former, though he had made the first advances to Moreau, thought it unworthy of him to do the same to the veteran of the Revolution, and the day passed over without their addressing each other. They separated mutually exasperated. "Did you see that little insolent fellow?" said Sièyes: "he would not even condescend to notice a member of the government, who, if they had done right, would have caused him to be shot."—"What on earth," said Napoleon, "could have made them put that priest into the Directory? He is sold to Prussia, and unless you take care, he will deliver you up to that power." Yet these men, stimulated by ambition, acted cordially together in the revolution which so soon approached. Such is the friendship of politicians!

30. On the 30th October, Napoleon dined with Barras. "The Republic is perishing," said the Director; "nothing can be in a more miserable state; the government is destitute of all force. We must have a change, and name Hédouville President of the Republic. Your intention, you know, is to put yourself at the head of the army. As for me, I am ill, my popularity is gone, and I am fit only for private life." Napoleon looked at him steadily, without making any answer. Barras cast down his eyes, and remained silent; they had divined each other. Hédouville was a man of no sort of celebrity;

his name had been used merely as a cover to the searching question. The conversation here dropped; but Napoleon saw that the time for action had arrived, and a few minutes after he called on Sièyes, and agreed to make the change between the 15th and 20th Brumaire (6th to 11th November). On returning home, he recounted to Talleyrand, Fouché, and others, what had passed; they communicated it during the night to Barras, and at eight the following morning the Director was at his bedside, protesting his devotion, and that he alone could save the Republic. But Napoleon declined his open assistance, and turned the conversation to the difference between the humid climate of Paris and the burning sands of Arabia.

31. Notwithstanding his utmost efforts, however, Napoleon was unable to make any impression on Bernadotte. That general, partly from republican principles, partly from jealousy, resisted all his advances. "You have seen," said he to Bourrienne, "the enthusiasm with which I was received in France, and how evidently it springs from the general desire to escape out of a disastrous predicament. Well! I have just seen Bernadotte, who boasts, with a ridiculous exaggeration, of the great success of the Republic: he spoke of the Russians beat, and Genoa saved; of the innumerable armies which were about to be raised. He even reproached me with not having brought back my soldiers from Egypt. 'What!' I answered, 'you tell me that you are overflowing with troops—that two hundred thousand infantry, and forty thousand cavalry, will soon be on foot. If that is so, to what purpose should I have brought back the remains of my army?' He then changed his tone: he confessed that he thought us all lost. He spoke of external enemies, of *internal* enemies—and at that word he looked steadily in my face. I also gave him a glance. But patience; the pear will soon be ripe." Soon after, Napoleon expressed himself with his wonted vehemence against the agitation which reigned among the Jacobins, and of which the Riding-school hall had so



recently been the centre. "Your own brothers," replied Bernadotte, "were its principal founders, and yet you accuse me of having favoured that club: it is to the instructions of some one, *I know not who*, that we are to ascribe the agitation that now prevails." At these words Napoleon could no longer contain himself. "True, general," he replied with the utmost vehemence, "and I would rather live in the woods than in a society which presents no security against violence." Their conversation only augmented the breach, and soon after they separated in sullen discontent.

32. Though a few of the military, however, held out, the great proportion of them were gained. Berthier, Lannes, and Murat, were daily making converts of such as were backward in sending in their adhesion. The officers of the garrison, headed by Moreau, demanded that they should be presented to Napoleon. The forty adjutants of the national guard of Paris made the same request; his brothers, Lucien and Joseph, daily augmented his party in the Councils; the 8th and 9th regiments of dragoons, who had served under him in Italy, with the 21st chasseurs, who had been organised by him, were devoted to his service. Moreau said, "He did not wish to be engaged in any intrigues, but that, when the moment for action arrived, he would be found at his post."\* The people of Paris, who awaited in anxious expectation the unfolding of the plot, could no longer conceal their impatience. "Fif-

teen days have elapsed," said they, "and nothing has been done. Is he to leave us, as he did on his return from Italy, and let the Republic perish, tormented by the factions who dispute its remains!" Everything announced the approach of the decisive moment.

33. By the able and indefatigable efforts of Lucien Buonaparte, a banquet, at which he himself was president, was given at the Council of the Ancients, in honour of Napoleon. It passed off with sombre tranquillity. Every one spoke in a whisper, anxiety was depicted on every face, a suppressed agitation was visible even in the midst of apparent quiet. Napoleon's own countenance was disturbed; his absent and preoccupied air sufficiently indicated that some great project was at hand. He rose soon from table and left the party, which, although gloomy, had answered the object in view, which was—to bring together six hundred persons of various political principles, and thus engage them to act in unison in any common enterprise. It was on that night that the arrangements for the conspiracy were finally made between Sièyes and Napoleon. It was agreed that the government should be overturned; that, instead of the five directors, three consuls should be appointed, charged with a dictatorial power which was to last for three months; that Napoleon, Sièyes, and Roger Ducos, should fill these exalted stations; and that the Council of the Ancients should pass a decree on the 18th Brumaire (9th Nov.), at seven in

\* An interesting conversation took place between Napoleon and Moreau, when they met, for the first time in their lives, at a dinner party at Gohier's. When first introduced, they looked at each other a moment without speaking. Napoleon was the first to break silence, and testify to Moreau the desire which he had long felt to make his acquaintance. "You have returned victorious from Egypt," replied Moreau, "and I from Italy after a great defeat. It was the month which his marriage induced Joubert to spend at Paris which caused our disasters, by giving the Allies time to reduce Mantua, and bring up the force which besieged it to take a part in the action. It is always the greater number which defeats the less."—"True," replied Napoleon, "it is always the greater number which beats the less."

"And yet," said Gohier, "with small armies you have frequently defeated large ones."—"Even then," rejoined he, "it was always the inferior force which was defeated by the superior. When with a small body of men I was in presence of a large one, collecting my little band, I fell like lightning on one of the wings of the enemy and defeated it; profiting by the disorder which such an event never failed to occasion in their whole line, I repeated the attack with similar success in another quarter, still with my whole force. I thus beat it in detail; and the general victory, which was the result, was still an example of the truth of the principle, that the greater force defeats the lesser."—Gohier, i. 203, 204. Two days after, Napoleon made Moreau a present of a dagger set with diamonds, worth 10,000 francs.—*Moniteur*, 1799, p. 178.

the morning, transferring the legislative body to St Cloud, and appointing Napoleon commander of the guard of the legislature, of the garrison of Paris, and the national guard. On the 19th, the decisive event was to take place.

34. During the three critical days which followed, the secret, though known to a great number of persons, was faithfully kept. The preparations, both civil and military, went on without interruption. Orders were given to the regiments, both infantry and cavalry, which could be relied on, to parade in the streets of Chantierne and Mont Blanc, at seven o'clock in the morning of the 18th. Moreau, LeFebvre, and all the generals, were summoned to attend at the same hour, with the forty adjutants of the national guard. Meanwhile the secret council of the Ancients laboured, with shut doors and closed windows, to prepare the decree which was to pass at seven in the morning; and as it forbade all discussion, and the Council of Five Hundred were only summoned to meet at eleven, it was hoped the decree would pass at once—not only without any opposition, but before its opponents could be aware of its existence.

35. Meanwhile Napoleon, in his secret intercourse with the different leaders, was indefatigable in his endeavours to disarm all opposition. Master of the most profound dissimulation, he declared himself, to the chiefs of the different parties, penetrated with the ideas which he was aware would be most acceptable to their minds. To one he protested that he certainly did desire to play the part of Washington, but only in conjunction with Siyès—the proudest day of his life would be that when he retired from power; to another, that the part of Cromwell appeared to him ignoble, because it was that of an impostor. To the friends of Siyès, he professed himself impressed with the most profound respect for that mighty intellect, before which the genius of Mirabeau had prostrated itself; that, for his own part, he could only head the armies, and leave to others the formation of the constitution. To all the Jacobins who approached him,

he spoke of the extinction of liberty, the tyranny of the Directory, and used terms which sufficiently recalled his famous proclamation which had given the first impulse to the Revolution of the 18th Fructidor.\* In public he announced a review of the troops on the morning of the 18th Brumaire, after which he was to set off to take the command of the army on the frontier.

36. All the proposed arrangements were made with the utmost precision. By daybreak on the 18th Brumaire (9th Nov.) the boulevards were filled with a numerous and splendid body of cavalry, and all the officers in and around Paris repaired, in full dress, to the Rue Chantierne. The Deputies of the Ancients who were not in the secret assembled, with surprise at the unwonted hour, in their place of meeting, and already the conspirators were there in sufficient strength to give them the majority. The president of the commission charged with watching over the safety of the legislative body, opened the proceedings: he drew, in energetic and gloomy colours, a picture of the dangers of the Republic, and especially of the perils which menaced their own body, from the efforts of the anarchists. "The Republic," said he, "is menaced at once by the anarchists and the enemy; we must instantly take measures for the public safety. We may reckon on the support of General Buonaparte; it is under the shadow of his protecting arm that the Councils must deliberate on the measures required by the interests of the Republic." The uninitiated members were

\* At a small dinner-party, given by Napoleon at this time, where the Director Gohier was present, the conversation turned on the turquois used by the Orientals to clasp their turbans. Rising from his chair, Napoleon took out of a private drawer two brooches, richly set with those jewels, one of which he gave to Gohier, the other to Desaix. "It is a little toy," said he, "which we republicans may give and receive without any impropriety."—Soon after, the conversation turned on the prospect of an approaching pacification. "Do you really," said Napoleon, "advocate a general peace? You are wrong, president. A republic should never make any but *partial accommodations*; it should always *contrive to have some war on hand to keep alive the military spirit*."—GOHIER, i. 214, 215.

startled, and considerable agitation prevailed in the Assembly; but the majority were instant and pressing, and at eight o'clock the decree was passed, after a warm opposition, transferring the seat of the legislative body to St Cloud, appointing them to meet there on the following day at noon, charging Napoleon with the execution of the decree, authorising him to take all the measures necessary for its due performance, and appointing him to the command of the garrison of Paris, the national guard, the troops of the line in the military divisions in which it stood, and the guard of the two Councils. This extraordinary decree was ordered to be instantly placarded on the walls of Paris, despatched to all the authorities, and obeyed by all the citizens. To lull the suspicions of Gohier, Napoleon invited himself to dine with him on *that very day* (the 18th Brumaire), and sent that director a pressing invitation, carried by Eugene Beauharnais, to breakfast with him in the Rue Chantierine on the succeeding morning.

87. Napoleon was in his own house in the Rue Chantierine when the messenger of state arrived: his levee resembled rather the court of a powerful sovereign than the dwelling of a general about to undertake a perilous enterprise. No sooner was the decree received than he opened the doors, and, advancing to the portico, read it aloud to the brilliant assemblage, and asked if he might rely on their support! They all answered with enthusiasm in the affirmative, putting their hands on their swords. He then addressed himself to Lefebvre, the governor of Paris, who had arrived in ill-humour at seeing the troops put in motion without his orders, and said, "Well, Lefebvre, are you, one of the supporters of the Republic, willing to let it perish in the hands of lawyers! Unite with me to save it. Here is the sabre which I bore at the battle of the Pyramids: I give it you as a pledge of my esteem and confidence." The appeal was irresistible to a soldier's feelings. "Yes," replied Lefebvre, strongly moved, "let us throw the advocates

into the river." Joseph Buonaparte had brought Bernadotte; but, upon seeing what was in agitation, he quickly retired to warn the Jacobins of their danger. Fouché, at the first intelligence of what was going forward, had ordered the barriers to be closed, and all the usual precautions taken which mark a period of public alarm, and hastened to the Rue Chantierine to receive his orders; but Napoleon ordered them to be opened, and the usual course of things to continue, as he marched with the nation and relied on its support. A quarter of an hour afterwards he mounted on horseback, and, putting himself at the head of his brilliant suite and fifteen hundred horsemen, rode to the Tuileries. Names since immortalised in the rolls of fame were there assembled: Moreau and Macdonald, Berthier and Murat, Lannes, Marmont, and Lefebvre. The dragoons, assembled as they imagined for a review, joyfully followed in the rear of so splendid a *cortège*; while the people, rejoicing at the termination of the disastrous government of the Directory, saw in it the commencement of the vigour of military, instead of the feebleness of legal ascendancy, and rent the air with their acclamations.

88. The military chief presented himself at the bar of the Ancients, attended by that splendid staff. "Citizen representatives," said he, "the Republic was about to perish when you saved it. Woe to those who shall attempt to oppose your decree! Aided by my brave companions in arms, I will speedily crush them to the earth. You are the collected wisdom of the nation; it is for you to point out the measures which may save it. I come surrounded by all the generals, to offer you the support of their arms. I name Lefebvre my lieutenant: I will faithfully discharge the duty you have intrusted to me. Let none seek in the past examples to regulate the present; nothing in history has any resemblance to the close of the eighteenth century; nothing in the eighteenth century resembles this moment. *We are resolved to have a Republic*; we are resolved to have it founded on true liberty and a

representative system. I swear it in my own name, and in that of my companions in arms."—"We swear it," replied the generals. A deputy attempted to speak: the president stopped him, upon the ground that all deliberation was interdicted till the Council met at St Cloud. The assembly immediately broke up; and Napoleon proceeded to the gardens of the Tuileries, where he passed in review the regiments of the garrison, addressing to each a few energetic words, in which he declared that he was about to introduce changes which would bring with them abundance of glory. The weather was beautiful; the confluence of spectators immense; their acclamations rent the skies: everything announced the transition from anarchy to despotic power.

39. During these events, the anxiety of all classes in Paris regarding the approaching revolution had risen to the highest pitch. A pamphlet, eagerly circulated at the doors of the Councils, contains a curious picture of the ideas of the moment, and the manner in which the most obvious approaching events are glossed over to those engaged in them. The dialogue ran as follows:—"One of the Five Hundred. Between ourselves, my friend, I am seriously alarmed at the part assigned to Buonaparte in this affair. His renown, his consideration, the just confidence of the soldiers in his talents, his talents themselves, may give him the most formidable ascendant over the destinies of the Republic. Should he prove a Cæsar, a Cromwell!—*The Ancient*. A Cæsar, a Cromwell! Bad parts; stale parts; unworthy of a man of sense, not to say a man of honesty. Buonaparte has declared so himself, on several occasions. 'It would be a sacrilegious measure,' said he, on one occasion, 'to make any attempt on a representative government in this age of intelligence and liberty.' On another—"There is no one except a fool who would attempt to make the Republic lose the gauntlet it has thrown down to the royalty of Europe, after having gone through so many perils to uphold it."

40. While all was thus proceeding

favourably at the Tuileries, the Council of Five Hundred, having received a confused account of the revolution which was in progress, tumultuously assembled in their hall. They were hardly met, when the message arrived from the Ancients, containing the decree removing them to St Cloud. No sooner was it read than a host of voices burst forth at once; but the president, Lucien Buonaparte, succeeded in reducing them to silence, by appealing to the decree which interdicted all deliberation till they were assembled at that place. At the same moment an aide-de-camp arrived from Napoleon to the guard of the Directory, communicating the decree, and enjoining them to take no orders but from him. They were in deliberation on the subject, when an order of an opposite description arrived from the Directory. The soldiers, however, declared for their comrades in arms, and ranged themselves round the standard of Napoleon. Soon after, a part of the Directory sent in their resignation. Sièyes and Roger Ducos were already in the plot, and did so in concert with Napoleon. Barras was easily disposed of. Boutot, his secretary, waited on Napoleon. He bitterly reproached him with the public disasters. "What have you made of that France," exclaimed he, "which I left so brilliant? I left you in peace, I find you at war: I left you victorious, I find only disasters: I left you the millions of Italy, and in their stead I find only acts of spoliation! What have you made of the hundred thousand men, my companions in glory? They are dead! This state of things cannot continue; in less than three years it would lead to despotism." The Director yielded; and, accompanied by a guard of honour, set out for his villa of Gros Bois.

41. The two Directors who remained, however, were not disposed of without considerable difficulty. These were Gohier and Moulins, brave republicans; but their powers of acting according to the constitution, which required a majority of the Directory for every legal act, were paralysed by the resignation or desertion of their brethren.

ren. Napoleon waited upon them, and said that he believed they were too good citizens to attempt to oppose a revolution which appeared inevitable; and that he therefore expected they would quietly send in their resignations. Gohier replied with vehemence, that, with the aid of his colleague Moulins, he did not despair of saving the Republic. "With what?" said Napoleon: "By means of the constitution which is falling to pieces!" At this instant a messenger arrived with the intelligence that Santerre was striving to raise the faubourgs. "General Moulins," said Napoleon, "you are the friend of Santerre. I understand he is rousing the faubourgs; tell him, that, at the first movement, I will cause him to be shot." Moulins replied with equal firmness. "The Republic is in danger," said Napoleon, "and we must save it; it is my will. Sièyes and Roger Ducos have sent in their resignations; you are two individuals insulated and without power. I recommend you not to resist." The Directors replied, that they would not desert their post. Upon that they were sent back to the Luxembourg, separated from each other, and put under arrest, by orders of Napoleon transmitted to Moreau. Meanwhile Fouché, minister of police, Cambacérès, minister of justice, and all the public authorities, hastened to the Tuileries to make their submission. Fouché, in the name of the Directory, provisionally dissolved the twelve municipalities of Paris, so as to leave no rallying-point to the Jacobins. Before night the government was annihilated, and there remained no authority in Paris but what emanated from Napoleon.

42. A council was held in the evening at the Tuileries, to deliberate on the course to be pursued on the following day. Sièyes strongly urged the necessity of arresting forty leaders of the Jacobins, who were already fomenting opposition in the Council of Five Hundred, and by whom the faubourgs were beginning to be agitated; but Napoleon declared that he would not violate the oath which he had taken to protect the national representatives,

and that he had no fear of such contemptible enemies. At the same time a provisional government was formed. Napoleon, Sièyes, and Roger Ducos were named First Consuls, and it was agreed that the Councils should be adjourned for three months. Murat was appointed to the command of the armed force of St Cloud—Pensard to that of the guard of the legislative body—Serrurier, of a strong reserve stationed at Point-du-Jour. The gallery of Mars was prepared for the Council of the Ancients, the Orangery for the Five Hundred.

43. On the morning of the 19th Brumaire (10th November) a formidable military force, five thousand strong, surrounded St Cloud: the legislature were not to deliberate, as on 2d June, under the daggers of the populace, but the bayonets of the soldiery. The Five Hundred, however, mustered strong in the gardens of the palace. Formed into groups, while the last preparations were going on in the hall which they were to occupy, they discussed with warmth the extraordinary position of public affairs, mutually sounded and encouraged each other, and succeeded, even during that brief space, in organising a very formidable opposition. The members of the Five Hundred demanded of the Council of the Ancients what they really proposed to themselves as the result of the proceedings of the day. "The government," said they, "is dissolved." "Admitted," replied the others; "but what then? Do you propose, instead of weak men, destitute of renown, to place there Buonaparte?" Those of the Ancients who were in the secret ventured to insinuate something about the necessity of a military leader; but the suggestion was ill received, and the opposition in the Five Hundred was every moment becoming stronger, from the rumours which were spread of the approaching dictatorship. The Ancients were violently shaken at the unexpected resistance they had experienced, and numbers in the majority were already anxious to escape from the perilous enterprise on which they had adventured. The opinions of the Five Hun-

dred were already unequivocally declared; everything seemed to indicate that there, at least, the legislature would triumph over the conspirators.

44. It was in the midst of this uncertainty and disquietude that the Councils opened. Lucien Buonaparte was in the chair of the Five Hundred. Gaudin ascended the tribune, and commenced a set speech, in which he dwelt in emphatic terms on the dangers which threatened the country, and concluded by proposing a vote of thanks to the Ancients for having transferred their deliberations to St Cloud, and the formation of a committee of seven persons to prepare a report upon the state of the Republic. Had this been carried, it was to have been immediately followed up by the appointment of the consuls and an adjournment. But no sooner had Gaudin concluded, than the most violent opposition arose. "The winds," says Napoleon, "suddenly escaping from the caverns of *Æolus*, can give but a faint idea of that tempest." The speaker was violently dragged from the tribune, and a frightful agitation rendered any further proceedings impossible. "Down with the dictators! long live the constitution!" resounded on all sides. "The constitution or death!" exclaimed Delbrel; "bayonets shall not deter us: we are still free here." In the midst of the tumult, Lucien in vain endeavoured to exert his authority. After a long scene of confusion, one of the deputies proposed that the assembly should swear fidelity to the constitution; this proposal was instantly adopted, and the roll called for that purpose. This measure answered the double purpose of binding the Council to support its authority, and giving time for the Jacobin leaders to be sent for from the capital. In fact, during the two hours that the calling of the roll lasted, intelligence of the resistance of the Five Hundred circulated in Paris with the rapidity of lightning; and Jourdan, Angereau, and other leaders of the Jacobin party, believing that the enterprise had miscarried, hastened to the scene of action. The Five Hundred, during this delay, hoped they would have time to com-

municate with the Directory; but before it terminated, the intelligence arrived that the government was dissolved, and no executive authority remaining but in the person of Napoleon.

45. The danger was now imminent to that audacious general. The Five Hundred were so vehement in their opposition to him, that the whole members, including Lucien, were compelled to take the oath to the constitution; and in the Ancients, although his adherents had the majority, the contest raged with the utmost violence, and the strength of the minority was every instant increasing. The influential Jacobins were rapidly arriving from Paris; they looked on the matter as already decided. Everything depended on the troops, and although their attachment to Napoleon was well known, it was extremely doubtful whether they would not be overawed by the majesty of the legislature. "Here you are," said Angereau to him the moment he had arrived, "in a happy position!"—"Angereau," replied Napoleon, "recollect *Arcole*; things then appeared much more desperate. Take my word for it; remain tranquil, if you would not become a victim. Half an hour hence you will thank me for my advice." Notwithstanding this seeming confidence, however, Napoleon fully felt the danger of his situation. The influence of the legislature was sensibly felt on the troops; the boldest were beginning to hesitate; the zealous had already become timid; the timid had changed their colours. He saw that there was not a moment to lose; and he resolved to present himself, at the head of his staff, at the bar of the Ancients. "At that moment," said Napoleon, "I would have given two hundred millions to have had Ney by my side."

46. In this crisis, Napoleon was strongly agitated. He never possessed the faculty of powerful extempore elocution—a peculiarity not unfrequently the accompaniment of the most profound and original thought; and on this occasion, from the vital interests at stake, and the vehement opposition

with which he was assailed, he could hardly utter anything intelligible. So far as his meaning could be gathered, amidst the frightful tumult which prevailed when he made his appearance accompanied by his armed followers in the Hall of the Ancients, his speech was to the following purpose:—"You are on the edge of a volcano. Allow me to explain myself: you have called me and my companions in arms to your aid \* \* \* but you must now take a decided part. I know they talk of Caesar and Cromwell, as if anything in antiquity resembled the present moment. And you, grenadiers, whose feathers I perceive already waving in the hall, say, have I ever failed in performing the promises I made to you in the camps?" The soldiers replied by waving their hats and loud acclamations; but this appeal to the military, in the bosom of the legislature, wrought up to a perfect fury the rage of the Opposition. One of their number, Linglet, rose, and said, in a loud voice, "General, we applaud your words; swear, then, obedience and fidelity to the constitution, which can alone save the Republic." Napoleon hesitated, then replied with energy,—"The constitution does not exist; you yourselves violated it on the 10th Fructidor, when the government assailed the independence of the legislature; you violated it on the 30th Prairial, when the legislative body overthrew the independence of the executive; you violated it on the 22d Florial, when, by a sacrilegious decree, the government and legislature sacrificed the sovereignty of the people by annulling the elections which they had made. Having subverted the constitution, new guarantees, a fresh compact, are required. I declare, that as soon as the dangers which have invested me with these extraordinary powers have passed away, I will lay them down. I desire only to be the arm which executes your commands. If you call on me to explain what are the perils which threaten our country, I have no hesitation in answering, that Barras and Moulins have proposed to me to place myself at the head of a faction, the object of which is to effect

the overthrow of all the friends of freedom." The energy of this speech, the undoubted truths and audacious falsehoods which it contained, produced a great impression: three-fourths of the assembly rose and loudly testified their applause. His party, recovering their courage, spoke in his behalf, and he concluded with these significant words,—"Surrounded by my brave companions in arms, I will second you. I call you to witness, brave grenadiers, whose bayonets I perceive, whom I have so often led to victory; I can bear witness to your courage: we will unite our efforts to save our country. And if any orator," added he, with a menacing voice, "paid by the enemy, shall venture to propose to put me *hors la loi*, I shall instantly appeal to my companions in arms to exterminate him on the spot. Recollect that I march accompanied by the god of fortune and the god of war."

47. Hardly was this harangue concluded when intelligence arrived that, in the Council of Five Hundred, the calling of the roll had ceased; that Lucien could hardly maintain his ground against the vehemence of the Assembly; and that they were about to force him to put to the vote a proposal to declare his brother *hors la loi*. It was a similar proposal which had proved fatal to Robespierre; the cause of Napoleon seemed well-nigh desperate, for if it had been passed, there could be little doubt it would be obeyed by the soldiers. In truth, the Council had gone so far as to declare, that the oath of 18th Brumaire should receive a place as distinguished in history as that of the *Jes de Paume*, "the first of which created liberty, while the second consolidated it," and had decreed a message to the Directory to make them acquainted with their resolution. This decree was hardly passed, when a messenger arrived with a letter from Barras, containing his resignation of the office of Director, upon the ground, "that now the dangers of liberty were *all surmounted*, and the interests of the armies secured." This unlooked-for communication renewed their perplexity; for now it was evident that the

executive itself was dissolved. Napoleon, who clearly saw his danger, instantly took his resolution. Boldly advancing to the Hall of the Five Hundred, whose shouts and cries already resounded to a distance, he entered alone, uncovered, and ordered the soldiers and officers of his suite to halt at the entrance. In his passage to the bar he had to pass one half of the benches. No sooner did he make his appearance, than half of the assembly rose up, exclaiming, "Death to the tyrant! down with the dictator!" The scene which ensued baffles all description. Hundreds of deputies rushed down from the benches, and surrounded the general, exclaiming, "Your laurels are all withered; your glory is turned into infamy; is it for this you have conquered? Respect the sanctuary of the laws; retire, retire." Two grenadiers left at the door, alarmed by the danger of their general, rushed forward, sword in hand, seized him by the middle, and bore him, almost stupified, out of the hall: in the tumult, one of them had his clothes torn. Nothing was to be heard but the cries, "No Cromwell! down with the dictator! death to the dictator!"

48. His removal increased rather than diminished the tumult of the assembly. Lucien, alone, and unsupported in the president's chair, was left to make head against the tempest. All his efforts to justify his brother were in vain. "You would not hear him," he exclaimed. "Down with the tyrant! *hors la loi* with the tyrant!" resounded on all sides. With rare firmness he for long resisted the proposal. At length, finding further opposition fruitless, he exclaimed, "You dare to condemn a hero without hearing him in his defence. His brother has but one duty left, and that is to defend him. I renounce the chair, and hasten to the bar to defend the illustrious accused." With these words, laying down his insignia of president, he mounted the tribune. At that instant an officer, despatched by Napoleon, with ten grenadiers, presented himself at the door. It was at first supposed that the troops had declared

for the Council, and loud applause greeted their entrance. Taking advantage of the mistake, the leader approached the tribune and laid hold of Lucien, whispering at the same time in his ear, "By your brother's orders;" while the grenadiers exclaimed, "Down with the assassins!" At these words a mournful silence succeeded to the cries of acclamation, and he was conducted without opposition out of the hall.

49. Meanwhile Napoleon had descended to the court, mounted on horseback, ordered the drums to beat the order to form circle, and thus addressed the soldiers:—"I was about to point out the means of saving the country, and they answered me with strokes of the poniard. They desire to fulfil the wishes of the allied Sovereigns—what more could England do! Soldiers, can I rely on you?" Unanimous applause answered the appeal; and soon after the officer arrived, bringing out Lucien from the Council. He instantly mounted on horseback, and with Napoleon rode along the ranks; then halting in the centre, said, with a voice of thunder which was heard along the whole line, "Citizens—soldiers! the President of the Council of Five Hundred declares to you, that the immense majority of that body is enthralled by a factious band, armed with stilettoes, who besiege the tribune, and interdict all freedom of deliberation. General, and you soldiers, and you citizens, you can no longer recognise any as legislators but those who are around me. Let force expel those who remain in the Orangery; they are not the representatives of the people, but the representatives of the poniard. Let that name for ever attach to them, and if they dare to show themselves to the people, let all fingers point to them as the representatives of the poniard."—"Soldiers," added Napoleon, "can I rely on you?" The soldiers, however, appeared still to hesitate, when Lucien, as a last resource, turned to his brother, and raising his sword in his hand, swore to plunge it in his breast if ever he belied the hopes of the republicans, or made an attempt on the liberty of



France. This final appeal was decisive. "Vive Buonaparte!" was the answer. He then ordered Murat and Leclerc to march a battalion into the Council, and dissolve the assembly. "Charge bayonets," was the word given. They entered slowly in, and the officer in command notified to the Council the order to dissolve. Jourdan and several other deputies resisted, and began to address the soldiers on the enormity of their conduct. Hesitation was already visible in their ranks, when Leclerc entering with a fresh body, in close column, instantly ordered the drums to beat and the charge to sound. He exclaimed, "Grenadiers, forward!" and the soldiers, slowly advancing with fixed bayonets, speedily cleared the hall, the dismayed deputies throwing themselves from the windows, and rushing out at every aperture, to avoid the shock.

50. Intelligence of the violent dissolution of the Five Hundred was conveyed by the fugitives to the Ancients, who were thrown by this event into the utmost consternation. They had expected that that body would have yielded without violence, and were thunderstruck by the open use of bayonets on the occasion. Lucien immediately appeared at their bar, and made the same apology he had done to the troops for the *coup d'état* which had been employed,—viz. that a factious minority had put an end to all freedom of deliberation by the use of poniards, which rendered the application of force indispensable; that nothing had been done contrary to forms; that he had himself authorised the employment of the military. The Council were satisfied, or feigned to be so, with this explanation; and at nine at night the remnant of the Five Hundred who were in the interests of Napoleon—five-and-thirty only in number—under the direction of Lucien, assembled in the Orangery, and voted a resolution, declaring that Buonaparte and the troops under his orders had deserved well of their country. "Representatives of the people," said that audacious partisan, in his opening speech, "this ancient palace of the Kings of France,

where we are now assembled, attests that *power is nothing*, and that glory is everything." At eleven at night, a few members of the two Councils, not amounting in all to sixty persons, assembled, and unanimously passed a decree abolishing the Directory, expelling ~~sixty-one~~ <sup>sixty</sup> members from the Councils and demagogues, adjourning the legislature for three months, and vesting the executive power in the mean time in Napoleon, Sièyes, and Roger Ducos, under the title of Provisional Consuls. Two commissions, of twenty-five members each, were appointed, one from each Council, to combine with the Consuls in the formation of a new constitution.

51. During these two eventful days, the people of Paris, though deeply interested in the issue of the struggle, and trembling with anxiety lest the horrors of the Revolution should be renewed, remained perfectly tranquil. In the evening of the 19th, reports of the failure of the enterprise were generally spread, and diffused the most mortal disquietude; for all ranks, worn out with the agitation and sufferings of past convulsions, passionately longed for repose, and it was generally felt that it could be obtained only under the shadow of military authority. But at length the result was communicated by the fugitive members of the Five Hundred, who arrived from St Cloud, loudly exclaiming against the military violence of which they had been the victims; and at nine at night the intelligence was officially announced by a proclamation of Napoleon, which was read by torch-light to the agitated groups.\*

\* This proclamation is chiefly remarkable for the unblushing effrontery with which it set forth a statement of facts, utterly at variance with what above a thousand witnesses, only five miles from the capital, had themselves beheld, and which Napoleon himself has subsequently recorded in his own Memoirs, from which the preceding narrative has in part been taken. He there said, "At my return to Paris I found division among all the authorities, and none agreed except on this single point, that the constitution was half destroyed, and could no longer save the public liberty. All parties came to me, and unfolded their designs; but I refused to belong to any of them. The Council of the

52. With the exception of the legislature, however, all parties declared for the revolution of 18th Brumaire. Violations of the laws and *coups d'état* had been so common during the Revolution, that the people had ceased to regard them as illegal; and they were judged of entirely by their consequences, and above all by their success. To such a height had the anarchy and distresses of the country arisen, in the latter years of the Revolution, that repose and a regular government had become the object of universal desire at any price, even that of the extinction of the very liberty, to attain which all these misfortunes had been undergone. The feeling, accordingly, not only of Paris, but of France, was universal in favour of the new government. All parties hoped to see their peculiar tenets forwarded by the change. The Constitutionalists trusted that rational freedom

would at length be established; the Royalists rejoiced that the first step towards a regular government had been made, and secretly indulged the hope that Buonaparte would play the part of General Monk, and restore the throne. The great body of the people, weary of strife, and exhausted by suffering, passionately rejoiced at the commencement of repose; the numerous exiles and proscribed families exulted in the prospect of revisiting their country, and drawing their last breath in that France which was so dear to them. Ten years had wrought a century of experience: the nation was as unanimous in 1799 to terminate the era of Revolution, as in 1789 it had been to commence it.

53. Napoleon rivalled Cæsar in the clemency with which he used his victory. No proscriptions or massacres, few arrests or imprisonments, followed the triumph of Order over Revolution. On the contrary, numerous acts of mercy, as wise as they were magnanimous, made illustrious the rise of the Consular throne. The law of hostages and the forced loans were abolished; the priests and persons proscribed by the revolution of 18th Fructidor were permitted to return; the emigrants who had been shipwrecked on the coast of France, and thrown into prison, where they had been confined for four years, were set at liberty. Measures of severity were at first put in force against the violent republicans; but they were gradually relaxed, and finally given up. Thirty-seven of this obnoxious party were ordered to be transported to Guiana, and twenty-one to be put under the observation of the police; but the sentence of transportation was soon changed into one of *surveillance*, and even that was shortly abandoned. Nine thousand state prisoners, who at the fall of the Directory languished in the prisons of France, received their liberty. Their numbers, two years before, had been sixty thousand. The elevation of Napoleon was not only unstained by blood, but not even a single captive long lamented the progress of the victor: a signal triumph of the principles of humanity over those

Ancients then summoned me; I answered their appeal. A plan for a general restoration had been concerted among the men in whom the nation had been accustomed to see the defenders of its liberty, its equality, and property; but that plan demanded a calm and deliberate investigation, exempt from all agitation or control, and therefore the legislative body was transferred by the Council of the Ancients to St. Cloud." After narrating the events of the morning of the 18th, it proceeded thus—"I presented myself to the Council of the Five Hundred, alone and unarmed, in the same manner as I had been received with transport by the Ancients. I was desirous of rousing the majority to an exertion of its authority, when *twenty assassins precipitated themselves on me*, and I was only saved from their hands by the brave grenadiers, who rushed to me from the door. The savage cry of '*Hors la loi!*' arose; the howl of violence against the force destined to repress it. The assassins instantly surrounded the president; I heard of it, and sent ten grenadiers, who extricated him from their hands. The factious, intimidated, *left the hall and dispersed*. The majority, relieved from their strokes, re-entered peaceably into its hall, deliberated on the propositions submitted to it in the name of the public weal, and passed a salutary resolution, which will become the basis of the provisional constitution of the Republic." Under such colours did Napoleon veil one of the most violent usurpations against a legislature recorded in history. When such falsehood was employed in matters occurring at St. Cloud, it renders probable all that Bourrienne has said of the falsehood of the bulletins in regard to more distant transactions. —NAPOLÉON, I. 98, 101.

of cruelty, glorious alike to the actors and the age in which it occurred; and a memorable proof how much more durable the victories gained by moderation and wisdom are, than those achieved by violence and stained by blood.

54. The revolution of the 18th Brumaire had established a provisional government, and overturned the Directory; but it still remained to form a permanent constitution. In the formation of it a rupture took place between Sièyes and Napoleon. The views of the former, long based on speculative opinions, and strongly tinged with republican ideas, were little likely to accord with those of the young conqueror, accustomed to rule everything by his single determination, and whose sagacity had already discovered the impossibility of forming a stable government out of the institutions of the Revolution. He allowed Sièyes to mould, according to his pleasure, the legislature, which was to consist of a Senate or Upper Chamber; a Legislative body, without the power of debate; and a Tribunal, which was to discuss the legislative measures with the Council of State; but opposed the most vigorous resistance to the plan which he brought forward for the executive, which was so absurd that it is hardly possible to imagine how it could have been seriously proposed by a man of ability. The plan of this veteran constitution-maker, who had boasted to Talleyrand ten years before, that "politics was a science which he flattered himself he had brought to perfection," was to have vested the executive in a single *Grand Elector*, who was to inhabit Versailles, with a salary of 600,000 francs a-year, and a guard of six thousand men, and represent the state to foreign powers. This singular magistrate was to be vested with no immediate authority; but his functions were to consist in the power of naming two consuls, who were to exercise all the powers of government, the one being charged with the interior, the finances, police, and public justice; the other with the exterior, including war, marine, and foreign affairs. He

was to have a council of state, to discuss with the Tribunal all public measures. He was to be irresponsible, but liable to removal at the pleasure of the senate.—It was easy to perceive that, though he imagined he was acting on general principles, Sièyes in this project was governed by his own interests; that the situation of grand elector he destined for himself, and the military consulship for the conqueror of Arcola and Rivoli.

55. Napoleon, who saw at once that this senseless project, besides presenting insurmountable difficulties in practice, would reduce him to a secondary part, exerted all his talents to combat the plan of Sièyes. "Can you suppose," said he, "that any man of talent or consideration will submit to the degrading situation assigned to the grand elector? What man, disposing of the national force, would be base enough to submit to the discretion of a senate which, by a simple vote, could send him from Versailles to a second flat in Paris? Were I grand elector, I would name as my consul of the exterior Berthier, and for the interior some other person of the same stamp. I would prescribe to them their nominations of ministers; and the instant that they ceased to be my staff-officers, I would overturn them." Sièyes replied, "that in that case the grand elector would be absorbed by the senate." This phrase got wind, and threw such ridicule over the plan in the minds of the Parisians, that even its author was compelled to abandon it. He soon found that his enterprising colleague would listen to no project which interfered with the supreme power, which he had already resolved to obtain for himself, and which, in truth, was the only form of government capable at that period of arresting the disorders, or terminating the miseries, of France.

56. The ideas of Napoleon were unalterably fixed; but he was too clear-sighted not to perceive that time, and a concession, in form at least, to public opinion, were necessary ere he could bring them into practice. "I was convinced," says he, "that France could not exist but under a monarchical form

of government; but the circumstances of the times were such, that it was thought, and perhaps was, necessary to disguise the supreme power of the president. All opinions were reconciled by the nomination of a First Consul, who alone should possess the authority of government, since he singly disposed of all situations, and possessed a deliberative voice, while the two others were merely his advisers. That supreme officer gave the government the advantage of unity of direction: the two others, whose names appeared to every public act, would soothe the republican jealousy. The circumstances of the times would not permit a better form of government." After long discussion, this project was adopted. The government was in fact exclusively placed in the hands of the First Consul; the two other Consuls had a right to enlighten him by their counsels, but not to restrain him by their vote. The Senate, itself nominated by the Consuls, selected out of the list of candidates who had been chosen by the nation those who were to be the members of the Tribunal and Legislative. Government alone was invested with the right of proposing laws. The Legislative Body was interdicted the right of speaking; it was merely to deliberate and decide upon the questions discussed before it by the Tribunal and the Council of State nominated by the Consuls: the first being understood to represent the interests of the people, the second that of the government. The Legislative Body was thus transformed from its essential character in a free state, that of a deliberative assembly, into a supreme court, which heard the state pleadings, and by its decision formed the law.

57. The people no longer were permitted to choose deputies for themselves, either in their primary assemblies or electoral colleges. They were allowed only to choose the *persons eligible* to these offices, and from the lists thus furnished, government made its election. The whole citizens first chose a tenth of their number in each *arrondissement*, who formed the electors of the *commune*. This body, composed of

the electors, again chose out of the list of eligible persons for the *department* a tenth, who were to form the departmental electors, and they again a tenth of their body, who formed the list out of which the legislature was to be chosen. The Senate, in the close of all, selected such as it chose out of the last list, thus trebly purified, to form the Legislative Body. The senators being nominated by the First Consul, and, holding their situations for life, the whole legislature was subjected to the control of the executive. Its duty was strictly conservative, to watch over the maintenance of the fundamental laws, and the purification of the other branches of the legislature. All public functionaries, civil and military, including the whole judges, instead of being chosen, as heretofore, by the people, were appointed by the First Consul, who thus became the sole depositary of influence. The lowest species of judges, called *juges de paix*, were alone left to the choice of the people. By means of the Senate, chosen from his creatures, he regulated the legislature, and possessed the sole initiative of laws; by the appointment to every office, he wielded the whole civil force of the state; by the command of the military, he overawed the discontented, and governed its external relations.

58. The departmental lists were the most singular part of the new constitution. Every person born and residing in France, above twenty-one, was a *citizen*; but the rights of citizenship were lost by bankruptcy, domestic service, crime, or foreign naturalisation. But the *electors* were a much more limited body. "The citizens of each *arrondissement* chose by their suffrages those whom they deemed fit to conduct public affairs, amounting to not more than a *tenth* of the electors. The persons contained in this first list were alone eligible to official situations in the *arrondissement* from which they were chosen. The citizens embraced in this list chose a tenth of their number for each *department*, which formed the body alone eligible for departmental situations. The citizens chosen by the departmental electors again selected a

tenth of their number, which formed the body alone capable of being elected for national situations." The persons on the first list were only eligible to the inferior situations, such as *juges de paix*, a species of arbiters to reconcile differences and prevent lawsuits; those on the second were the class from whom might be selected the prefects, the departmental judges, tax-gatherers and collectors; those on the third, who amounted only to *six thousand* persons, were alone eligible to public offices,—as the Legislature, any of the Ministries of State, the Senate, the Council of State, the Tribunal of Cassation, the ambassadors at foreign courts. Thus, the whole offices of state were centred in six thousand persons, chosen by a triple election from the citizens. The lists were to be revised, and all the vacancies filled up every three years. These lists of eligibility, as Napoleon justly observed, formed a limited and exclusive nobility, differing from the old noblesse only in this, that it was elective, not hereditary; and it was, from the very first, subject to the objection, that it excluded from the field of competition many of the most appropriate persons to hold public situations. The influence of the people in the legislature was, by these successive elections, completely destroyed, and the whole power of the state, it was early foreseen, would centre in the First Consul. The changes introduced, however, diffused general satisfaction. All the members of the legislature received pensions from government: that of the senators was 25,000 francs, or £1000 a-year; that of the Tribunate, 15,000 francs, or £650 yearly; that of the Legislative Body, 10,000 francs, or £400 a-year. The Senate was composed of persons above forty years of age; the Legislative Body, above thirty. A senator remained in that high station for life, and was ineligible to any other situation.

59. On the 24th December 1799, the new constitution was proclaimed; and the whole appointments were forthwith filled up, without waiting for the lists of the eligible, who were, according to

its theory, to be chosen by the people. Two consuls, eighty senators, a hundred tribunes, three hundred legislators, were forthwith nominated and proceeded to the exercise of all the functions of government. In the choice of persons to fill such a multitude of offices, ample means existed to reward the moderate, and seduce the republican party; and the consuls made a judicious and circumspect use of the immense influence put into their hands. Sièyes, discontented with the rejection of his favourite ideas, retired from the government; received as a reward for his services 600,000 francs and the estate of Croane, afterwards changed for the more valuable domain of La Faisanderie in the park of Versailles; and the democratic fervour of the author of the pamphlet—"What is the *Tiers Etat*?" sank into the interested apathy of the proprietor of fifty thousand pounds. Roger Ducos also withdrew, perceiving the despotic turn which things were taking; and Napoleon appointed in their stead Cambacérès and Lebrun, men of moderation and probity, who worthily discharged the subordinate functions assigned to them in the administration. "In the end," said Napoleon, "you must come to the government of boots and spurs; and neither Sièyes nor Roger Ducos were fit for that." Talleyrand was made minister of foreign affairs, and Fouché retained in the ministry of the police; the illustrious La Place received the portfolio of the interior. By the latter appointments Napoleon hoped to calm the fears and satisfy the ambition of the republican party. Sièyes was very averse to the continuance of Fouché in office; but Napoleon was resolute. "We have arrived," said he, "at a new era; we must recollect in the past only the good, and forget the bad. Age, the habits of business, and experience, have formed or modified many characters." High salaries were given to all the public functionaries, on condition only that they should live in a style of splendour suitable to their station; a wise measure, which both secured the attachment of that powerful body of

men, and precluded them from acquiring such an independence as might enable them to dispense with employment under government.

60. A curious incident occurred on occasion of the resignation of Sièyes, highly characteristic of the disposition of that veteran of the Revolution, as well as of the preceding governments. At the first meeting which Napoleon had with him in the apartments of the Directory, Sièyes, after cautiously shutting the doors, and looking round to see that he was not overheard, said, in a low voice to Napoleon, pointing to a bureau, "Do you see that piece of furniture? You will not easily guess what it is worth. It contains 800,000 francs. During our magisterial duties, we came to perceive that it would be unseemly for a Director to leave office without being worth a farthing; and we therefore fell upon the expedient of getting this depot, from whence every one who retired might take a suitable sum. But now the Directory is dissolved, what shall we do with it?"—"If I had been officially informed of it," said Napoleon, "it must have been restored to the public treasury; but as that is not the case, I am not supposed to know anything of the matter. Take it, and divide it with Ducos; but make haste, for to-morrow it may be too late." Sièyes did not require a second bidding; that very day he took out the treasure, "but appropriated," says Napoleon, "600,000 francs to himself, and gave only 200,000 to poor Ducos." In truth Ducos got only 100,000; the Grand Elector absorbed all the rest. This treasure, however, was far from satisfying Sièyes. One day, soon after, he said to Napoleon, "How fortunate you are! all the glory of the 18th Brumaire has fallen to your lot, while I shall probably incur only blame for my share in the attempt."—"What!" exclaimed Napoleon, "have not the consular commissaries passed a resolution that you have deserved well of your country? Tell me honestly, what do you want?" Sièyes, with a ridiculous grimace, replied, "Do you not think, citizen-consul, that some national domain, a monument of the national

gratitude, would be a fit recompense to one who has co-operated with you in your great designs?"—"Oh! I understand you now," said Napoleon; "I will speak with Ducos on the subject." Two days afterwards appeared a decree of the commission of the Councils, awarding to Sièyes the national domain of Croisne, in "name of national recompense." But Sièyes soon found out that the nation had not the right to dispose of the estate of Croisne; and it was exchanged for the superb Hotel del Infantado in Paris, and the rich lands of La Faisanderie in the park of Versailles.

61. Such was the exhaustion of the French people, occasioned by revolutionary convulsions, that this constitution, destroying, as it did, all the objects for which the people had combated for ten years, was gladly adopted by an immense majority of the electors. It was approved of by 3,011,007 citizens; while that of 1793 had obtained only 1,801,918 suffrages, and that in 1795, which established the Directory, 1,057,390. These numbers are highly instructive. They demonstrate, what so many other considerations conspire to indicate, that even the most vehement changes are brought about by a factious and energetic minority, and that it is often more the supineness than the numerical inferiority of the better class of citizens which subjects them to the tyranny of the lowest. In 1789, indeed, the great majority of all classes were carried away by the fever of innovation; but these transports were of short duration; and from the time that the sombre days of the Revolution began, their numerical superiority was at an end. It was the terrors and disunion of the class of proprietors, which, by leaving no power in the state but the populace and their demagogues, delivered the nation over to the horrors of Jacobin slavery.

62. Such was the termination of the changes of the French Revolution; and such the government which the people brought upon themselves by their sins and their extravagance. On the 23d June 1789, before one drop of blood

had been shed or one estate confiscated, Louis offered the states-general a constitution containing all the elements of real freedom, with all the guarantees which experience has proved to be necessary for its continuance—the security of property, the liberty of the press, personal freedom, equality of taxation, provincial assemblies, the voting of taxes by the states-general, and the vesting of the legislative power in the representatives of the three estates in their separate chambers. The popular representatives, seduced by the phantom of democratic ambition, refused the offer, usurped for themselves the whole powers of sovereignty, and with relentless rigour pursued their victory, till they had destroyed the clergy, the nobles, and the throne. France waded through an ocean of blood: calamities unheard of assailed every class, from the throne to the cottage; for ten long years the struggle continued, and at length it terminated in the establishment, by universal consent, of a government which swept away every remnant of freedom, and consigned the state to the tranquillity of military despotism. So evidently was this result the punishment of the crimes of the Revolution, that it appeared in that light even to some of the principal actors in that convulsion. In a letter written by Sièyes to Riouffe at that period, he said, “It is then for such a result that the French nation has gone through its Revolution! The ambitious villain! He marches successfully through all the ways of fortune and crime—all is vanity, distrust, and terror. There is here neither elevation nor liberality. *Providence wishes to punish us by the Revolution itself.* Our chains are too humiliating; on all sides nothing is to be seen but powers prostrated, leaden oppression: military despotism is alone triumphant. If anything could make us retain some esteem for the nation, it is the luxury of perfidy of which it has been the victim. But the right of the sabre is the weakest of all; for it is the one which is soonest worn out.”

63. Had this been merely a temporary result, the friends of freedom might

have found some consolation in the reflection, that the elements at least of ultimate liberty were laid, and that the passing storm had renovated, not destroyed, the face of society. But the evil went a great deal deeper. In their democratic fervour, the people had pulled down the bulwarks not only of order, but of liberty; and when France emerged from the tempest, the classes were extinct whose combined and counteracting influence are necessary for its existence. “The principle of the French Revolution,” says Napoleon, “being the absolute equality of all classes, there resulted from it a total want of aristocracy. If a republic is difficult to construct on any durable basis without an order of nobles, much more so is a monarchy. To form a constitution in a country destitute of any species of aristocracy, is like *attempting to navigate in a single element.* The French Revolution has attempted a problem as insoluble as the direction of balloons.” “A monarchy,” says Lord Bacon, “where there is no nobility at all, is ever a pure and absolute tyranny, as that of the Turks; for nobility attempers sovereignty, and draws the eyes of the people somewhat aside from the line royal.” In these profound observations is to be found the secret of the subsequent experienced impossibility of constructing a durable free government in France, or preserving anything like a balance between the different classes of society. The Revolution had left only the government, the army, and the people; no intermediate rank existed to counteract the influence of the former, or give durability to the exertions of the latter. Left to themselves, the people were no match in the long run for an executive wielding the whole military force of the kingdom, and disposing in offices and appointments, ere long even in pacific periods, of above £40,000,000 a-year.

64. In moments of excitement, the democratic spirit may become powerful, and, by infecting the military, give a momentary triumph to the populace; but, with the cessation of the effervescence, the influence of government must return with redoubled force, and

the people be again subjected to the yoke of servitude, either under the old government or the new one which they have installed in its stead. In such a state of society all convulsions, though effected by the physical force of the people, must be revolutions of the palace only. Casual bursts of democratic passion cannot maintain a long contest in a corrupted age with the steady efforts of a regular government; and if they could, they would lead only to the transference of despotic power from one set of rulers to another. It is hard to say whether liberty has most to dread, in such circumstances, from its friends or its enemies. Durable freedom is to be secured only by the steady, persevering efforts of an aristocracy, supported, when necessary, by the enthusiasm of the people, and hindered from running into excess by the vigour of the executive. In all ages of the world, and under all forms of government, it is in the equipoise of these powers that freedom has been formed, and from the fall of one of them that the commencement of servitude is to be dated. The French Revolution, by totally destroying the whole class of the aristocracy, and preventing, by the abolition of primogeniture, its reconstruction, has rendered this balance impossible, and, instead of the elements of European freedom, left in society only the instruments and the victims of Asiatic despotism. It is as impossible to construct a durable free government with such materials, as it would be to form glass or gunpowder with two only of the three elements of which they are composed. And the result has completely established the truth of these principles. The despotism of Napoleon was, till his fall, the most rigorous of any in Europe: and although France enjoyed fifteen years of liberty under the Restoration, when the swords of Alexander and Wellington had righted the balance, and the recollection of subjugation had tamed for a time the aspirations of democracy; yet, with the rise of a new generation and the oblivion of former disaster, the scales were anew subverted, the constitutional

monarchy was overturned, and from amidst the smoke of the Barricades, the awful figure of military power again emerged.

65. Grievous as has been the injury, however, to the cause of freedom, which the ruin of the French aristocracy has occasioned, it is not so great or so irreparable as has resulted from the destruction of the Church, and the consequent irreligion of the most energetic part of the population. This evil has spread to an unparalleled extent, and produced mischiefs of incalculable magnitude. If it be true, as the greatest of their philosophers has declared, that it was neither their numbers, nor their talent, nor their military spirit, which gave the Romans the empire of the world, but the religious feeling which animated their people,\* it may be conceived what consequences must have resulted from the extinction of public worship over a whole country, and the rising up of a generation ignorant of the very elements of religious belief. It is the painful duty of the moralist to trace the consequences of so shocking an act of national impiety, in the progressive profligacy of manners, the growth of selfishness, and the unrestrained career of passion, by which so large a portion of the French people have since been distinguished; but its effects upon public freedom are, in a political point of view, equally important.

66. Liberty is essentially based on the generous feelings of our nature. It requires often the sacrifice of private gratification for the public good; it can never subsist for any length of time without that heroic self-denial, which can only be founded on the promises and the belief of religion. We must not confound with this generous and elevated spirit the desire for licentiousness, which chafes against every control, whether human or di-

\* "Nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Penos, nec artibus Græcos, nec denique hoc ipso hujus gentis et terre domesticis natiuque sensu, Italos ipsos et Latinos; sed pietate ac religione, atque hac una sapientia, quod Deorum immortalium numine omnia regi gubernarique perspicimus, omnes gentes nationesque superavimus."—CICERO.



vine: the one is the burst of vegetation in its infancy, and gives promise of the glories of summer and the riches of harvest; the other, the fermentation which precedes corruption. By destroying the Church, and educating a whole generation without any religious principles, France has given a blow to her freedom and her prosperity, from which she can never recover. The fervour of democracy, the extension of knowledge, will give but a transient support to liberty, when deprived of that perennial supply which is derived from the sense of duty that devotion inspires. "As Atheism," says Lord Bacon, "is in all respects hateful, so in this, that it depriveth human nature of the means of exalting itself above human frailty; and as it is in particular persons, so it is in nations." Passion will find as many objects of gratification under a despotism as under a republic; seduction is as easy from private as from public desires; pleasure is as alluring in the palace of opulence as in the forum of democracy. The transition is in general slow from patriotic principle or public spirit to private gratification, because they spring from the opposite motives to human conduct; but it is rapid from rebellion against the restraints of virtue, to thralldom under the chains of vice, for the former is but the commencement of the latter.

67. "The character of democracy and despotism," says Aristotle, "is the same. Both exercise a despotic authority over the better class of citizens; decrees are in the one what ordinances and arbitrary violence are in the other. In different ages, the democrat and court-favourite are not unfrequently the *same men*, and always bear a close analogy to each other; they have the principal power in their respective forms of government; favourites with the absolute monarch—demagogues with the sovereign multitude." "Charles II.," says Chateaubriand, "threw republican England into the arms of women;" but, in truth, it was not the amorous monarch who effected the change; it was the easy transition from democratic license

to general corruption, which debased the nation at the Restoration. Mr Hume has observed, that religious fanaticism during the Civil Wars disgraced the spirit of liberty in England; but, in truth, it was the only safeguard of public virtue during those critical times; and but for the unbending austerity of the Puritans, public freedom would have irrecoverably perished in the flood of licentiousness which overwhelmed the country on the accession of Charles II. "Knowledge," says Lord Bacon, "is power;" he has not said it is either wisdom or virtue. It augments the influence of opinion upon mankind; but whether it augments it to good or evil purpose, depends upon the character of the information which is communicated, and the precautions against corruption which are simultaneously taken. As much as it enlarges the foundations of prosperity in a virtuous, does it extend the sources of corruption in a degenerate age. Unless the moral and religious improvement of the people extends in proportion to their intellectual cultivation, the increase of knowledge is but an addition to the lever by which vice dissolves the fabric of society.

68. The revolutionary party have frequently said, that it was Napoleon who constructed with so much ability the fabric of despotism in France; but, in truth, it was not he that did it, nor was his power, great as it was, ever equal to the task. It was the Constituent Assembly who broke up the fabric of society in that great country, and left only a disjointed, misshapen mass, an easy prey to the first despotism which should succeed it. By destroying the parliaments, provincial assemblies, and courts of law; by annihilating the old divisions and rights of the provinces; by extinguishing all corporations and provincial establishments, at the same time that they confiscated the property of the Church, drove the nobles into exile, and soon after seized upon their estates, they took away for the future all elements of resistance to the power of the metropolis. Everything was immediately

centralised in its public offices; the lead in all public matters taken by its citizens; and the direction of every detail, however minute, assumed by its ministers. France, ever since, has fallen into a state of subjection to Paris, to which there is nothing comparable even in the annals of Oriental servitude. The ruling power in the East is frequently shaken, sometimes overturned, by tumults originating in the provinces; but there has been no example, since the new regime was fully established by the suppression of the La Vendée rebellion, of the central authority in France being shaken except by movements originating in the capital. The authority of Robespierre, Napoleon, Louis, Louis Philippe, and the Republic of 1848, were successively acknowledged by thirty millions over the country, as soon as a faction in Paris had obtained the ascendancy; and the obedient departments waited for the announcement of the telegraph, or the arrival of the mail, to know whether they should salute an emperor, a king, a consul, or a decemvir. This total prostration of the strength of a great nation before the ruling power in the metropolis could never have taken place under the old government; and, accordingly, nothing of the kind was experienced under the monarchy. It was the great deeds of democratic despotism perpetrated by the Constituent Assembly which destroyed all the elements of resistance in the provinces, and left France a helpless multitude, necessarily subject to the power which had gained possession of the machinery of government. Despotism as the old government of France was, it could never have attempted such an arbitrary system; even the power of the Czar Peter, or the Sultaun Mahmoud, would have been shattered, on attempting such an invasion of established rights and settled interests. A memorable instance of the extreme danger to which the interests of freedom are exposed from the blind passions of democracy; and of the fatal effect of the spring-flood which drowns the institutions of a state, when the opposing powers of the people and the

government are brought for a time to draw in the same direction.

69. To all human appearance, therefore, the establishment of permanent freedom is hopeless in France; the bulwarks of European liberty have disappeared in the land, and over the whole expanse is seen only the level surface of Asiatic despotism. This grievous result is the consequence and the punishment of the great and crying sins of the Revolution; of the irreligious spirit in which it was conceived; the atheistical measures which it introduced; the shedding of noble blood which characterised it; the overthrow of private rights which it accomplished; the boundless confiscations which it perpetrated. But for these offences, a constitutional monarchy, like that which for a century and a half has given glory and happiness to England, might have been established in its great rival; because, but for these offences, the march of the Revolution would have been unstained by crime. In nations, as in individuals, a harvest of prosperity never yet was reaped from seed sown in injustice. But nations have no immortality; and that final retribution which in private life is often postponed, to outward appearance at least, to another world, is brought with swift and unerring wings upon the third and fourth generation in the political delinquencies of mankind.

70. Does, then, the march of freedom necessarily terminate in disaster? Is improvement inevitably allied to innovation, innovation to revolution? And must the philosopher, who beholds the infant struggles of liberty, ever foresee in their termination the blood of Robespierre, or the carnage of Napoleon? No! The distinction between the two is as wide as between day and night—between virtue and vice. The simplest and rudest of mankind may distinguish with as much certainty as belongs to erring mortals, whether the ultimate tendency of innovations is beneficial or ruinous—whether they are destined to bring blessings or curses on their wings. This test is to be found in the character of those who support them, and

the moral justice or injustice of their measures. If those who forward the work of reform are the most pure and upright in their private conduct; if they are the foremost in every moral and religious duty; most unblemished in their intercourse with men, and most undeviating in their duty to God; if they are the best fathers, the best husbands, the best landlords, the most charitable and humane of society, who take the lead; if their proceedings are characterised by moderation, and they are scrupulously attentive to justice and humanity in all their actions; then the people may safely follow in their steps, and anticipate blessings to themselves and their children from the measures they promote. But if the reverse of all this is the case; if the leaders who seek to rouse their passions are worthless or suspicious in private life; if they are tyrannical landlords, faithless husbands, negligent fathers; if they are sceptical or indifferent in religion, reckless or improvident in conduct, ruined or tottering in fortune; if they are selfish in their enjoyments, and indifferent to the poor; if they care not for their sufferings, provided they serve as a scaffolding to their own elevation; if their liberty is a cloak for licentiousness, and their patriotism an excuse for ambition; if their actions are hasty and inconsiderate, and their measures calculated to do injustice or create suffering to individuals, on the plea of state necessity; then the people may rest assured that they are leading them to perdition; that the fabric of liberty never yet was reared by such hands, or on such a basis; that, whatever temporary triumph may attend their steps, the day of reckoning will come, and that an awful retribution awaits them or their children.

71. The final result of the irreligious efforts of the French people is singularly illustrative of the moral government to which human affairs are subject, and of the vanity of all attempts to check that spread of religion which has been decreed by Almighty power. When the Parisian philosophers beheld the universal diffusion of the spirit of

scepticism which they had produced; when a nation was seen abjuring every species of devotion, and a generation rising in the heart of Europe ignorant of the very elements of religious belief, the triumph of infidelity appeared complete, and the faithful trembled and mourned in silence at the melancholy prospects which were opening upon the world. Yet in this very spirit were preparing, by an unseen hand, the means of the ultimate triumph of civilised over barbaric belief, and of a greater spread of the Christian faith than had taken place since it was embraced by the tribes who overthrew the Roman empire. In the deadly strife of European ambition, the arms of civilisation acquired an irresistible preponderance; with its last convulsions, the strength of Russia was immensely augmented; and that mighty power, which had been organised by the genius of Peter and matured by the ambition of Catherine, received its final development through the invasion of Napoleon. The Crescent, long triumphant over the Cross, has now yielded to its ascendant; the barriers of the Caucasus and the Balkan have been burst by its champions; the ancient war-cry of Constantinople, "Victory to the Cross!" has, after an interval of four centuries, been heard on the Ægean Sea; and that lasting triumph, which all the enthusiasm of the Crusaders could not effect, has arisen from the energy infused into what was then an unknown tribe, by the infidel arms of their descendants. In such marvellous and unforeseen consequences, the historian finds ample grounds for consolation at the temporary triumph of wickedness: from the corruption of decaying, he turns to the energy of infant civilisation; while he laments the decline of the principles of prosperity in their present seats, he anticipates their resurrection in those where they were first cradled; and traces, through all the vicissitudes of nations, the incessant operation of those general laws which provide, even amidst the decline of present greatness, for the final improvement and elevation of the species.

## CHAPTER XXX.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF NAPOLEON TO THE CONSULATE TO THE OPENING  
OF THE CAMPAIGN OF MARENGO.

1. THE first step of Napoleon upon arriving at the consular throne was to make proposals of peace to the British government. The debate on that subject in Parliament is the most important that occurred during the war, and forms the true introduction to the political history of Europe during the nineteenth century. The letter of Napoleon, which, contrary to all diplomatic usage, was addressed directly to the King of England, couched in his usual characteristic language, was in these terms: "Called by the wishes of the French nation to occupy the first station in the Republic, I think it proper on entering into office to make a direct communication to your Majesty. The war which for eight years has ravaged the four quarters of the globe, must it be eternal? Are there no means of coming to an understanding? How can the two most enlightened nations of Europe, powerful and strong beyond what their independence and safety require, sacrifice to ideas of vain greatness the benefits of commerce, internal prosperity, and domestic happiness? How has it happened that they do not feel that peace is of the first necessity as well as the truest glory? These sentiments cannot be foreign to the heart of your Majesty, who reign over a free nation with the sole view of rendering it happy. You will see in this overture only the effect of a sincere desire to contribute efficaciously, for the second time, to a general pacification, by a step speedy, implying confidence, and disengaged from those forms which, however necessary to disguise the dependence of feeble states, prove only in those which are strong the mutual desire of deceiving each other. France

and England may, by the abuse of their strength, continue for a time, to the misfortune of nations, to retard the period of their being exhausted; but I will venture to say, the fate of all civilised nations is attached to the termination of a war which involves the whole world."

2. To this letter the following answer was returned by Lord Grenville, the English minister of foreign affairs:—"The King has given frequent proofs of his sincere desire for the re-establishment of secure and permanent tranquillity in Europe. He neither is, nor has been, engaged in any contest for a vain and false glory. He has had no other view than that of maintaining against all aggression the rights and happiness of his subjects. For these he has contended against an unprovoked attack; and for the same objects he is still obliged to contend. Nor can he hope that this necessity could be removed by entering, at the present moment, into negotiation with those whom a fresh revolution has so recently placed in the exercise of power in France; since no real advantage can arise from such negotiation to the great and desirable object of a general peace, until it shall distinctly appear that those causes have ceased to operate which originally produced the war, and by which it has been since protracted, and in more than one instance renewed. The same system, to the prevalence of which France justly ascribes all her present miseries, is that which has also involved the rest of Europe in a long and destructive warfare, of a nature long since unknown to the practice of civilised nations. For the extension of this system, and for the extermination

of all established governments, the resources of France have, from year to year, and in the midst of the most unparalleled distress, been lavished and exhausted. To this indiscriminate spirit of destruction, the Netherlands, the United Provinces, the Swiss Cantons, his Majesty's ancient allies, have successively been sacrificed. Germany has been ravaged; Italy, though now rescued from its invaders, has been made the scene of unbounded rapine and anarchy. His Majesty has himself been compelled to maintain an arduous and burdensome contest for the independence and existence of his kingdom.

3. "While such a system continues to prevail, and while the blood and treasure of a numerous and powerful nation can be lavished in its support, experience has shown that no defence, but that of open and steady hostility, can be availing. The most solemn treaties have only prepared the way for fresh aggression; and it is to a determined resistance alone that is now due whatever remains in Europe of security for property, personal liberty, social order, or religious freedom. For the security, therefore, of these essential objects, his Majesty cannot place his reliance on the mere renewal of general professions of pacific dispositions. Such dispositions have been repeatedly held out by all those who have successively directed the resources of France to the destruction of Europe, and whom the present rulers have declared to have been, from the beginning, and uniformly, incapable of maintaining the relations of peace and amity. Greatly, indeed, will his Majesty rejoice whenever it shall appear that the dangers to which his own dominions and those of his allies have so long been exposed have really ceased: whenever he shall be satisfied that the necessity for resistance is at an end; that, after the experience of so many years of crimes and miseries, better principles have ultimately prevailed in France; and that all the gigantic projects of ambition, and all the restless schemes of destruction, which have endangered the very existence of civil society, have at length been finally relinquished: but

the conviction of such a change, however agreeable to his Majesty's wishes, can result only from experience and the evidence of facts.

4. "The best and most natural pledge of its reality and permanence would be the restoration of that line of princes, which for so many centuries maintained the French nation in prosperity at home and consideration and respect abroad. Such an event would at once have removed, and will at any time remove, all obstacles in the way of negotiation or peace. It would confirm to France the unmolested enjoyment of its ancient territory; and it would give to all the other nations in Europe, in tranquillity and peace, that security which they are now compelled to seek by other means. But, desirable as such an event must be, both to France and the world, it is not to this mode exclusively that his Majesty limits the possibility of secure and solid pacification. His Majesty makes no claim to prescribe to France what shall be the form of her government, or in whose hands she shall vest the authority necessary for conducting the affairs of a great and powerful nation. He looks only to the security of his own dominions and those of his allies, and to the general safety of Europe. Whenever he shall judge that such security can in any manner be attained, as resulting either from the internal situation of that country, from whose internal situation the danger has arisen, or from such other circumstances, of whatever nature, as may produce the same end, his Majesty will eagerly embrace the opportunity to concert with his allies the means of a general pacification. Unhappily, no such security hitherto exists; no sufficient evidence of the principles by which the new government will be directed; no reasonable ground by which to judge of its stability."

5. To this it was replied by M. Talleyrand, the French minister for foreign affairs:—"Very far from France having provoked the war, she had, it must be recollected, from the very commencement of her Revolution, solemnly proclaimed her love of peace and her dis-

inclination for conquests, her respect for the independence of all governments; and it is not to be doubted that, occupied at that time entirely with her own internal affairs, she would have avoided taking any part in those of Europe, and would have remained faithful to her declarations. But from an opposite disposition, as soon as the French Revolution had broken out, almost all Europe entered into a league for its destruction. The aggression was real, long before it was public; internal resistance was excited, its opponents were favourably received, their extravagant declamations were supported, the French nation was insulted in the person of its agents, and England particularly set this example, by the dismissal of the minister accredited to her; finally, France was in fact attacked in her independence, in her honour, and in her safety, long before war was declared. Thus it is to the projects of dismemberment, subjection, and dissolution, which were prepared against her, and the execution of which was several times attempted and pursued, that France has a right to impute the evils which she has suffered, and those which have afflicted Europe. Such projects, for a long time without example with respect to so powerful a nation, could not fail to bring on the most fatal consequences. Assailed on all sides, the Republic could not but extend universally the efforts of her defence, and it is only for the maintenance of her own independence that she has made use of those means which she possessed in her own strength and the courage of her citizens.

6. "As long as she saw that her enemies obstinately refused to recognise her rights, she counted only upon the energy of her resistance, but as soon as they were obliged to abandon the hope of invasion, she sought for means of conciliation, and manifested pacific intentions; and if these have not always been efficacious—if, in the midst of the critical circumstances of her internal situation, which the Revolution and the war have successively brought on, the former depositaries of the executive

power in France have not always shown as much moderation as the nation itself has shown courage—it must, above all, be imputed to the fatal and persevering animosity with which the resources of England have been lavished to accomplish the ruin of France. But if the wishes of his Britannic Majesty, in conformity with his assurances, are in unison with those of the French Republic for the re-establishment of peace, why, instead of attempting the apology of the war, should not attention be rather paid to the means of terminating it? The First Consul of the French Republic cannot doubt that his Britannic Majesty must recognise the right of nations to choose the form of their government, since it is from the exercise of this right that he holds his crown; but he cannot comprehend how, after admitting this fundamental principle, upon which rests the existence of political societies, he could annex insinuations which tend to an interference in the internal affairs of the Republic, and which are not less injurious to the French nation and its government, than it would be to England and his Majesty, if a sort of invitation were held out in favour of that republican form of government of which England adopted the forms about the middle of the last century, or an exhortation to recall to the throne that family whom their birth had placed there, and whom a Revolution compelled to descend from it."

7. These able state papers are not only valuable as exhibiting the arguments advanced by the opposite parties in this memorable contest, but as containing an explicit and important declaration of the object uniformly pursued by Great Britain throughout its continuance. The English ministry never claimed a right to interfere in the internal affairs of France, or dictate to her inhabitants the form of government or race of sovereigns they were to choose; the object of the war is there expressly declared to have been, what it always was, defensive. It was undertaken, not to impose a government upon France, but to prevent its imposing one upon other nations; not to partition

or circumscribe its territory, but to oppose a barrier to the inundation of infidel and democratical principles, by which the Republic first shook the opinions of the multitude in all the adjoining states, and then, having divided their inhabitants, overthrew their independence. The restoration of the Bourbons was held forth as the mode most likely to remove these dangers; but by no means as an indispensable preliminary to a general pacification, if adequate security against them could in any other way be obtained. Of the reality of the peril, the existence of the Batavian, Ligurian, Cisalpine, Helvetic, Roman, and Parthenopean republics, most of whom had been revolutionised in a state of profound peace, afforded ample evidence; and it was one which increased rapidly during any interval of hostilities, because it was then that the point of the wedge was most readily inserted by the revolutionary propagandists among an unsuspecting people.

8. The debates, however, which followed in both Houses of Parliament on this momentous subject were still more important, as unfolding the real views of the contending parties, and forming the true key to the grounds on which it was thereafter rested on both sides. On the part of the Opposition, it was urged by Mr Fox and Mr Erskine: "Now is the first time when the House are assembled in a new epoch of the war. Without annexing any epithet to it, or adverting to its unparalleled calamities, it cannot be denied that a new era in any possible war, or one which leads to a nearer prospect of peace, is a most critical and auspicious period. The real question is, whether the House of Commons can say, in the face of a suffering nation and a desolated world, that a lofty, imperious, declamatory, insulting answer to a proposition professing peace and conciliation, is the answer which should have been sent to France, or to any human government? Though they might not be able to determine what answer, in the circumstances of the country, should have been sent, they could, without the possibility of

being mistaken, pronounce that the answer given was odiously and absurdly wrong. As a vindication of the war, it was loose, and in some parts unfounded; but as an answer to a specific proposition, it was dangerous as a precedent to the best interests of mankind. It rejected the very idea of peace, as if it were a curse, and held fast to war, as an inseparable adjunct to the prosperity of nations.

9. "The French Revolution was undoubtedly, in its beginning, a great and awful event, which could not but extend its influence more or less to other nations. So mighty a fabric of despotism and superstition, after having endured for ages, could not fall to the ground without a concussion which the whole earth should feel; but the evil of such a revolution was only to be averted by cautious internal policy, and not by external war, unless it became impossible, from actual and not speculative aggression, to maintain the relations of peace. The question was not, whether the tendency of the Revolution was beneficial or injurious, but what was our own policy and duty as connected with its existence? In Mr Burke's words, applied to the American Revolution, the question is not, whether this condition of human affairs deserves praise or blame, but what, in God's name, are you to do with it?

10. "When war was first proclaimed by this country, after the death of Louis, it was rested on the 'late atrocious act perpetrated at Paris.' Then, as now, it was provoked, and peace rejected upon general and unjustifiable objections—speculative dangers to religion and government, which, supposing them to have existed, with all their possible consequences, were more likely to be increased than diminished by the bitterness of war. At that time, ministers were implored not to invite war upon principles which made peace dependent upon systems and forms of government, instead of the conduct of nations—upon theories which could not be changed, instead of aggressions which might be adjusted. France had then, and for a long time after, a strong interest in peace; she had not then-ex-

tended her conquests: but Europe combined to extinguish France, and place her without the pale of the social community; and France, in her turn, acted towards Europe on the same principles. She desolated and ravaged whatever countries she occupied, and spread her conquests with unexampled rapidity. Could it be expected that so powerful a nation, so assailed, should act merely on the defensive, or that, in the midst of a revolution which the confederacy of surrounding nations had rendered terrible, the rights of nations would be respected? Ambitious projects, not perhaps originally contemplated, followed their steps; and the world was changed with portentous violence, because the government of Great Britain had resolved that, if changed at all, it should revert to establishments which had reached their period and expired.

11. "In 1795, without any pacific proposition from France, when the government of France was not a month old, at a time when the alarm was at its height in England, and the probable contagion of French principles, by the intercourse of peace, was not only the favourite theme of ministers, but made the foundation of a system by which some of our most essential liberties were abridged—even these ministers invited the infant, democratic, Jacobin, regicide Republic of France to propose a peace. On what principle, then, can peace now be refused when the danger was so much diminished, because the resistless fury of that popular spirit which had been the uniform topic of declamation had not only subsided, from time and expansion, but was curbed, or rather extinguished, by the forms of the new government which invited us to peace? If Buonaparte found that his interests were served by an arrangement with England, the same interests would lead him to continue it. Surrounded with perils, at the head of an untried government, menaced by a great confederacy, of which England was the head, compelled to press heavily upon the resources of an exhausted people, it was not less his interest to propose than it was ours to accept peace.

12. "It is impossible to look without the most bitter regret on the enormities which France has committed. In some of the worst of them, however, the Allies have joined her. Did not Austria receive Venice from Buonaparte? and is not the receiver as bad as the thief? Has not Russia attacked France? Did not the Emperor and the King of Prussia subscribe a declaration at Pilnitz which amounted to a hostile aggression? Did they not make a public declaration, that they were to employ their forces, in conjunction with the other kings of Europe, 'to put the King of France in a situation to establish, in perfect liberty, the foundations of a monarchical government equally agreeable to the rights of sovereigns and the welfare of the French? and, whenever the other princes should co-operate with them, did they not 'then, and in that case, declare their determination to act promptly, and, by mutual consent, to obtain the end proposed by all of them?' Can gentlemen lay their hands on their hearts, and not admit that the fair construction of this is, that whenever the other powers should concur, they would attack France, then at peace with them, and occupied only in domestic and internal regulations?

13. "The decree of 19th November 1792, is alleged as a clear act of aggression, not only against England, but against all the sovereigns of Europe. Much weight should not be attached to that silly document, and it has been sufficiently explained by M. Chauvelin, when he declared that it never was meant to proclaim the favour of France for insurrection, but that it applied to those people only who, after having acquired their liberty by conquest, should demand the assistance of the Republic. Should not a magnanimous nation have been satisfied with this explanation? and where will be the end of wars, if idle and intemperate expressions are to be made the groundwork of bitter and never-ending hostilities? Where is the war, pregnant with so many horrors, next to be carried? Where is it to stop? Not till you establish the House of Bourbon!—and this



you cherish the hope of doing, because you have had a successful campaign. But is the situation of the Allies, with all they have gained, to be compared with what it was after Valenciennes was taken? One campaign is successful to you; another may be so to them: and in this way, animated by the vindictive passions of revenge, hatred, rancour, which are infinitely more flagitious than those of ambition and the thirst of power, you may go on for ever, as, with such black incentives, no end can be foreseen to human misery. And all this without an intelligible motive, merely that you may gain a better peace a year or two hence. Is then peace so dangerous a state, war so enviable, that the latter is to be chosen as a state of probation, the former shunned as a positive evil?"

14. On the other hand it was contended by Mr Pitt and Lord Grenville: "The same necessity which originally existed for the commencement and prosecution, still calls for perseverance in the war. The same proneness to aggression, the same disregard to justice, still actuate the conduct of the men who rule in France. Peace with a nation by whom war was made against all order, religion, and morality, would rather be a cessation of resistance to wrong than a suspension of arms in the nature of an ordinary warfare. To negotiate with established governments was formerly not merely easy, but in most circumstances safe; but to negotiate with the government of France now would be to incur all the risks of an uncertain truce, without attaining the benefits even of a temporary peace. France still retains the sentiments, and is constant to the views which characterised the dawn of her Revolution. She was innovating, she is so still; she was Jacobin, she is Jacobin still; she declared war against all kings, and she continues to this hour to seek their destruction. Even the distant commonwealth of America could not escape that ravaging power, and bordering on a state of active and inveterate war were the relations of those two states for a long time. The Republic, indeed, has frequently asserted her disinclination to

conquest; but has she followed up that declaration by any acts indicating a corresponding disposition? Have we not seen her armies march to the Rhine, seize the Netherlands, and annex them to her dominions? Have we not witnessed her progress in Italy? Are not the wrongs of Switzerland recent and marked? Even into Asia she has carried her lust for dominion; severed from the Porte, during a period of profound peace, a vast portion of its empire; and stimulated 'Citizen Tippoo' to engage in that contest which ultimately proved his ruin.

15. "The Republic has proclaimed her respect for the independence of all governments. How have her actions corresponded with this profession? Did not Jacobin France attempt the overthrow of every government? Did she not, whenever it suited her purpose, arm the governors against the governed, or the governed against the governors? How completely has she succeeded, during a period of profound peace which had been unbroken for centuries, in convulsing the population, and so subverting the independence of Switzerland! In Italy, the whole fabric of civil society has been changed, and the independence of every government violated. The Netherlands, too, exhibit to mankind monuments of the veneration with which the Republic has regarded the independence of other states. The memorable decree of November 1792 has not slept a dead letter in their statute-book. No: it has ever since been the active energetic principle of their whole conduct, and every nation is interested in the extinction of that principle for ever.

16. "Every power with whom the Republic has treated, whether for the purpose of armistice or peace, could furnish melancholy instances of the perfidy of France, and of the ambition, injustice, and cruelty of her rulers. Switzerland concluded a truce with the Republic; her rulers immediately excited insurrections among her cantons, overthrew her institutions, seized her fortresses, robbed her treasures, the accumulation of ages, and, to give permanence to her usurpations, imposed on

her a government new alike in form and substance. The Grand-duke of Tuscany was among the earliest sufferers by a treaty of peace with the Republic. In everything he strove to conform to the views of France; her rulers repeated to him their assurances of attachment and disinclination to conquest; but at the very time that the honour of the Republic was pledged for the security of his states, he saw the troops of his ally enter his capital, and he himself was deposed and a democracy given to the Florentines. The King of Sardinia opened the gates of his capital to the Republican arms, and, confiding in the integrity of the French government, expected to be secured in his dominions by the treaty which guaranteed his title and his rights, and communicated to France equal advantages. He was, however, in a state of peace, invaded in his dominions, forced to fly to his insular possessions, and Turin treacherously taken possession of by the Republican troops. The change in the Papal government was another part of the same system. It was planned by Joseph Buonaparte in his palace. He excited the populace to an insurrection, and effected a revolution in the capital at the head of the Roman mob. To Venice their conduct was still more atrocious. After concluding an armistice with the Arch-duke Charles, Buonaparte declared that he took the Venetians under his protection, and overturned the old government by the movements excited among the people; but no sooner was the national independence in this way destroyed, than he sold them to the very Imperial government against whose alleged oppression he had prompted them to take up arms. Genoa received the French as friends; and the debt of gratitude was repaid by the government being revolutionised; and, under the authority of a mock constitution, the people plundered, and the public independence subverted.

17. "It is vain to allege that these atrocities are the work of former governments, and that Buonaparte had no hand in them. The worst of these acts of perfidy have been perpetrated

by himself. If a treaty was concluded and broken with Sardinia, it was concluded and broken by Buonaparte. If peace was entered into and violated with Tuscany, it was entered into and violated by Buonaparte. If Venice was first seduced into revolutionary revolt, and then betrayed and sold to Austria, it was by Buonaparte that the treachery was consummated. If the Papal government was first terrified into submission, and then overturned by rebellion, it was Buonaparte who accomplished the work. If Genoa was convulsed in a state of profound peace, and then sacrificed, it was by Buonaparte that the perfidious invasion was committed. If Switzerland was first seduced into revolution, and then invaded and plundered, it was by the deceitful promises and arts of Buonaparte that the train was laid. Even the affiliated republics and his own country have not escaped the same perfidious ability. The constitution which he forced on his countrymen, at the cannon's mouth, on the 13th Vendémiaire, he delivered up to the bayonets of Augereau on the 18th Fructidor, and overturned with his grenadiers on the 18th Brumaire. The constitution of the Cisalpine republic, which he himself had established, was overthrown by his lieutenant, Berthier. He gained possession of Malta by deceitful promises, and immediately handed it over to the Republic. He declared to the Porte that he had no intention to take possession of Egypt, and yet he avowed to his army that he conquered it for France, and instantly roused the Copts into rebellion against the Mamelukes. He declared to the Mussulmans that he was a believer in Mahomet,\* thus demonstrating that, even on the most sacred subjects, truth was set at naught when any object was to be gained by its violation. Nay, he has, in his official instructions, openly

\* This was strictly true. "They will say I am a papist," said Napoleon; "I am no such thing. I was a Mahometan in Egypt. I would become a Catholic here for the good of the people. I am no believer in any particular religion; but as to the idea of a God, look up to the heavens, and say who made that."—THIBAUDEAU, *sur le Consulat*, 183.

avowed this system; for in his instructions to Kleber, he declares,—‘You may sign a treaty to evacuate Egypt, but do not execute the articles; and you may find a plausible excuse for the delay in the observation, that they must be sent home to be submitted to the Directory.’ What reliance can be placed on a power which thus uniformly makes peace or truce a stepping-stone to further aggressions, and systematically uses perfidy as an allowable weapon for circumventing its enemies? And, what is especially worthy of observation, this system is not that of any one man; it has been the principle of all the statesmen, without exception, who have governed France during the Revolution:—a clear proof that it arises from the force of the circumstances in which they are placed, and the ruinous ascendancy of irreligious principles in the people; and that the intentions of the present ruler of the country, even if they were widely different from what they are, could afford no sort of security against its continuance.

18. “France would now derive great advantages from a general peace. Her commerce would revive; her seamen be renewed, her sailors acquire experience; and the power which hitherto has been so victorious at land, would speedily become formidable on another element. What benefit could it bring to Great Britain? Are our harbours blockaded, our commerce interrupted, our dockyards empty? Have we not, on the contrary, acquired an irresistible preponderance on the seas during the war, and is not the trade of the world rapidly passing into the hands of our merchants? Buonaparte would acquire immense popularity by being the means of bringing about an accommodation with this country; if we wish to establish his power, and permanently enlist the energy of the Revolution under the banners of a military chieftain, we have only to fall into the snare which he has so artfully prepared. In turbulent republics, it has ever been an axiom to maintain internal tranquillity by external action; it was on that principle that the war was

commenced by Brissot and continued by Robespierre, and it is not likely to be forgotten by the military chief who has now succeeded to the helm of affairs.

19. “It is in vain to pretend that either the allied powers or Great Britain were the aggressors in the terrible contest which has so long desolated Europe. In investigating this subject, the most scrupulous attention to dates is requisite. The attack upon the Papal States by the seizure of Avignon in August 1791, was attended by a series of the most sanguinary excesses which disgraced the Revolution; and this was followed, in the same year, by an aggression against the whole Germanic empire, by the seizure of Porentrui, part of the dominions of the Bishop of Bâle. In April 1792, the French government declared war against Austria; and in September of the same year, without any declaration of their intention, or any cause of hostility, and in direct violation of their promises to abstain from conquest, they seized Savoy and Nice, upon the pretence that nature had destined them to form a part of France. The assertion that this war was rendered necessary by the threatening alliance formed at Pilnitz, is equally devoid of foundation. That celebrated declaration referred only to the state of imprisonment in which Louis XVI. was kept, and its immediate object was to effect his deliverance, if a concert among the European powers could be brought about for that purpose, leaving the internal state of France to be decided by the king when restored to his liberty, with the free consent of the states of the kingdom, without one word relative to its dismemberment. This was fully admitted in the official correspondence which took place between this country and Austria; and as long as M. Delessart was minister of foreign affairs in France, there was a great probability that the differences would be terminated amicably; but the war party excited a tumult in order to dispossess him—as they considered, in Brissot’s words, that ‘war was necessary to consolidate the Revolution.’ Upon the King of France’s acceptance of the constitution,

the Emperor notified to all the courts of Europe that he considered it as his proper act, and thereby the convention of Pilnitz fell to the ground; and the event soon proved the sincerity of that declaration, for when war was declared by the French in 1792, the Austrian Netherlands were almost destitute of troops, and soon fell a prey to the Republicans.

20. "Great Britain at this time, and for long after, entertained no hostile designs towards France. So far from it, on 29th December 1792, only a month before the commencement of hostilities, a note was sent by Lord Grenville to the British ambassador at St Petersburg, imparting to Russia the principles on which we acted, and the terms on which we were willing to mediate for peace—which were, 'the withdrawing the French armies within the limits of their territory, the abandoning their conquests, the rescinding any acts injurious to the sovereignty or rights of other nations, and the giving, in some unequivocal manner, a pledge of their intention no longer to foment troubles or excite disturbances against other governments. In return for these stipulations, the different powers of Europe might engage to abandon all measures or views of hostility against France, or interference in its internal affairs.' Such were the principles on which we acted; and what, then, brought on the war with this country? The insane decrees of 19th November and 15th December 1792, which amounted to a declaration of war against all governments, and the attack on our Allies the Dutch, and the opening of the Scheldt, in open prosecution of the new code of public law then promulgated by the Republic.

21. "The fundamental principle of the revolutionary party in France always has been an insatiable love of aggrandisement, an implacable spirit of destruction against all the civil and religious institutions of every other country. Its uniform mode of proceeding has been to bribe the poor against the rich, by proposing to transfer into new hands, on the delusive notion of equality, and in breach of every prin-

ciple of justice, the whole property of the country. The practical application of this principle has been to devote the whole of that property to indiscriminate plunder, and make it the foundation of a revolutionary system of finance, productive in proportion to the misery and desolation which it created. It has been accompanied by an unwearied spirit of proselytism, diffusing itself over all the nations of the earth; a spirit which can apply itself to all circumstances and all situations; hold out a promise of redress equally to all nations; which enables the teachers of French liberty to recommend themselves to those who live under the feudal code of the German empire, the various states of Italy, the old republicans of Holland, the new republicans of America, the Protestants of Switzerland, the Catholics of Ireland, the Mussulmans of Turkey, and the Hindoos of India; the natives of England, enjoying the perfection of practical freedom, and the Copts of Egypt, groaning under the last severity of Asiatic bondage. The last and distinguishing feature is a perfidy which nothing can bind; which no ties of treaty, no sense of the principles generally received among nations, no obligation, human or divine, can restrain. Thus qualified, thus armed for destruction, the genius of the French Revolution marched forth, the terror and dismay of the world. Every nation has in its turn been the witness, many have been the victims, of its principles; and it is left now for us to decide whether we will enter into compromise with such a danger, while we have yet resources to supply the sinews of war, while the heart and spirit of the country is yet unbroken, and while we have the means of calling forth and supporting a powerful co-operation in Europe. '*Cur igitur pacem nolo!—quia infida est, quia periculosa, quia esse non potest.*'" The

\* "Why, then, do I deprecate peace? Because it is faithless, because it is perilous, because it cannot be." It is impossible, in this abstract, to give any idea of the splendid and luminous speeches made on this memorable occasion in the British parliament. They are reported at large in Hansard, and throw more light on the motives and objects of the war than any other documents in existence.

house, upon a division, supported the measures of administration by a majority of two hundred and sixty-five to sixty-four.

22. In judging of this decision of the British government, which formed the true commencement of the second period of the war (that in which it was waged with Napoleon), it is of importance to recollect the circumstances in which he was placed, and the nature of the government which he had assumed. France had *not ceased to be revolutionary*; but its energies were now, under a skilful and enterprising chief, turned to military objects. He was still, however, borne forward upon the movement, and the moment he attempted to stop he would have been crushed by its wheels. No one was more aware of this than the First Consul himself. "The French government," said Napoleon in 1800, "has no resemblance to those which surround it. Hated by all its neighbours, obliged to restrain many different classes of malcontents within its bosom, it stands in need of action, of *éclat*, and, by consequence of war, to maintain an imposing attitude against so many enemies."—"Your government," replied Thibaudeau, "has no resemblance to one newly established. It assumed the *toga virilis* at Marengo; and, sustained by a powerful head and the arms of thirty millions of inhabitants, its place is already sufficiently prominent among the European powers."—"Do you really think that sufficient!" replied Napoleon: "*it must be first of all, or it will perish.*"—"And to obtain such a result, you see no other method than war?"—"None other, citizen."—"His fixed opinion from the commencement," says Bourrienne, "was, that if stationary he would fall; that he was sustained only by continually advancing, and that it was not sufficient to advance, but he must advance rapidly and irresistibly. 'My power,' said he, 'depends on my glory, and my glory on the victories which I gain. My power would instantly fall, if it were not constantly based on fresh glory and victories. Conquest made me what I am: conquest alone can maintain me in that

position. A government newly established has need to dazzle and astonish; when its *éclat* ceases, it perishes. It is in vain to expect repose from a man who is the concentration of movement."

23. Such were Napoleon's views; and that they were perfectly just, with reference to his own situation, is evident from the consideration that a revolutionary power, whether in civil or military affairs, has never yet maintained its ascendancy in any other way. But, these being his principles, and the independence of England forming the great stumblingblock in his way, it is evident that no permanent peace with him was practicable; that every accommodation could have been only a truce; and that it never would be proposed, unless in circumstances when it was for his interest to gain a short breathing-time for fresh projects of ambition.\* The event completely proved the justice of these views, and forms the best commentary on the prophetic wisdom of Mr Pitt. Every successive peace on the Continent only paved the way for fresh aggressions; and at length he was precipitated upon the snows of Russia, by the same invincible necessity of dazzling his subjects by the lustre of additional victories which was felt in the commencement of his career.

24. "His power, without and within," says Marshal St Cyr, "was founded solely on the *éclat* of his victories. By intrusting himself without reserve to fortune, he imposed upon himself the

\* This accordingly was openly avowed by Napoleon himself. "England," said he in January 1800, "*must be overturned.*" As long as my voice has any influence, it will never enjoy any respite. Yes! yes! war to the death with England for ever—ay, till its destruction." He admits, in his own Memoirs, that when he made these proposals to Mr Pitt, he had no serious intention of concluding peace. "I had then," said he, "need of war; a treaty of peace which would have derogated from that of Campo Formio and annulled the creations of Italy,—would have withered every imagination. Mr Pitt's answer accordingly was impatiently expected. When it arrived, it filled me with a secret satisfaction. His answer could not have been more favourable. From that moment I foresaw that, with such impassioned antagonists, I would have no difficulty in reaching the highest destinies."—NAP. IN MONTELORE, I. 83. 34.

necessity of following it to the utmost verge whither it would lead him. Unheard-of success had attended enterprises, the temerity of which was continually increasing; but thence arose a necessity to keep for ever awake the terror and admiration of Europe, by new enterprises and more dazzling triumphs. The more colossal his power became, the more immeasurable his projects required to be, in order that their unexpected success should keep up the same stupor in the minds of the vulgar. Admiration, enthusiasm, ambition, the emotions on which his dominion was founded, are not durable in their nature; they must be incessantly fed with fresh stimulants; and to effect that, extraordinary efforts are requisite. These principles were well known to Napoleon; and thence it is that he so often did evil, albeit knowing better than any one that it was evil, overruled by a superior power, from which he felt it was impossible to escape. The rapid movement which he impressed on the affairs of Europe was of a kind which could not be arrested; a single retrograde step, a policy which indicated a stationary condition, would have been the signal of his fall. Far, therefore, from making it subject of reproach to Napoleon, that he conceived an enterprise so gigantic as the Russian expedition, he is rather to be pitied for being placed in a situation where he was overruled by necessity; and this furnishes the true answer to those who would ascribe to chance, the rigour of the elements, or an excess of temerity, what was in truth but the inevitable consequence of the false position in which for fifteen years France had been placed." It is this law of the moral world which rendered durable peace with that country, when headed by a revolutionary power, impossible; and which was ultimately destined to inflict an awful retribution on its guilt and its ambition. Experience, therefore, has now proved that Mr Pitt's view of the character of the revolutionary war was well founded; and that the seizure of the consular throne by Napoleon, only gave a new and more dangerous direction to that restless and insatiable spirit which had

arisen from the convulsions which the Revolution had produced.

25. Justice requires that it should be declared, that, in espousing the cause of the enemy on this occasion, and uniformly palliating the crimes of the popular party in that country, the English Opposition were led, by the spirit of party, to forget equally the duties of patriotism and the dictates of reason. No hesitation need be felt by a British writer in expressing this opinion, because the ablest of the liberal party in France themselves admit that their partisans in this country fell into this enormous error. "Nothing," says Madame de Staël, "was more contrary to Buonaparte's nature, or his interest, than to have made peace in 1800. He could only live in agitation; and if anything could plead his apology with those who reflect on the influence of external circumstances on the human mind, it is, that he could only breathe freely in a volcanic atmosphere. It was absolutely necessary for him to present, every three months, a new object of ambition to the French, in order to supply, by the grandeur and variety of external events, the vacuum occasioned by the removal of all objects of domestic interest. At that epoch, unhappily for the spirit of freedom in England, the English Opposition, with Mr Fox at their head, took an entirely false view of Napoleon; and hence it was that that party, previously so estimable, lost its ascendancy in the nation. It was already too much to have defended France under the Reign of Terror; but it was, if possible, a still greater fault to have considered Buonaparte as identified with the principles of freedom, when in truth he was their deadliest enemy." "The eloquent declamations of Mr Fox," says General Mathieu Dumas, "cannot invalidate the facts brought forward by Mr Pitt and Lord Grenville as to the origin of the war. The Girondists alone were the cause of its commencement. The names of those impostors who, to overturn the monarchical throne of France, prevailed on the King to declare that fatal war, should be consigned to an execrable celebrity; they alone

brought down on Europe and their country a deluge of calamities."

26. War being thus resolved on, the most vigorous measures were taken, both by parliament and the executive, to meet the dangers with which it might be attended. Parliament voted the sum of £500,000 to the crown, for the purpose of immediately aiding Austria, in the armaments which she had in contemplation; and Mr Pitt stated that a loan of £2,500,000 to the Emperor would be advanced. The budget brought forward by the chancellor of the exchequer exhibited a most flattering picture of the public credit, and proved that, notwithstanding the immense expenditure of the eight preceding campaigns, the national resources were still unimpaired.\* The extraordinary fact which he mentioned, that, in the eighth year of the war, a loan of eighteen millions and a half had been obtained at the rate of four and three-fourths per cent, proved the enduring credit of the government, and the almost boundless extent of the wealth of England, sustained as it now was by an adequate and yet safe paper currency. But both that great financier and the British public, misled by the fallacious brilliancy of present appearances, overlooked the grievous burden which the contraction of debt in the three-per-cents,—in other words, the imposition of a burden of £100 for every £60 advanced,—was ultimately to produce upon the national resources.

27. The land forces of Great Britain in this year amounted to 168,000 men, exclusive of 80,000 militia; and for the service of the fleet, 120,000 seamen and marines were voted. The ships in commission were no less than 510, including 124 of the line. From a table laid before Parliament in this year, it appeared that the whole troops, exclusive of militia, which had been raised for the service of the state during the eight years from 1792 to 1800, had been only 208,000; a force not greater than might have been easily levied in a single year, out of a population then amounting to nearly sixteen millions, in the three kingdoms; and which, if ably conduct-

ed, and thrown into the scale when it was nearly balanced between France and Austria, would unquestionably have terminated the war at the latest in two campaigns.†

28. Several domestic measures of great importance took place during this session of parliament. The bank charter was renewed for twenty-one years, there being twelve of the old charter still to run; in consideration of the advantages of which, the directors agreed to give the public a loan of £3,000,000 for six years without interest; the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act was continued by a great majority in both houses of parliament; and Mr Dundas brought forward a full and satisfactory account of the affairs of India.‡ The union of Ireland with Great Britain was, after great resistance from a numerous party in Ireland, and a stormy debate in both houses of parliament in Dublin, carried by a large majority, chiefly through the powerful abilities, cool courage, and vigorous efforts of Lord CASTLEREAGH, who then gave the first specimen of that indomitable firmness and steady perseverance which were afterwards destined, on a greater stage, to lead the coalition against France to a glorious issue in the campaign of 1814. The burgher and mercantile class throughout the country were in general lukewarm on the subject; the citizens of Dublin

† The number of troops raised yearly from the commencement of the war, for the regular army, was as follows—a woeful picture of the ignorance which then prevailed as to the means of combating a revolutionary power:

1798	. .	17,033	1797	. .	16,096
1794	. .	38,561	1798	. .	21,457
1795	. .	40,450	1799	. .	41,816
1796	. .	16,336	1800	. .	17,124

Total in eight years, . . . 208,388

Lost in same time, 1350 officers, 60,000 men.

—Whereas the French, with a population of 25,000,000, raised, in 1792, 700,000, and in 1793, 1,500,000 soldiers. Prussia, with a population of 4,000,000, raised in 1813 nearly 200,000 men.—*Ann. Reg.* 1800, 144, *App. to Chronicle*; *PELLER's Life of Lord Sidmouth*, i. 126. The population of Great Britain, according to the census of 1800, was 10,642,000 that of Ireland probably 5,000,000.

‡ Appendix B, chap. xxx.

\* See Appendix A, chap. xxx.

vehemently opposed the change; and the great body of the peasantry were averse to it, as likely to extinguish the nationality to which they were fondly attached. Many persons wore, especially in Westmeath, the orange and green cockade, to indicate that any combination of parties was preferable to a union with the sister kingdom. This great measure, accordingly, was not carried without the most violent opposition, both in the Irish Peers and Commons; and it left the seeds of an animosity between the two islands, which, fostered by religious rancour and democratic passion, produced melancholy effects in after times upon the tranquillity and strength of the empire. "To any man of the least reflection," it was justly observed at the time, "there were additional reasons for a legislative union with England, as the only balm for the salvation of this distracted country; but such is the infatuation of the people, that the most sovereign remedy that can be proposed is rejected as their bane."\*

29. By the treaty of union, the peers for the United Imperial Parliament were limited, from Ireland, to twenty-eight temporal and four spiritual peers, the former elected for life by the Irish peerage, the latter by rotation; the commoners fixed at one hundred. The Churches of England and Ireland were united, and provision was made for their union, preservation, and the continuance of their discipline, doctrine, and worship for ever. Commercial privileges were fairly communicated; the national debt of each country was imposed as a burden on its own finances, and the general expenditure ordered to be defrayed, for twenty years after the Union, in the proportion of fifteen parts for Great Britain and two for Ireland. The laws and courts of both kingdoms were maintained on their existing footing, subject to such alterations as the united parliament might deem expedient. This important step was carried in the British

House of Commons by a majority of 208 to 26, and in the Lords by 75 to 7.

30. The debates on this subject in the British parliament—which, although highly important in English, are not of sufficient moment for quotation in European history—are chiefly remarkable for the complete blindness of all parties to the real and ultimate consequences of the measure which was adopted. Mr Pitt was most desirous to show that the influence of the *crown* would not be unduly augmented by the Irish members in the House of Commons; while Mr Grey contended that "ultimately at least, the Irish members will afford a certain accession of force to the party of every administration, and therefore forty of the most decayed boroughs should be struck off before the Union takes place. He accordingly moved, that it should be an instruction to the House to guard against the increase of the influence of the crown in the approaching Union." To us, who know that by the aid of the Irish members, and their aid alone, even after the franchise had been raised from forty shillings to ten pounds by the Duke of Wellington, the great democratic change of 1832 on the British constitution was carried,† these speculations as to the ultimate consequences of the Union are singular monuments of the difficulty which even the greatest intellects experience in prognosticating the consequences of any considerable alteration in the frame of government. In truth, the decisive addition which the Irish members furnished to the democratic party of the empire, on the first great crisis which occurred, adds another to the numerous examples which history affords of the extreme peril of applying to one country the institutions or government of another, or of supposing that the system of representation which the habits of centuries have moulded

† English and Scotch members for the Reform Bill on its first division,	251
Against it,	266—15
Ireland, against it,	87
For it,	53—16

Thus it was the admission of the Irish members which effected that great alteration in the English constitution.

\* Colonel Littlehales (private secretary to Lord Cornwallis, the Lord-Lieutenant) to Mr Addington, January 16, 1799.—*Pellet's Life of Lord Sidmouth*, i. 220, 221.



to a conformity with the interests of one state, can be adopted without the utmost hazard by another in an inferior stage of civilisation, inheriting from its forefathers a more ardent temperament, or under the influence of more vehement passions.

31. Ever since the great financial crisis of 1797, and the limitation of cash payments by the act of that year, followed by the issue of two and one pound notes by the Bank of England, which immediately ensued, the prosperity of the British empire had been steadily and rapidly increasing. The expenditure of above sixty millions a-year by government, either in the current expenses or the payment of interest on debt, and the increase of the issues by the bank from eleven millions to above fifteen during that period,\* had produced a most extraordinary effect on the national industry. Prices of every species of produce had rapidly

and steadily risen: that of grain in 1800, exclusive of the effects of the scarcity of that year, was double what it had been in 1792, and every other article had advanced in a similar proportion.† The consequence was, that the industrious classes were, generally speaking, in affluent circumstances; immense fortunes rewarded the efforts of commercial enterprise; the demand for labour, encouraged by the employment of nearly four hundred thousand soldiers and sailors in the public service, was unbounded; the numerous indirect taxes, heavy as they were, scarcely appeared a burden amidst the constant rise in the money price of the produce of industry; and even the increasing weight of taxation, and the alarming magnitude of the debt, were but little felt amidst the general rise of prices and incomes which resulted from the profuse expenditure and lavish issue of paper by government.‡

\* Bank of England notes in circulation—last quarter of

	Five pounds.	Two and one pounds.	Totals.
1797, . . .	£10,411,700	£1,230,700	£11,642,400
1798, . . .	10,711,600	1,780,880	12,442,070
1799, . . .	12,885,920	1,671,040	13,006,960
1800, . . .	13,888,070	2,062,800	15,400,970

—*Ann. Reg.* 1800, p. 148, *App. to Chronicle.*

† Highest and lowest price of grain in five years, ending respectively—

1790, from 51s. 11d. to 89s. 2d.
1795, .. 74s. 2d. .. 42s. 11d.
1800, .. 113s. 7d. .. 50s. 3d.

—*MUNDL'S Industrial Situation of Great Britain*, 63.

‡ According to Mr Pitt's statement in 1800, the British exports, imports, shipping, tonnage, and revenue in the under-mentioned years, stood as follows:—

<i>Imports.</i>			
On an average of six years ending 5th Jan. 1793,	.	.	£18,685,000
On an average of six years ending 5th Jan. 1801,	.	.	25,259,000

<i>Exports.</i>			
On an average of six years ending 5th Jan. 1793:			
Manufactures,	.	.	£14,771,000
Foreign goods,	.	.	5,468,000
			£20,239,000

On an average of six years ending 5th Jan. 1801:			
Manufactures,	.	.	£20,085,000
Foreign goods,	.	.	12,867,000
			£32,952,000

<i>Shipping, &amp;c.</i>			
	<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Tonnage.</i>	<i>Seamen.</i>
Shipping in 1788, . . .	13,827	1,868,000	107,925
Do. 1792, . . .	16,079	1,640,145	118,286
Do. 1800, . . .	18,877	1,906,438	143,661

<i>Permanent taxes, exclusive of war taxes.</i>			
Year ending 5th Jan. 1793,	.	.	£14,284,000
Do. do. 1794,	.	.	13,941,000
Do. do. 1795,	.	.	13,868,000

32. One class only, that of annuitants, and all others depending on a fixed income, underwent, during those years, a progressive decline of comfort, which was increased in many cases to the most poignant distress by the high prices and severe scarcity which followed the disastrous harvest of 1799. The attention of parliament was early directed to the means of alleviating the famine of that year. Six reports were made by the Commons and two by the Lords on the dearth of provisions; but the government, although severely pressed by the public suffering, steadily resisted all those harsh or violent measures which procure a present relief at the expense of future confidence in the cultivators. An act was passed to lower the quality of all the bread baked in the kingdom; the importation of rice and maize encouraged by liberal bounties; distillation from grain stopped; and by these and other means an additional supply, to the enormous amount of two million five hundred thousand quarters,\* nearly a tenth part of the annual consumption of the people at that period, was procured for the use of the inhabitants. By these generous and patriotic efforts, joined to the admirable patience and forbearance of the people, this trying crisis was surmount-

ed without any of those convulsions which might have been anticipated from so severe a calamity during a period of almost universal war; and in the latter part of the year, England, so far from being overwhelmed by its reverses, was enabled to present an undaunted front to the hostility of combined Europe.

34. Deprived, by the secession of Russia, of the power from whom they had derived such efficacious assistance in the preceding campaign, Austria and Great Britain made the utmost efforts to prosecute the war with vigour. By their united influence, the German empire was prevailed upon to sign a treaty, binding the states who composed it to furnish a contingent of three hundred thousand men for the common cause; but very few of the electors obeyed the requisition, and the troops of the empire were of hardly any service in the succeeding campaign. To stimulate their languid dispositions, a vigorous circular was, in the beginning of December, sent by the Archduke Charles to the anterior circles of the empire, in which he strenuously urged the formation of new levies, and pointed out, in energetic terms, the futility of the idea that any durable peace was practicable

Year ending 5th Jan. 1796,	.	.	.	.	.	.	£13,557,000
Do. do. 1797,	.	.	.	.	.	.	14,292,000
Do. do. 1798,	.	.	.	.	.	.	13,332,000
Do. do. 1799,	.	.	.	.	.	.	14,275,000
Do. do. 1800,	.	.	.	.	.	.	15,743,000

*Gross receipts from taxes.*

1797,	.	.	.	.	.	.	£23,076,000
1798,	.	.	.	.	.	.	30,175,000
1799,	.	.	.	.	.	.	34,750,000
1800,	.	.	.	.	.	.	33,535,000

—*Parl. Hist.* xxxiv. 1568.

\* The resources obtained in this way are thus detailed in the Sixth Report of the Commons :—

	Quarters.
Importation of wheat from Jan. 1 to Oct. 1,	170,000
Do. of flour from America,	580,000
Do. of flour from Canada,	30,000
Do. of rice, equal to	630,000
Stoppage of starch, equal to	40,000
Do. of distilleries,	360,000
Use of coarse meal,	400,000
Retrenchment,	300,000

2,510,000

Large as these importations were considered at that period, and unprecedented as they unquestionably were, they have been greatly exceeded in subsequent times. The grain imported, in twelve months subsequent to the Irish famine of 1846, exceeded 12,000,000 quarters.—*PORTER'S Parl. Tables*, 1847.

with a country in such a state of revolutionary excitement as France, and the vanity of supposing that, by concentrating all the powers of government in the hands of a victorious chieftain, it was likely to be either less formidable or more pacific. But although that great general was indefatigable in his endeavours to put the Imperialists on a respectable footing, and rouse them to make the most active preparations for war, he was far from feeling any confidence in the issue of the approaching contest, now that Russia was withdrawn on the one side, and Napoleon was added on the other; and he earnestly counselled the Austrian cabinet to take advantage of the successes of the late campaign, and the recent change of government in France, by concluding peace with the Republic. The cabinet of Vienna, however, deemed it inadvisable to stop short in the career of success; and not only refused to treat with Napoleon, who had proposed peace on the basis of the treaty of Campo Formio, but deprived the Archduke, who had so candidly stated his opinion, of the command of the army in Germany, and conferred it on General Kray. Notwithstanding the great abilities of the latter general, this change proved extremely prejudicial to the Imperial fortunes: the Archduke was adored by the soldiers, and his retirement not only shook their confidence in themselves, but cooled the ardour of the circles in the south of Germany, to whom his great achievements in the campaign of 1796 were still the subject of grateful recollection. He retired to his government of Bohemia, from when he had the melancholy prospect of a series of reverses, which possibly his talents might have prevented, and certainly his wisdom had foreseen.

35. By a treaty signed on the 16th March, the Elector of Bavaria agreed to put twelve thousand men in the pay of Great Britain, to be employed in the common cause; and by another treaty with the Elector of Mayence and the Duke of Würtemberg, each of these petty states agreed to furnish six thousand men, paid by the same power, for the same purpose. These troops, how-

ever, could not be organised in sufficient time to take a part in the early operations of the campaign, and they formed at best but a poor substitute for the sturdy Russian veterans, who were retiring towards the northern extremity of Germany, equally exasperated at their allies and their enemies. By another and more important treaty, signed at Vienna on the 20th June, the Emperor agreed to raise his forces, both in Germany and Italy, to the greatest possible amount, and the two powers bound themselves each not to make a separate peace without the consent of the other; in consideration of which England engaged not only to advance a subsidy of £2,000,000 sterling to the Imperial treasury, but to augment as much as practicable the German and Swiss troops in the British pay in the German campaign.

36. Justly proud of the glorious successes of the preceding campaign, which, in so far as its troops were concerned, had been almost unchequered, and relying with confidence on its superb armies, two hundred thousand strong, in Germany and Italy, the cabinet of Vienna resolved on continuing the contest. But the military preparations which they made were not commensurate to the magnitude of the danger which was to be apprehended, since the First Consul was placed at the head of the French government. Their forces in Germany were raised to ninety-two thousand men, exclusive of the Bavarian and Würtemberg contingents; but this vast body was scattered over an immense line, from the source of the Rhine to the banks of the Maine, while the centre in the valley of the Danube, where the decisive blows were to be struck, was so weakened that no respectable force could be collected to make head against the French invasion. The army under Melas in Italy, was by great exertions augmented to ninety-six thousand men; the Aulic Council, seduced by the recent conquest of that country, having fallen into the great mistake of supposing that the vital point of the contest was to be found in the Maritime Alps or on the banks of the Var, whereas it lay nearer home,

on the shores of the Danube and the plains of Bavaria. No levies in the interior were made; few points were fortified, the government sharing in the common delusion that the strength of France was exhausted, that a war of invasion alone awaited their armies, and that the Republic would without difficulty be brought to reasonable terms of accommodation in the ensuing campaign. The foresight of the Archduke Charles, however, had surrounded Ulm with a formidable entrenched camp, which proved of the most essential service after the first disasters of the campaign, and retarded for six weeks the tide of Republican conquest in the heart of Germany.

37. The republics with which France had encircled her frontier had either been conquered by the Allies, or were in such a state of exhaustion and suffering, as to be incapable of rendering any effectual aid to the parent state. The Dutch groaned in silence under a yoke which was every day becoming more oppressive. The democratic party looked back with unavailing regret upon the infatuation with which they had thrown themselves into the arms of a power which used them only as the instruments of its ambition; while the commercial aristocracy, finding the trade of the United Provinces destroyed, abandoned every species of enterprise, lived in the most economical way on the interest of their realised capital, and quietly awaited in retirement the return of more prosperous days. By a treaty, concluded on the 5th January 1800, Holland agreed to pay six millions of francs to France, and obtained in return only the restitution of the effects of the clergy and emigrants who had possessions in the United Provinces. So violent was the hatred at France among its inhabitants, that a loan of a million sterling, which Napoleon endeavoured to negotiate among the capitalists of Amsterdam, totally failed. Switzerland was in a still more discontented state. Without any regard to the rights of the allied republic, Massena had imposed a forced loan on Berne, Bale, and Zurich; and as the Swiss magistrates courageously

resisted this act of oppression, an intrigue was got up by the democratic party, and the councils were attempted to be dissolved by military force. The conspiracy failed, and Colonel Clavel, who had been appointed to execute it, was compelled to take refuge in France; but the violent party-spirit which these proceedings left in Switzerland, deprived it of any weight in the approaching contest, and prepared the way for its total subjugation by Napoleon.

38. To make head with such feeble auxiliaries against the united force of Austria and England, with a defeated army, an exhausted treasury, and a disunited people, was the difficult task which awaited the First Consul; but he soon showed that he was equal to the attempt. The first step which he took to accomplish the gigantic undertaking, was to introduce some degree of order into the finances, which the cupidity and profligacy of the preceding administrations had reduced to the most deplorable state. A deficit of 600,000,000 francs, or £24,000,000 sterling, existed in the revenue of the preceding year; and recovery of arrears had become impossible from the universal penury and misery which prevailed. The remnant of the public funds, though deprived of two-thirds of their amount, was still selling at eight per cent,—not more than a thirty-eighth part of their value in 1789, at the commencement of the Revolution. The abolition of the indirect taxes, conceded by the Directory to the clamours of the populace, had deprived the state of a third of the public revenue. The public treasury was empty; sufficient funds were not to be found in it to fit out a courier. Payments of every description were made in bills or paper securities of some sort, which had already largely anticipated all the legal receipts of government. The armies were supported only by cruel requisitions of horses, food, and clothing, which had become as oppressive as during the Reign of Terror. To avoid the forced loans and arbitrary taxation of the wealthier classes, expenditure of every sort had altogether ceased among the better description of citizens; and

in France, after ten years of revolution, the concealment of treasure had become as common as in the Pashalics of Turkey. Amidst the universal dismay, extortion, pillage, and corruption were general among the servants of government. Places, clothing, provisions, stores,—everything, in short, was sold to satisfy their cupidity; and while every office was openly put up to sale, enormous fortunes were amassed by both the elevated and the inferior agents of corruption.

39. The injustice committed by these forced loans is one of the most striking instances of the monstrous effects of the democratic ascendancy which, by the Revolution of 18th Fructidor, had obtained in France. They were laid indiscriminately on all property, movable, and immovable, and were founded—1. On the amount of the direct contribution; and 2. On an arbitrary base. Every one who paid 500 francs was taxed at four-tenths of his income; all who paid 4000 francs and upwards, at its *whole* amount. The arbitrary base was founded on the opinion of a jury, selected from the lowest classes, who were entitled to tax the relations of emigrants or any persons of noble birth at any sum they chose. The effects of so iniquitous a system may be conceived. Property disappeared, or was concealed as studiously as in the dynasties of the East. Every branch of the public revenue was drying up from the extinction of credit.

40. The establishment of a firm and powerful government in a great degree arrested these disorders, and restored the finances as if by enchantment. The capitalists of Paris, long inaccessible to the demands for loans by the revolutionary government, came forward with 12,000,000 of francs; the sale of the estates of the house of Orange produced 24,000,000 more; national domains to a great extent found purchasers from the increasing confidence in government; and, instead of the forced loans from the opulent classes, which had utterly annihilated credit, and, by the flagrant injustice with which they were levied, recalled the worst days of the Reign of Terror, a new tax of twenty-

five per cent on real property, though a burden that would be deemed intolerable in any state which had tasted of the sweets of real freedom, gave general satisfaction, and soon produced a large increase to the revenue. At the same time the foundations of a sinking fund and a national bank were laid, the public forests put under a new and rigorous direction, monthly remittances from the collectors of taxes established, and the measures commenced, which were calculated to revive public credit after a prostration of ten years. Such was the effect of these measures, that in September 1800 the remaining third of the national debt had risen from eight to forty per cent. The public creditors received a half of their payments in silver—a change which, from the universal discredit to which paper had fallen, was looked upon as the first great step towards a return to a just system of administration.

41. The pacification of La Vendée was the next object of the First Consul. The law of hostages and the forced requisitions had revived the civil war in that country, and sixty thousand men were in the field; but it was a different contest from the terrible burst which, seven years before, had proved so disastrous to the Republican arms. The devastation of the country, and destruction of the population by that bloody strife, had annihilated the elements of resistance on any considerable scale; and mere guerilla bands, seldom amounting to two thousand men, traversed the fields in different directions, levying contributions, and held together as much by the love of pillage as by indignation at oppression. Through the intervention of Hyde Neuville, an able young man of an ardent disposition, who nevertheless was not misled by the dictates of passion, a negotiation was opened with the leaders of the insurgents; and although they paid but little attention to the first proclamations of Napoleon, yet, being soon convinced by the tenor of his administration, that a more equitable system than that of the Revolution was about to commence, they gradually listened to

his proposals. At the same time, the approach of formidable forces from all quarters convinced them that they had now a more difficult antagonist to deal with than the weak though tyrannical Directory. Châtillon and d'Autichamp were the first to give the example of submission; and soon after Suzanet and the Abbé Bernier concluded, at Mont-Luçon, a treaty highly honourable to themselves for the termination of hostilities.

42. The able and heroic Count Louis de Frotté was not equally fortunate. He had written a letter to the Republican chief, proposing a general pacification of the Chouans, and was at the place of conference, when the negotiation was protracted beyond the time assigned for the acceptance of terms of peace by the Royalists. He was then perfidiously seized, along with all his followers, on the ground of a letter he had written to an aide-de-camp during the negotiation, and brought before a military tribunal, by which they were immediately ordered to be executed. They underwent the sentence next day, and met death with the most heroic courage, standing erect, with their eyes unbandaged. One of the aides-de-camp was only wounded by the first discharge; he calmly ordered the men to fire again, and fell pierced to the earth. The unhappy aide-de-camp whose unfortunate discovery of the letter had occasioned this catastrophe, was seized with such despair that he blew out his brains. This murder is a lasting stain on Napoleon's administration. Frotté was not taken in arms, but perfidiously seized by a company of Republicans, when under an escort of the national troops, and engaged in a negotiation for a final pacification. But he was deemed too able to be permitted to survive, even in that age of returning clemency. There were no just grounds for this piece of cruelty, for the intercepted letter, though imprudent, contained nothing which could warrant the captive's execution. It must be added, however, in justice to Napoleon, that it contained expressions extremely hostile to the First Consul; and that, at the earnest solicitation of

his secretary Bourrienne, he had actually made out an order for his pardon, which, from some delay in the transmission, unfortunately arrived too late to save the hero's life. About the same time he generously pardoned M. Defeux, a brave emigrant officer taken in arms against the state, and doomed by the cruel laws of the Republic to instant death.

43. Georges, Bourmont, and some others, maintained for a few weeks longer in Brittany a gallant resistance; but, finding that the inhabitants were weary of civil war, and gladly embraced the opportunity of resuming their pacific occupations, they at length came into the measures of government, and were treated with equal clemency and good faith by the First Consul, to whom most of them ever after yielded a willing and useful obedience. In the end of January, General Brune announced by proclamation that the pacification of La Vendée was complete, and on the 28d of the following month a general and unqualified amnesty was published. The Vendean chiefs were received with great distinction by Napoleon at Malmaison, and generally promoted to important situations. The curé Bernier was made Bishop of Orleans, and intrusted afterwards with the delicate task of conducting the negotiation concerning the concordat with the Papal government. The rapid and complete pacification of this distracted province by Napoleon, proves how much the long duration of its bloody and disastrous war had been owing to the cruelty and oppression of the Republican authorities.

44. The next important step of Napoleon was to detach Russia completely from the alliance of Great Britain,—an attempt which was much facilitated by the angry feelings excited in the mind of the Emperor Paul and his generals by the disastrous issue of the preceding campaign, and the rising jealousy of the maritime power of Great Britain, which had sprung up from fortuitous events, in the minds of the Northern powers, and which in the following year led to the most important results. Aware of the favourable

turn which affairs in the Baltic had recently taken, the First Consul lost no opportunity of cultivating a good understanding with the Russian Emperor; and, by a series of adroit acts of courtesy, succeeded at length, not only in obliterating all feelings of hostility, but in establishing the most perfect understanding between the two cabinets. Napoleon sent back all the Russian prisoners in France, seven thousand in number, who had been taken at Zurich and in Holland, not only without exchange, but equipped anew in the Russian uniform. This politic proceeding was not lost on the Czar, who had been already dazzled by the lustre of Napoleon's victories in Italy and Egypt. An interchange of civilities and courtesies ensued, which ere long terminated in the dismissal of Lord Whitworth from St Petersburg, and the arrival of Baron Springborton, as Russian ambassador, at Paris. The British vessels were soon after laid under embargo in the Russian harbours, and that angry correspondence began, which terminated in the array of all the powers of the North in open hostility against Great Britain.

45. The military measures of Napoleon were equally energetic. Upon the refusal of Great Britain to treat, he issued one of his heart-stirring proclamations, which were so well calculated to rouse the ardent spirit of the French people. He told them that the English minister had rejected his proposals of peace; that, to command it, he had need of money, of iron, and soldiers; and that he swore to combat alone for the happiness of France and the peace of the world. This animated address, coupled with the magic that encircled the name of Napoleon, produced an amazing effect. Victory seemed again about to attend the Republican standards, under the auspices of a leader to whom she had never yet proved faithless; the patriotic ardour of 1793 was in part revived, with all the addition which the national strength had since received from the experience of later times. The first class of the conscription for the year 1800 was put

in requisition, without any exemption either in favour of rank or fortune: this supply put at the disposal of government one hundred and twenty thousand men. Besides this, a still more efficient force for immediate service was formed by a summons to all the veterans who had obtained furlough or leave of absence for the eight preceding years, and who, unless furnished with a valid excuse, were required again to serve. They joyfully rejoined their colours to serve under the conqueror of Rivoli, and this measure procured a supply of thirty thousand experienced soldiers. At the same time, the *gendarmerie* were put on a better footing; and various improvements effected, particularly in the artillery department, which greatly augmented the efficiency of that important arm of the public service. Twenty-five thousand horses, bought in the interior, were distributed among the artillery and cavalry on the frontier; and all the stores and equipments of the armies were repaired with a celerity so extraordinary, that it would have appeared incredible, if long experience had not proved, that confidence in the vigour and stability of government operates as rapidly in increasing, as the vacillation and insecurity of democracy, not obviated by extraordinary public excitement, or despotic powers in its leaders, does in withering the national resources. Far from experiencing the difficulty which had been so severely felt by the Directory in retaining the soldiers to their colours, the consular government was powerfully seconded by the patriotic efforts of all classes. Several brilliant corps of volunteers were formed; and the ranks rapidly filled up by veterans hastening to renew their toils under a leader to whom fortune had hitherto proved so propitious. In consequence, the government soon found itself at the head of two hundred and fifty thousand men, with whom to commence hostilities in Italy and Germany; while above one hundred thousand conscripts were rapidly learning the rudiments of war at the depots in the interior, and before six months

might be expected to join the armies on the frontier.

46. But it was not merely in such praiseworthy efforts for the security and pacification of France, that the energies of the First Consul were employed. He already meditated the re-establishment of the monarchy, and early commenced that system of misleading the people by false epithets, and dazzling them by splendid pageants, which was intended to prepare them for the lustre of the throne, and induce them to concur in the reconstruction of all the parts of the social edifice, which it had been the object of the Revolution to destroy. To accomplish this object, he applied himself to what he was well aware is at all times, but especially during the decline of revolutionary fervour, the ruling principle of human nature, — viz. self-interest. All the officers of state, all the members of the legislature, were endowed with ample salaries; even the tribunate, which professed to be the barrier of the people against the encroachments of government, received above £50,000 a-year among its eighty members, being at the rate of nearly £700 a-year to each individual who composed it; a very large allowance in a country where the highest civil functionaries, the heads of the law and church, received only from £300 to £600 annually; and the great body of the parochial clergy only £40 or £50.\* From the very first, he commenced the demolition of all those ensigns and expressions which recalled the idea of the liberty and equality, from the strife of which his redoubtable power had arisen. The image of the Republic, seated and holding a spear in her hand, which was at the

top of all the official letters at the commencement of the consulship, was suppressed. Some doubt existed, in the first instance, as to which of the consuls should take the chair, and Siéyès openly asserted his pretensions to it, in virtue as well of his seniority as of his great services in the cause of freedom; but Napoleon cut the matter short by stepping into the chair himself. The jealousy of the elder consul was soon removed by the grant of the large property out of the park of Versailles, which has been already mentioned. At the same time, the habiliments and ensigns of authority were changed; the Greek and Roman costumes, which recalled the ideas of equality lately so much in vogue, were abolished, and replaced by the military dress. The First Consul appeared on all occasions in uniform, with boots and spurs; and all the inferior military functionaries followed his example. The levees, which he held almost daily, were crowded with officers in full dress; and the court of the first magistrate of the Republic was noways distinguishable from the headquarters of its greatest general. At the same time, the institution of sabres and fusils of merit, as a testimony of reward to military distinction, already shadowed out to the discerning eye the Legion of Honour, and the re-establishment of titles of rank and a hereditary nobility; while the daily reviews, with all the pomp and splendour of war, in the Place Carrousel, accustomed the people to those magnificent pageants which were destined to conceal from their gaze the chains of the empire.

47. These measures were all steps, and not unimportant ones, toward the re-establishment of monarchical authority. But they were the prelude only to greater changes. In December 1799, an important *arrêt* was published, which, on the preamble—"That a part of the journals printed at Paris are instruments in the hands of the enemies of the Republic; and that it is the first duty of the government to watch over its security," decreed, "That the minister of police should not suffer to be printed, during the continuance of the

\* The civil list under the First Consul was fixed at the following sums:—

Legislative Body,	2,400,000 fr.,	or	£96,000
Tribunate,	1,312,000 ..		58,000
Archives,	75,000 ..		3,000
Three Consuls,	1,800,000 ..		72,000
Council of State,	675,000 ..		27,000
Their Secretaries,	112,500 ..		4,500
Six Ministers,	860,000 ..		14,000
Minister of Foreign Affairs,	90,000 ..		3,500

6,824,500 fr., or £273,000

—BOURRIENNE, iii. 242.



war, any journals but the following." Then followed a list of thirteen newspapers, thus invested with the monopoly of Paris; and from those thus suppressed were only excepted "those exclusively devoted to science, the arts, literature, commerce, or advertisements." It was decreed, by a separate article, that "any journal among those retained, which inserted anything contrary to the sovereignty of the people, should be immediately suppressed." This clause, inserted to blind the people to the real tendency of the measure, received in the sequel, as was foreseen at the time, the most liberal interpretation, and was applied, contrary to its obvious meaning, to sanction the extinction of all newspapers opposed to the consular government. Thus early commenced the system of Napoleon for the coercion of the press—a system which received, during the remainder of his reign, such ample development; and which, as Madame de Staël justly remarks, converted that great engine, generally considered as the palladium of liberty, into the most powerful instrument of bondage, by perpetually exhibiting a series of false and delusive pictures to the human mind, and excluding all others from view.

48. The next step of Napoleon was to fix his residence in the Tuileries, and sleep in the ancient apartments of the kings of France. This great change, however, required considerable caution in its accomplishment; it was so palpable an approach towards royalty, that it might shock the feeling of the people, and endanger the newly established authority. Slowly, and with profound dissimulation, therefore, he proceeded in his advances. A fine statue of Brutus was first placed in one of the galleries of the palace; it was thought the most ardent republicans could apprehend nothing from a change which commenced with honour done to the hero who had slain a tyrant. Orders were next given to repair and put in order the royal apartments in the Tuileries, and under the veil of these words great changes were effected. The *bonnets rouges* and republican emblems were all effaced; the statues which were to

adorn the great gallery chosen by Napoleon himself; he selected among the ancients, Demosthenes and Alexander, Brutus and Cæsar; among the moderns, Gustavus Adolphus, Turenne, Condé, Prince Eugene, Marlborough, Marshal Saxe, Frederick, Washington, Dugommier, Dampierre, and Joubert. At length the translation of the Consuls from the Luxembourg to the Tuileries took place; the royal apartments were destined for Napoleon, those in the pavilion of Flora for the other Consuls. The *cortège* set out from the Luxembourg, surrounded by a splendid train of officers and three thousand chosen troops, among whom the famous regiment of Guides was peculiarly conspicuous. Napoleon, with the two other Consuls, was drawn in a magnificent chariot by six white horses, the same which the Emperor of Austria had given him after the treaty of Campo Formio; he bore in his hand the splendid sabre presented to him by the same sovereign on that occasion. The cabinet ministers followed in their carriages, the only ones which were to be seen on the occasion; for such was the miserable destitution in which the Revolution had left the highest civil functionaries of France, that to transport the council of state they were obliged to have recourse to hackney-coaches! The real luxury of that period consisted in the splendour of the troops, whose brilliant uniforms and prancing chargers formed a painful contrast to the meanness and simplicity of the civil authorities. Last and sad effect of revolutionary convulsions, to cast to the earth everything but the ensigns of military prowess!

49. From the opening into the Carrousel, from the quay of the Tuileries to the gate of the palace, the procession passed through a double line of guards—a royal usage, which offered a singular contrast to the inscription on the guard-house by which it passed—"10th August 1792—Royalty is abolished in France, and shall never be re-established." On entering the gates, he observed some clusters of pikes surmounted by *bonnets rouges* and tricolor flags. "Remove all that rubbish," said he, with

characteristic impatience.\* No sooner had he arrived at the foot of the great stair than Napoleon, allowing the other Consuls to ascend to the presence-chamber, mounted on horseback, and, amidst incessant cries of "Vive le Premier Consul !" passed in review above twenty thousand men. Murat was on his right, Lannes on his left; the brilliant staff who surrounded him bore on their visages the marks of the sun of Italy or the sands of Egypt. When the banners of the ninetieth, the forty-third, and thirtieth demi-brigades, which exhibited only bare poles riddled with shot and surmounted by tatters black with powder, were carried past, he bowed with respect to the monuments of military valour. Enthusiastic acclamations rent the skies; and such was the universal transport, that, when the review was concluded, and the First Consul ascended to the audience-chamber, and took his station in the centre of the room, his colleagues were reduced to the rank of pages following his train. On that day royalty was in truth re-established in France, somewhat less than eight years after it had been abolished by the revolt of the 10th August. On the night of his entry into the Tuileries, Napoleon said to his secretary—"Bourrienne, it is not enough to be in the Tuileries; we must take measures to remain there. Who has not inhabited this palace? It has been the abode of robbers, of members of the Convention. Ah! there is your brother's house, from which, eight years ago, we saw the good Louis XVI. besieged in the Tuileries, and carried off into captivity. But you need not fear a repetition of the scene. Let them attempt it with me if they dare."†

50. No sooner was the First Consul established at the Tuileries, than the usages, dress, and ceremonial of a court were at once resumed. The antechambers were filled with chamberlains, pages, and esquires; footmen in brilliant liveries filled the lobbies and staircases; the levees were conducted

with as much splendour as the dilapidated state of most fortunes would permit; and a drawing-room, composed chiefly of the wives of the young generals who had been the companions of Napoleon, presided over by the grace and elegance, and embellished by the extravagance, of Josephine, already revived to a certain degree the lustre of a court. Napoleon was indefatigable in his attention to these matters. He deemed the colour of a livery, the cut of a court-dress, not beneath his notice, endeavouring in every way to dazzle the eyes of the vulgar, and efface all recollection of the Republic before it was formally abolished by the authority of government.‡ For the same reason, he revived the use of silk stockings in dress, and re-established the balls of the opera—an event which was so great an innovation on the manners of the Republic, that it created quite a sensation at that period. But Napoleon, in pursuing these measures, knew well the character of the French. "While they are discussing these changes," said he, "they will cease to talk nonsense about my politics; and that is what I want. Let them amuse themselves, let them dance; but let them not thrust their heads into the councils of government. Commerce will revive under the increasing expenditure of the capital. I am not afraid of the Jacobins; I never was so much applauded as at the last parade. It is ridiculous to say that nothing is right but what is new; we have had enough of such novelties. I would rather have the balls of the opera than the saturnalia of the Goddess of Reason."

† The King of Prussia was among the first to recognise the consular government, and Napoleon was highly gratified when an aide-de-camp, whom he despatched to Berlin, was admitted to the honour of dining at the royal table. M. Luochesini, in October 1800, was charged with a special mission to the court of the Tuileries from the Prussian government. The First Consul received him at St Cloud, and was at the balcony when he arrived. He was much struck with the decorations which he bore, and the rich livery of the servants who attended him; and he was heard to exclaim, "That is imposing; we must have things of that sort to dazzle the people."—THIBAUDEAU, 14-15.

\* *Otez-moi bien vite toutes ces cochonneries-là.*—CAPETIQUE, *Histoire de Louis Philippe*, v. 233.

† *Ante*, chap. VII. § 73.

51. The condition of the emigrants next attracted the attention of the First Consul. No less than a hundred and forty-five thousand persons were on the lists of emigrants, banished either by the Convention or the Directory. This immense and miserable body was gradually and cautiously restored to France by his exertions. In the first instance, a decree was published, which took off the sentence of banishment against a great number of those who had been exiled by the result of the 18th Fructidor. It was only provided that they should be under the surveillance of the police, and reside at the places appointed for each respectively in the decree. Among the persons thus restored against an unjust sentence, were many of the most eminent citizens of the Republic: Carnot, Barthélemy, Boissy d'Anglas, Portalis, Villaret-Joyeuse, and above forty others. The First Consul immediately made use of the most eminent of them in the service of the state: Carnot was appointed minister at war in the absence of Berthier, and contributed in a powerful manner to the glorious issue of the succeeding campaign. Barère also was recalled, and was so desirous to receive employment, that he wrote a long letter justifying his conduct to Napoleon. But the latter never could be persuaded to take into his direct service that hardened republican. Those proscribed by the Directory were thus early admitted into favour; at a subsequent period he received with equally open arms the Royalists and the victims of the Revolution. The only faction against which to the last he was inveterate, was the remnant of the Jacobin party, who retained throughout all his reign the resolution of their character and the perversity of their opinions.

52. At the time when Napoleon was placed on the consular throne, he organised his *secret police*, intended to act as a check on the public one of Fouché. Duroc was at first at the head of this establishment, to which Junot, as governor of Paris, soon after succeeded. So early did this great leader avail himself of this miserable engine, unknown in constitutional mon-

archies, the resource of despots, inconsistent with anything like freedom, but the sad legacy bequeathed to succeeding ages by the despotism of the monarchy, and the convulsions and devastations of the Revolution. The spies and agents of this police and counter-police soon filled every coffee-house and theatre in Paris; they overheard conversations, mingled in groups, encouraged seditious expressions, were to be found alike in saloons of palaces and in prisons, and rendered every man insecure, from the monarch on the throne to the captive in the dungeon. Lately appointed governor of Paris, Junot had a multitude of inferior agents in his pay to watch the motions of Fouché; and he, in his turn, carried corruption into the bosom of the consular family, and, by liberally supplying funds for her extravagance, obtained secret information from Josephine herself. This miserable system has survived all the changes amid which it arose. The formidable engine, organised in the heart of Paris, with its arms extending over all France, is instantly seized upon by each successive faction which rises to the head of affairs; the herd of informers and spies is perpetuated from generation to generation, and exercises its prostituted talents for behoof of any government which the armed force of the capital has elevated to supreme power; the people, habituated to this unseen authority, regard it as an indispensable part of regular government; and a system, which was the disgrace of Roman servitude in the corrupted days of the empire, is ingrafted on a government which boasts of concentrating within itself all the lights of modern civilisation.

53. The circumstances of the Roman empire, as remodelled by Constantine, afford a striking analogy to those of France when Napoleon ascended the throne; and it is curious to observe how exactly the previous destruction of the nobility and higher classes in the two countries paved the way, by necessary consequence, for the same despotic institutions. "The patrician families," says Gibbon, "whose original numbers were never recruited till

the end of the commonwealth, either failed in the ordinary course of nature, or were extinguished in so many foreign or domestic wars. Few remained who could derive their genuine origin from the foundation of the city, when Cæsar and Augustus, Claudius and Vespasian, created a competent number of new patrician families. But these artificial supplies, in which the reigning house was always included, were rapidly swept away by the rage of tyrants, by frequent revolutions, the change of manners, and the intermixture of nations. Little more was left, when Constantine ascended the throne, than a vague and imperfect tradition that the patricians had once been the first among the Romans. To form a body of nobles whose influence may restrain, while it secures, the authority of the monarch, would have been very inconsistent with the character and policy of Constantine; but, had he seriously entertained such a design, it might have exceeded the measure of his power to ratify, by an arbitrary edict, an institution which must expect the sanction of time and opinion. He revived, indeed, the title of patricians; but he revived it *as a personal, not a hereditary distinction*. They yielded only to the transient authority of the annual consuls; but they enjoyed the pre-eminence over all the great officers of state. This honourable rank was bestowed on them for life; and as they were usually favourites and ministers at the imperial court, the true etymology of the word was perverted by ignorance and flattery, and the patricians of Constantine were revered as the adopted fathers of the emperor and the republic.

54. "The police insensibly assumed the licence of reporting whatever they could observe of the conduct, either of magistrates or private citizens, and were soon considered as the eyes of the monarch and the scourge of the people. Under the warm influence of a feeble reign, they multiplied to the incredible number of ten thousand, disdained the mild though frequent admonitions of the laws, and exercised, in the profitable management of the

posts, a rapacious and insolent oppression. These official spies, who corresponded with the palace, were encouraged, with reward and favour, anxiously to watch the progress of every treasonable design, from the faint and latent symptoms of disaffection, to the actual preparation of open revolt. Their careless or criminal violation of truth and justice was covered by the consecrated mask of zeal; and they might securely aim their poisoned arrows at the breast either of the innocent or the guilty, who had provoked their resentment or refused to purchase their silence. A faithful subject of Syria, perhaps, or Britain, was exposed to the danger, or at least to the dread, of being dragged in chains to the court of Milan or Constantinople, to defend his life and fortune against the malicious charges of these privileged informers." This might pass for a description of the Conservative Senate and the police of Napoleon.

55. "Augustus knew well," says the same historian, "that mankind are governed by names; and that they will in general submit to real slavery, if they are told that they are in the enjoyment of freedom." No man understood this principle better than Napoleon. While he was preparing, by fixing his residence in the royal palace, the appointments of the legislature by the executive, the suppression of the liberty of the press, and the establishment of a vigilant police, for the overthrow of all the principles of the Revolution, he was careful to publish to the world proclamations which still breathed the spirit of democratic freedom. Shortly before his installation in the Tuileries, intelligence arrived of the death of Washington, the illustrious founder of American independence. He immediately issued the following order of the day to the army: "Washington is dead! That great man has struggled with tyranny; he consolidated the liberty of his country. His memory will be ever dear to the French people, as to all freemen in both hemispheres, who, like him and the American soldiers, have fought for liberty and equality. As a mark of respect, the

First Consul orders, that for ten days black crape shall be suspended from all the standards and banners of the Republic." Thus, by the skilful use of high-sounding names and heart-stirring recollections, did this great master of the art of dissimulation veil his advances towards absolute power, and engraft an enthusiastic admiration for his despotic government on the turbulent passions which had been nourished by the Revolution.

56. Notwithstanding many little-nesses, which would be inconceivable in ordinary men, the mind of Napoleon was fraught with many elevated ideas. In nothing did this appear in a more striking manner, than in the measures he undertook for the improvement of the metropolis. He had early conceived an admiration for architectural decoration, which his residence among the stately monuments of Egypt had converted into a chastened and elevated passion. His present situation, as chief of the French government, gave him ample room for the indulgence of this truly regal disposition, and he already began to conceive those great designs for the embellishment of Paris and the improvement of France, which have thrown such durable lustre over his reign. The inconceivable activity of his mind seemed to take a pleasure in discovering new objects for exertion; and at a time when he was conducting the diplomacy of Europe, and regulating all the armies of France, he was maturing plans for the construction of roads, bridges, and canals, through all its wide extent, and setting on foot those great works which have given such splendour to its capital. He early selected M. Fontaine and M. Perier as the instruments of his designs, and, aided by the suggestions of these able architects, the embellishment of the metropolis proceeded at an accelerated pace. The formation of a quay on the banks of the Seine, opposite to the Tuileries, near the Quai Voltaire, first removed a deformity which had long been felt in looking from the windows of the palace; and the clearing out of the Place

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Carrousel next suggested the idea of uniting the Louvre and the Tuileries, and forming a vast square between these two sumptuous edifices. At first it was proposed to construct a building across the vacant area, in order to conceal the oblique position in which they stood to each other; but this idea was soon abandoned, as Napoleon justly observed, that "no building, how majestic soever, could compensate for a vast open space between the Louvre and Tuileries." The construction of a fourth side for the great square, opposite to the picture gallery, was therefore commenced, and the demolition of the edifices in the interior soon after began; a great undertaking, which the subsequent disasters of his reign prevented him from completing, and which all the efforts of succeeding sovereigns have not been able as yet to bring to a conclusion. The Pont-des-Arts, between the Louvre and the Palace of the Institute, was commenced about the same time, and the demolition of the convents of the Feuillans and Capucines made way for the Rue de Rivoli, which now forms so noble a border to the gardens of the Tuileries. Malmaison at this time was the favourite country residence of the First Consul; but he already meditated the establishment of his court at St Cloud, and the apartments of that palace began to be fitted up in that sumptuous style which has rendered their furniture unequalled in all the palaces of France.

57. The First Consul did not as yet venture openly to break with the Republican party, but he lost no opportunity of showing in what estimation he held their principles. On occasion of the establishment of the Court of Cassation, the supreme tribunal of France, he said to Bourrienne,—"I do not venture as yet to take any decided step against the regicides; but I will show what I think of them. To-morrow I shall be engaged with Abrial in the organisation of the Tribunal of Cassation. Target, who is its president, declined to defend Louis XVI.: whom do you suppose I am about to name in

2 A

his place? Tronchet, who so nobly discharged that perilous duty. They may say what they choose; my mind is made up.\* Tronchet accordingly received the appointment so richly deserved by his heroic conduct. The fête commemorating the murder of Louis XVI. was at the same time suppressed, and concerts of sacred music were permitted on Sundays at the Opera. Thus, though the Republican calendar was still observed, an approach was made to the ancient mode of measuring time in the public amusements.

58. Louis XVIII. at this time wrote several letters to Napoleon, in which he expressed the high esteem in which he held his character, and offered him any situation which he chose to fix on under the government, if he would aid in re-establishing the throne of the Bourbons. Napoleon replied in firm but courteous terms, declining to have any connection with the exiled family.\* He clearly foresaw, with admirable sagacity, all the difficulties which would attend the restoration of that unfortunate family, and felt no inclination to

aid in such an event. "The partisans of the Bourbons," said he, "are much mistaken if they imagine that I am the man to play the part of Monk. I am not insensible to the hazard to which France may be one day exposed from my decease without issue, as my brothers are evidently unfit for such a throne; but consider the absurdity of the propositions which they have made to me. How could we secure so many new interests and vested rights against the efforts of a family returning with eighty thousand emigrants, and all the prejudices of fanaticism? What would become of the holders of national domains, and all those who had taken an active part in the Revolution? The Bourbons would conceive they had conquered by force; all their professions and promises would give way before the possession of power. My part is taken; no one but a fool would place any reliance upon them." By such specious arguments did Napoleon veil the real motives of his conduct in this particular, which was jealousy of the legal heir to the throne.†

\* The letter of Louis XVIII. was in these terms:—

"For long, General, you must have known the esteem in which I hold you. If you doubt my gratitude, fix upon the place you desire for yourself; point out the situations which you wish for your friends. As to my principles, they are those of the French character. Clemency on principle accords with the dictates of reason."

"No—the victor of Lodi, Castiglione, and Aroca, the conqueror of Italy and Egypt, can never prefer a vain celebrity to true glory. But you are losing the most precious moments. We could secure the happiness of France. I say we, for I require Buonaparte for such an attempt, and he could not achieve it without me. General, Europe observes you—glory awaits you, and I am impatient to restore peace to my people."

Napoleon replied:—  
"I have received, sir, your letter. I thank you for the obliging expressions which it contains regarding myself."

"You should renounce all hope of returning to France. You could not do so but over the bodies of one hundred thousand Frenchmen. Sacrifice your interest to the repose and happiness of France. History will duly appreciate your conduct in so doing."

"I am not insensible to the misfortunes of your family, and shall learn with pleasure that you are surrounded with everything which can secure the tranquillity of your retreat."

This answer was not despatched for seven months after the receipt of the letter from Louis, and when the Congress of Lunéville was about to open.—BOURRIENNE, iv. 77-79.

Not disconcerted with this repulse, the Bourbon family endeavoured to open a negotiation with Napoleon, through the Duchess of Guiche, a lady of great beauty and abilities, who found no difficulty in penetrating to Josephine, and conveying to her the propositions of the exiled family, which were, that he should, on restoring them, be made Constable of France, and receive the principality of Corsica. Napoleon no sooner heard of it than he ordered the fascinating duchess to leave Paris in twenty-four hours—an order which gave great satisfaction to Josephine, who already had become somewhat uneasy at the proximity of so charming a personage. It had been proposed that a splendid pillar should be erected on the Place Carrousel, surmounted by a statue of Napoleon crowning the Bourbons. "Nothing was wanting," said Napoleon, "to such a design, except that the pillar should be founded on the dead body of the First Consul."—LAS CASES, i. 289, 290; and CAPEFIGUE, i. 140.

† "Son nom serait suspect à mon autorité: On sait son droit au trône, et ce droit est un crime."

Du destin qui fait tout, tel est l'arrêt cruel—  
Si j'eusse été vaincu je serais criminel."

VOLTAIRE'S *Zaïre*, Act I. scene 5.

59. Thus, on all sides, the prospects of France rapidly brightened under the auspices of Napoleon. To the insecurity, distrust, and terror which had paralysed all the efforts of patriotism under the Directory, succeeded confidence, energy, and hope; genius emerged from obscurity to take an active part in public affairs; corruption and profligacy ceased to poison every branch of administration. There is nothing more striking in European his-

tory than the sudden resurrection of France under the government of this great man, or more descriptive of the natural tendency of human affairs to right themselves after a period of disorder. It evinces the general disposition of all classes, when taught wisdom by suffering, to resume that place in society for which they were destined by nature, and in which alone their exertions can add to the sum of the general felicity.

#### APPENDIX.

# APPENDIX.

## CHAPTER XXX.

NOTE A, p. 347.

THE Budget stood thus :—

### RECEIPTS—WAYS AND MEANS.

Land and Malt Tax,	£2,750,000
Lottery,	200,000
Duties on Exports and Imports,	1,250,000
Income-Tax,	5,800,000
Surplus of Consolidated Fund,	5,512,000
Loan by Exchequer Bills,	3,000,000
Lent by Bank without interest,	3,000,000
Loan for Great Britain,	18,500,000
	<hr/>
	£39,512,000

### EXPENDITURE

Navy,	£12,619,000
Army,	11,370,000
Miscellaneous,	750,000
Interest on Exchequer Bills,	816,000
Deficiencies of year 1799,	440,000
Deficiency of Malt Tax and Land do.,	350,000
Exchequer Bills,	2,500,000
Do. for 1798,	1,075,000
Vote of Credit,	3,000,000
Subsidies to Germans and Russians,	3,000,000
Annual grant for National Debt,	200,000
Unforeseen emergencies,	1,800,000

To provide for the interest of this loan, amounting in all to £21,500,000, Mr Pitt laid on some trifling taxes on spirits and tea, amounting in all to £350,000, the interest on the bulk of the debt being laid as a charge on the income-tax. The interest paid on the loan was only  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent; a fact which he justly stated as extraordinary in the eighth year of the war. The inte-

Carry over,	£37,920,000
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## APPENDIX.

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Brought forward,	£37,920,000
rest on the public debt at this time was £19,700,000,	
and on Exchequer Bills, &c., £1,983,000; in all,	£21,683,000
Civil List,	898,000
Civil Expenses,	647,000
Charges of Management,	1,779,000
Other charges on Consolidated Fund,	239,000
	<hr/> 25,246,000

Total National Expenditure in 1800, £63,166,000

—See *Parl. Hist.* xxxiv. 1515; and *Ann. Reg. App. to Chronicle* for 1800, pp. 151, 152.

## NOTE B, p. 347.

From Mr Dundas's statement it appeared that the total revenue in 1798-9 was £8,610,000, the local charges £7,807,000, and the interest of debt and other charges £875,000, leaving a deficiency in territorial revenue of £71,000; to cover which there were the commercial profits, amounting to £630,000; leaving a general balance in favour of the company of £558,000 yearly.

The revenue and expenditure were thus divided:—

	Revenue.	Charges.
Bengal,	£6,259,600	£3,952,847
Madras,	2,004,993	2,857,519
Bombay,	346,110	996,699
	<hr/> £8,610,703	<hr/> £7,807,065
	7,807,065	
Surplus,	£803,638	
Interest on Debt,	£758,135	
Other Charges,	117,160	
	<hr/> 875,295	
Deficiency,	£71,657	
Commercial Profits,		£629,657
Deduct territorial loss,		71,657
		<hr/> £558,000
	Annual Surplus,	

—See *Parl. Hist.* xxxv. 15.